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GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.

BY JOHN PINKERTON,

AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND CADELL AND DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1811.

Strahan and Preston,
Printers-Street, London.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SEVENTH VOLUME.

Page

TRAVELS of Rabbi Benjamin, - - - - - - - - 1

——— *of Rubruquis,* - - - - - - - 22

——— *of Marco Polo,* - - - - - - 101

——— *of Two Mahometans,* - - - - - - 179

Nieuhoff's Travels in China, - - - - - - - 231

Bell's Travels in Asia, - - - - - - - 271

Hamel's Travels in Korea, - - - - - - - 517

A Description of Tibet, - - - - - - - 541

The Travels of Goez from Lahor to China, - - - - - 577

Travels through Tibet, by several Missionaries, - - - - - 587

Caron's Account of Japan, - - - - - - 607

Diary on the Coast of Japan, 1673, - - - - - - 641

Kempfer's History of Japan, - - - - - - - 652

LIST

LIST OF THE PLATES IN VOLUME VII.

		Page
1.	MOUNTAINS called the Five Horſe's Heads	241
2.	Nankin,	247
3.	Porcelain Tower,	249
4.	Pekin,	259
5.	Great Wall,	40
6.	Mandarin's Garden,	413
7.	Valley and Village of Thorguna,	at the End *.
8.	Shaw-chew-fou,	
9.	Burying Place,	
10.	View on the Niug-po,	
11.	View near Sou-tcheou-fou,	
12.	Excavation Canton River,	
13.	Temple Hang-tcheü-fou	

* Several of the plates are placed at the end of the volume to which they belong, as not only in fact as convenient to the reader, (plates being now chiefly given in a ſeparate atlas,) but as the places are mentioned by various writers; and, in many inſtances, the drawings are new, and repreſent objects not before viſited nor deſcribed.

A GENERAL

A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

A S I A.

THE TRAVELS OF RABBI BENJAMIN,

THE SON OF JONAS OF TUDELA,

THROUGH EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA, FROM SPAIN TO CHINA,

from the Year of our Lord 1160 to 1173.

From the Latin Verſions of BENEDICT ARIAS MONTANUS, and CONSTANTINE L'EMPEREUR, compared with other Tranſlations into different Languages *.

1. *A ſuccinct Account of Benjamin of Tudela, the ſeveral Editions and Tranſlations of his Work, and the Reputation it has acquired.*—2. *The Objections that have been made to the Credit of our Author, and the true State of that Queſtion.*—3. *The Manner in which we propoſe to give the Subſtance of theſe Travels to the Reader.*—4. *The Deſcription of the City of Conſtantinople, the Court of the Greek Emperor, and other Things remarkable there, in the Words of Benjamin of Tudela.*—5. *A ſuccinct Account of his Travels from Conſtantinople to Balſora, or Baſſora.*—6. *His Journey from thence to the Frontiers of Perſia, to the City of Aria; and his Account of the Tomb of the Prophet Daniel.*—7. *The Hiſtory of the celebrated David El Roi, a Native of Aria, who ſet up for the Meſſiah, induced the Jews to revolt from the King of Perſia; of the Miracles ſaid to be performed by him, and of his deplorable End.*—8. *The Route from Aria, and the Mountains of Haphton to the Mountains of Niſbon and the River Oxus, by Hamadan and Iſpahan.*—9. *Deſcription of the Mountains of Niſbon, or Niſbor, inhabited by the Tribes of Dan, Zebulon, Aſhur, and Naphtali. The Hiſtory of the War between the Copheral Turks and the Perſians, together with an Account of Rabbi Moſes.*—10. *Return to*

* Harris, vol. i.

Chuzeſtan, Deſcription of the Iſland of Nekrokis, of the Pearl Fiſhery, of ſeveral Countries in the Indies, of the diabolical Practices of the Natives, and, finally, of the Frozen Sea, or the Sea of China.—11. *Route from Gingala into Ethiopia, and from thence to Grand Cairo.*—12. *A large Deſcription of the City of Mitzraim, or Grand Cairo; the State of the Jews in that Country; of the overflowing of the Nile; of the famous Column for meaſuring the Riſe of that River; the Fertility of the Country of Egypt; the Mouths of the River Nile, and the Situation of the ancient City of Memphis.*—13. *An Account of many other Cities in Egypt; a large Deſcription of Alexandria, and the principal Things there in, with the State of its Commerce at the Time of our Author's being there.*—14. *A conciſe Account of his Return into Europe, and going back into his native Country of Spain.*—15. *Remarks and Obſervations on the foregoing Travels.*

1. THERE are few authors better known to the learned world than our Benjamin, called from the place of his birth Benjamin of Tudela, a very pleaſant town in Navarre, on the confines of the kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon. The Jews, who boaſt very much of our author's work, inform us, that he was the Son of Rabbi Jonas, who was ſettled at Tudela; but they do not acquaint us with the year in which our author was born, of what profeſſion he was, or what induced him to travel. In ſhort, all that at this diſtance of time can be diſcovered on the ſubject, amounts to no more than this, that he began his Travels A. D. 1160, and that he ended them in 1173, which was the very year in which he died.

Theſe Travels of his have been always in great credit amongſt his own countrymen, who never cite them but with the greateſt applauſe; neither have there been wanting ſeveral very learned Chriſtians, who have been of the ſame opinion, to which probably it might be owing, that from A. D. 1543, when it was firſt printed at Conſtantinople, we have had of this book no leſs than ſixteen different editions, and ſome of them by the ableſt critics.

The firſt verſion of it that appeared in Latin was in 1575, by Benedict Arias Montanus, a man of great learning and in high reputation, who in his Preface paid great compliments to the Spaniſh nation on account of the diſcoveries made by them in the moſt diſtant parts of the world.

This, however, did not hinder Conſtantine l'Empereur from making another tranſlation in 1663, with the Hebrew text in the margin, and the addition of very learned notes; notwithſtanding which, many great critics have teſtified an earneſt deſire to ſee another and ſtill correcter verſion, ſince, to ſay the truth, there are ſome apparent errors in this as well as in the former tranſlation, occaſioned, as I conceive, chiefly by the miſtakes that have been made by tranſcribers in the text, where we have many names of countries, cities, and princes that never were heard of in any other author, and therefore are with great reaſon believed to have come by ſome ſuch miſtake into this; the rather, becauſe on comparing ſeveral editions, ſome of theſe errors have been detected and amended, which afforded us room to hope that ſome time or other ſo judicious a critic may ariſe, as will be able to correct them all, and give us this author in his genuine purity.

2. But, notwithſtanding the great reputation of our author, ſome very conſiderable writers, and thoſe too extremely well verſed in Hebrew learning, have attacked this work of his with much vivacity. M. Wagenſeil for inſtance, who wrote a very learned defence of the Chriſtian religion againſt the cavils and aſperſions of the Jews, is pleaſed to ſay of this writer, that whenever he meets with any thing that makes for the honour of his

his nation, he is not only careful to report it in its full extent, but even ventures ſometimes to exceed the truth *.

The famous Hottinger deals as freely, or rather more ſo, with Benjamin; his voyage, ſays he, is puffed up with Jewiſh pride, and the ſole aim of it is to deceive and miſlead the ignorant into an opinion, that obſcure and unknown places are full of the glory of the Jews. He adds farther, that there are many fables and contradictions in the Book, and ſtill more ſtories that are reported upon very ſlender grounds: yet, after all, he concludes, that our author has many things in him that are not to be found elſewhere †.

The very learned Spanheim gives the true character of the work in a few words: It is, ſays he, pretty highly ſeaſoned with fables; but there are many good things in it for all that ‡. This is preciſely the caſe; the Jews, and ſuch as are fond admirers of Rabbinic learning, have cried it up much beyond its real merit; and others again have, for a particular reaſon, run it down beyond all meaſure; nay, they have queſtioned whether our author ever travelled at all, and would perſuade us that he made his book without ſtirring out of Spain; but they would have done well to have ſhewn us how he came by the materials, which I think a much harder taſk than to anſwer all their objections.

His countrymen, it ſeems, frequently quote this book of Benjamin's to ſhew, that the Jews are not yet totally deprived of power, but that there is ſtill a kind of ſovereignty exerciſed by ſome of their nation over their brethren in certain countries of the eaſt; which being ſuppoſed to contradict the famous prophecy relating to the coming of Chriſt, theſe critics will have to be a fable. But if Benjamin had never wrote, the Jews would be able to prove the truth of this in ſtronger terms § than it is aſſerted by him, and yet without overthrowing the application of that prophecy to Jeſus Chriſt; and therefore this is no reaſon to me for depreciating the work at all. He has certainly exaggerated ſome things, and miſtaken many more. What then? we find in him many things curious and entertaining, which we can find no where elſe.

3. Our author, in his firſt chapter, gives us an account of his travels by land from Saragoſſa to Marſeilles. In his ſecond chapter, he tells us that he embarked for Genoa, and proceeded from thence to Rome, of which he gives us a deſcription. He went from that city through the kingdom of Naples to Otranto, and ſailed from thence to the iſland of Corfu, and then paſſed by land through Greece to Conſtantinople, and in his paſſage traverſed the country of Walachia ‖. This takes up his fourth chapter, but as there is nothing very extraordinary in this part of his work, and as we have no room to ſpare, I thought it better to omit theſe chapters than to abridge them, becauſe I muſt have given the ſenſe of the author in my own words, which would not have put it in the reader's power to form any judgment of the writer's ſtyle or manner of writing. In his fifth chapter he gives a long account of the city of Conſtantinople, of the court of the Greek Emperor, and of the ſtate that things were in at the time of his being there, with many other curious particulars, and therefore I have given this chapter at large, accom-

* Not. ad Lipmanni Carman Nizzachon in Tel ign. Sat. pag. 374. This writer is induced to cenſure our author, for the reaſons I have afterwards aſſigned; that is, becauſe he thinks what Benjamin has advanced derogatory from the famous prophecy in the 49th chapter of Geneſis.

† Hiſt. Eccl. Sect. xii. p. 241.

‡ Introd. ad Hiſt. Eccl. Part II. Sæcul. XII. ſect. xiv. p. 370.

§ It appears evidently from the Koran, that there were principalities of the Jews in Arabia at the time that Mohammed ſet up for a prophet, which is certainly as ſtrong as any thing advanced by our author, and is, notwithſtanding, a fact that cannot be diſputed.

‖ The manner and ſtyle of this voyage is a proper ſpecimen of all the Jewiſh writers, who uſe exactly the ſame terms in their narrations; and by affecting to keep cloſe to the names of nations and cities mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, render their own writings very perplexed and obſcure.

panied with ſuch explanatory notes as were requiſite, that I might afford the reader a proper ſpecimen of this performance, without treſpaſſing too much on his time or my own.

4. " From thence we travelled three days journey to Abiro, ſeated upon the ſea-ſhore; and travelling five days journey more among the mountains, one comes to Conſtantinople, an exceeding great city, and the head of the kingdom of Javanites *, or thoſe called Greeks. This is the principal ſeat of the Emperor Emanuel †, whoſe command twelve Kings obey; for every one whereof there are ſeveral palaces at Conſtantinople, and they have alſo fortreſſes and governments, and unto theſe the whole land is ſubject. The principal and chiefeſt is called Apripus, the ſecond Mega Domeſtikutz, the third Dominot, the fourth Mackducus, the fifth Iknomus Megli, and the reſt have names like unto theſe ‡. The compaſs of the city of Conſtantinople containeth eighteen miles, one half of it ſtandeth upon the ſea, but the other half on the continent, and it is ſeated upon two arms of the ſea, into one of which the ſea flows out of Ruſſia, but into the other from Spain, and it is frequented by many traders from the provinces and countries of Babylon, Senaar, Media, Perſia, and all the kingdom of Egypt and land of Canaan, and the kingdoms of Ruſſia, Hungary, and Pſianki, Buria, Lombardy, and Spain.

" The city itſelf is exceſſively populous, unto which merchants reſort out of all countries, travelling thither both by ſea and land. It hath none to compare with it in the world, except Bagdat, that mighty city of the Iſmaelites. Here is the moſt famous temple of St. Sophia, and the Patriarch of the Grecians dwelleth here, nor do they agree in doctrine with the Pope of Rome. There are in it alſo as many altars in number as days in the year; but it hath an exceeding great treaſure, almoſt beyond all eſtimation, by the offerings and riches, yearly brought from divers countries, iſlands, caſtles, forts, and palaces, ſo that the wealth of no temple in the world can be compared with the riches thereof; and in the midſt of the temple there are pillars of gold and ſilver, huge candleſticks, lanthorns, lamps, and other ornaments of theſe precious metals, more than any man is able to reckon. Next adjoining to the walls of the temple, there is a place built for the Emperor's diverſion, called Hippodromus, where yearly upon the birth-day of Jeſus of Nazareth, great ſpectacles are publicly preſented, and there all ſorts of men in all manner of habits of the whole world appear before the King and Queen. Lions alſo, and bears, leopards, and wild aſſes, are brought forth into the place where theſe ſpectacles are to be ſeen, that they may fight together, and birds alſo after the

* This term is made uſe of by the Jews to ſignify the Greeks, becauſe they conceive them to be the deſcendants of Javan; it is their manner of writing, and we muſt be contented with it. It is true, we might have given all this a modern dreſs, but then it would have been no longer the Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, which was what we promiſed.

† This Emperor Emanuel is Manuel Commenes, who aſcended the Imperial throne A. D. 1143, and died in 1180. He was famous for his treachery to the Chriſtian princes engaged in the holy war, but it is very certain that the time of his reign agrees exactly with the time of our author's viſiting the city of Conſtantinople.

‡ There cannot well be any thing more confuſed than this paſſage of our author is at firſt ſight, and yet it is not impoſſible to make tolerable good ſenſe of it. Benjamin thought that as Manuel was an Emperor, his miniſters and governors of provinces ought to be conſidered as equal in ſtate and dignity to kings. There is no doubt great difficulty in tranſcribing Greek words by Hebrew characters, eſpecially where a perſon is not fully maſter of both languages, which was certainly the caſe of our author; and perhaps the errors of the work have been heightened as well as multiplied by ſuch as have copied it. Apripus in the text very probably means Præpoſitus, or Prime Miniſter. Mega Domeſtikutz, is plainly the corruption of Μέγας Δομέστικος, or Great Chamberlain. Dominot ſtands for Dominus. Mackducus is put for Μέγας Δουκας, or Great Duke, and the laſt is intended for Οικόνομος Μέγας, or Lord High Steward.

ſame manner: and my opinion is that in no country of the world ſuch princely ſports are to be ſeen.

"But this King Emanuel, beſides that palace left him by his anceſtors, hath built him another upon the ſea-ſhore, which they call Bilbernæ, the pillars and walls whereof he hath overlaid with beaten gold and ſilver, whereon he hath engraved all the wars made by him and his anceſtors; and he hath prepared a throne there for himſelf of gold and precious ſtones, and hath adorned it with a golden crown hanging on high by gold chains; the compoſure whereof is equal with the throne itſelf, ſo enriched with precious ſtones and pearls, that the price thereof no man is able to value; of ſo great a luſtre, that without the aſſiſtance of light they ſhine, and may be ſeen in the night.

"Moreover there are ſuch valuable things in the ſame place as were incredible if told; and tributes are yearly brought into that palace, wherewith the towers are filled with ſcarlet and purple garments, and gold; ſo that the like example of building and riches can no where elſe be found in the world. And it is affirmed, that the revenue only of this city itſelf, gathered from the markets, haven, and tribute of merchants, amounted to 20,000 crowns a day. Furthermore, the Grecians themſelves, inhabitants of the country, are exceeding rich in gold, and have abundance of precious ſtones, and are dreſſed in moſt ſumptuous apparel, their garments being made of crimſon intermingled with gold, or embroidered with needle-work, and are all carried upon horſes, as if they were the children of Kings. The country itſelf being very large, abounds with all ſorts of fruits, and hath great plenty of corn, fleſh, and wine; nor is there a finer ſpot in the whole world to be found. They are alſo learned and ſkilful in the diſcipline of the Grecians; but giving themſelves wholly to pleaſure, they eat and drink every one under his own vine and under his own fig-tree. Of all the nations which they call barbarians, they have ſoldiers to fight with the Soldan, King of the children of Thogarna, who are commonly called Turks, becauſe they themſelves, through idleneſs and luxury, are become quite unfit for the wars, and ſeem to me more like women than men, through their exceſſive love of pleaſure *.

"But no Jews dwell within the city, for they are excluded from thence by an arm of the ſea of Sophia; they are not ſo much as permitted to come into the city but by boats, and that for the ſake of commerce; and here are about two thouſand Jews Rabbanites, beſides five hundred Karaites on the other ſide. There is a wall to ſeparate them from the Rabbanites, that are the diſciples of wiſe men; and among whom Abtalion the Great, and R. Abdias, and Aaron Cuſpus, and Joſeph Starginus, and Eliakim the governor, have the chief authority. Amongſt theſe ſome are artificers of ſilken garments; but there are many merchants, and thoſe too very rich. No Jew is there permitted to be carried on horſe-back, except Solomon the Egyptian, the King's phyſician, through whoſe intereſt the Jews are comforted and eaſed in their captivity, which they feel to be grievous; for all the Jews are very much hated by the Grecians, without making any difference between the good and evil: but they are worſt uſed by the tanners, who, while they dreſs their ſkins, pour out the filthy water into the ſtreets before their doors. They are in general oppreſſed with a grievous yoke, and are inſulted and beaten in the ſtreets, enduring from every hand abundance of injuries. But among the Jews themſelves ſome are rich, as I have ſaid, and good men, and merciful,

* However ſharp or ſevere this character of the people at Conſtantinople may ſeem, yet it is beyond all queſtion very juſt and well founded, fully ſupports what we have delivered upon this ſubject in the ſixteenth ſection, and is at once a mark of veracity in theſe Travels, and of the author's capacity in judging of what he ſaw.

and

and obſerve the commandments, who patiently endure the miſery of captivity. The place wherein they dwell is called Pera."

5. Our author continued his journey from Conſtantinople to the city of Tyre, from thence to Jeruſalem, and from thence through the Holy Land, of which he gives a very particular deſcription, to the city of Damaſcus; and from thence to Balbeck, which is in the neighbourhood of the ancient Palmyra, which he calls by its old name of Tadmor, and aſſures us, that there were in it, when he paſſed through, two thouſand Jews. He gives us next a copious account of the city of Bagdat, of the court of the Khaliff, and of the condition of the Jews in that city. Then he carries us into the country of Thema, where he places a whole nation of Jews, about which there have been great diſputes; and ſome would have us believe, that the whole is a forgery. However that matter be, as it no way relates to my ſubject, I did not think it requiſite to trouble the reader therewith, eſpecially as there are ſtories enough of the ſame kind in the reſt of the book. In his fifteenth chapter, he acquaints us, that he proceeded to Botzra on the river Tigris, which is plainly Baſſora, or Baſſora, a place frequently mentioned in the preceding part of this work; and from thence he continued his journey through Perſia, as I ſhall acquaint the reader in his own words *.

6. "The river Samoura is eſteemed the limits of the kingdom of Perſia, and near it ſtands a city of the ſame name, wherein dwell fifteen hundred Jews. There is the ſepulchre of Eſdras the ſcribe and prieſt, who died at this place in his return from Jeruſalem to the court of Artaxerxes. Our people have built before this ſepulchre a great ſynagogue; and on the other ſide the Iſhmaelites, i. e. the Arabians, or Mohammedans, have built a moſque; ſo great is their eſteem for Eſdras, and their reſpect for the Iſraelites. It is on this ſcore alſo that the Iſhmaelites reſort hither to pray.

"It is four miles from hence to Chuzeſthan, which is the ſame with Elam, that great city of old; but it is now in ſome meaſure ruined and uninhabited. At one end, but in the midſt of ruins, is Suſa, a caſtle, and formerly the palace of Ahaſuerus; ſome remains of which are yet ſtanding. There are here ſeven thouſand Jews and fourteen ſynagogues, before one of which ſtands the tomb of Daniel. The river Tigris † runs through the city, over which there is a bridge. All the Jews that live on one ſide are very rich, have ſhops extremely well filled, and carry on a great commerce. Thoſe on the other ſide the river are all poor, having neither markets, ſhops, gardens, nor orchards. The ſenſe of their condition threw them once into an inſurrection, from a notion that all the glory and riches of thoſe on the other ſide the river, ſprung from no other cauſe than their having the ſepulchre of the prophet Daniel on their ſide.

"They demanded therefore that this tomb ſhould be transferred to their ſide; but the others vehemently oppoſing this, a war began, of which both ſides growing weary, it was agreed, that the coffin of Daniel ſhould remain one year on one ſide the river, and the next year on the other. This treaty was obſerved till ſuch time as Sanigar Shah, ſon to the great Shah of Perſia, who rules over forty-five Princes, cancelled it. He is called in Arabic Sultan Phars-Al-Chabir, which is as much as to ſay, great Em-

* Our author's Travels, with the remarks neceſſary to explain them, would, if delivered entire, take up a great many ſheets; and for this reaſon it is, and that we may keep the ſubject as much within bounds as poſſible, that we take this method of acquainting the reader with the contents of his work.

† Our author is a little out here in his geography, for the river Tigris does not come near this city; the river he means was anciently called Eulæus, and in the modern maps we find it deſcribed under the name of Coron. It is, in all probability, the ſame as before mentioned, which ſome critics will have to be a river of our author's making; but the truth of the matter is, that the river Coron takes its riſe near a town called Samira, from whence he might hear it called the river of Samira, and ſuch an error, conſidering the times in which he lived, is not very conſiderable.

peror of Perſia. His empire extends from the mouth of the river Samoara to the city of Samarcand, and to the river of Gozan, the province of Gilbor, including the cities of the Medes, the mountains of Haphton, and ſo to the province of Thibet; in the foreſts of which country are found the animals that produce muſk. His empire is four months and four days journey in extent *.

"When therefore this great monarch Sanigar King of Perſia came to Elam, and ſaw them tranſporting the coffin of Daniel from one ſide of the river to the other, with a great crowd of Jews and Iſhmaelites upon the bridge, he demanded what they were doing, and the reaſon of their doing it; and being informed of what has been before related, he decided the point thus: It is by no means decent, ſaid he, that the remains of Daniel ſhould be treated in this manner; meaſure therefore to a place that is at an equal diſtance from both ſides, and there let the coffin of Daniel be ſuſpended in a glaſs-caſe, faſtened to the middle of the bridge by chains of iron, and let there be a ſpacious edifice built in the ſame place in the form of a ſynagogue, open to all people, whether Jews, or of other nations that incline to come thither to ſay their prayers †. As a ſtill ſtronger mark of his eſteem, that Emperor likewiſe forbad, by an expreſs edict, that any man ſhould take fiſh out of the river for one mile below, and another above, for the reverence and honour of Daniel."

From hence to Robad-bar are three days journey, where dwell twenty thouſand Iſraelites, among whom there are very many diſciples of the wiſe men, and alſo ſome of them very rich; but theſe live under the power and authority of a ſtrange Prince. In two days journey from thence you come to the river Vanth, where are four thouſand Jews, or thereabouts; but four days journey from the river lieth the country Molhat, the inhabitants whereof believe not the doctrine of the Iſhmaelites, but they dwell in very ſtrong mountains, and they obey an elder, whoſe ſeat is in the country Alcheſiſin; and among theſe there are four colleges of the Iſraelites, and they go forth to the wars with them; nor are they ſubject to the dominion of the King of Perſia, but live in high mountains, from whence deſcending they invade the bordering countries, and drive away booties, and return again, fearing no man; but the Jews, who dwell among them, are the diſciples of the wiſe men, and obey the head of the captivity of Babylon.

You travel five days journey from hence to Omaria, where are five-and-twenty thouſand Iſraelites; and it is the beginning of the ſynagogues of the inhabitants of the mountains of Haphton, which are known to be more than an hundred in number; and in theſe places the country of Media beginneth; and theſe are of the firſt captivity carried away by King Salmanaſar; but they ſpeak the Chaldee language, and among them are the diſciples of the wiſe men, and the chief city Omaria, pertaining to the kingdom of Perſia, within one day's journey; but they are under the dominion of the King of Perſia, to whom they pay tribute; and the tribute appointed in all the kingdoms of the Iſhmaelites, is for males above fifteen years old, one golden amir, which is in value one Spaniſh morabetine piece of gold and an half, or half a crown of our money.

* This pompous account of an Emperor commanding over forty five Kings is very ſuitable to the genius of a Jewiſh traveller; but the difficulty is to find out who he is of whom all this is ſaid. We read in Elmacinus of a Prince of this name, who was the ſon of a King of Perſia, and flouriſhed about this time; and therefore it is very probable, that this deciſion is to be aſcribed to him in the lifetime of his father, though Benjamin ſeems to attribute it to the Shah, or Emperor himſelf.

† This circumſtance is not in itſelf very conſiderable; but in ſo large a collection as this it was neceſſary to have a writer ſo much talked of as our author, and the reader cannot think his time thrown away in acquiring, by this inſtance, the power of judging of ſuch a performance; for, as I obſerved before, the Jewiſh authors all write alike.

7. It is now twelve years ſince a certain man named David Elroi aroſe in the city of Omaria, who was the diſciple of Chaſdai, the head of the captivity, and of Jacob the honourable head of the aſſembly of Levi, in the metropolitan city of Bagdat; he became very learned in the law of Moſes, and in the books of doctrine, and alſo in all wiſdom; in the language of the Iſhmaelites, and in the books of the magicians and enchanters; he therefore took it in his head that he would raiſe arms againſt the King of Perſia, would gather together the Jews who dwelt in the mountains of Haphton, would war againſt the whole world, and go to Jeruſalem and win it by aſſault; and, that he might perſuade the Jews thereto, he ſhewed them lying and deceitful ſigns, affirming that he was ſent from God to Jeruſalem, and to free them from the yoke of the nations, ſo that with many of the Jews he procured credit unto himſelf, and was owned by them for their Meſſiah *.

The King of Perſia hearing the report of this inſurrection, ſent for him to talk with him, to whom he went without any fear; and it being demanded whether he was the King of the Jews, he boldly anſwered, that he was; and he was thereupon apprehended and caſt into the gaol in which ſtate priſoners are kept all their lives. This priſon is in the city Dabaſtran, nigh the great river Gozan. After three days a council of the princes and miniſters being called by the King, in which they conſulted as to this inſurrection of the Jews, David was preſent there, being eſcaped out of priſon, no man knowing thereof. When the King ſaw him, he demanded, "Who hath brought thee hither, or delivered thee out of priſon?"—"Mine own wiſdom," anſwered he, "for I am not afraid of thee, or of thy ſervants." Then the King cried out to thoſe about him, "Seize him! lay hands on him!" To whom the princes and ſervants anſwered, that his voice was heard by all, but he was ſeen by none †.

The King wondering at his wiſdom, was aſtoniſhed. David then cried out aloud, "Lo! I take my way;" and he began to go before, the King following him, and all the nobility and their ſervants followed the King. When they came to the bank of the river, David ſpreading abroad his handkerchief upon the waters, paſſed over dry, and at that time was ſeen of all. They endeavoured to purſue and take him with little boats, which they attempted in vain; and thence concluded, that no enchanter in the world might be compared to him. As for David he travelled that day ten days journey, coming to Omaria; through the virtue of the ineffable Name ‡, he declared what had befallen unto him to their great amazement.

* This ſtory, as extravagant as it ſeems, is really a matter of fact, and as ſuch is recorded by two Jewiſh hiſtorians; viz. R. Selomo Ben Virga, and R. David Gantz, who place it in A. D. 1135, which, as ſome critics have obſerved, does not agree with the date aſſigned by our author, who ſays, it happened twelve years before he was there. This, however, is no great miſtake, even if we ſhould admit that it is our author's miſtake, though, for my part, I ſhould ſuppoſe it as eaſy for the other writers to err in this particular. The whole, however, may perhaps be ſolved, by ſuppoſing that Benjamin copied the account that he has given us from ſome hiſtory of this impoſtor written twelve years after this inſurrection. However it be, the thing is of no great moment, any more than the difference between the name mentioned by our author, and that of David El David, which is uſed in the other hiſtories.

† There are ſome little variations in the manner in which theſe facts are told by the other hiſtorians; but they are of no great conſequence, and therefore I ſhall not trouble the reader with them, neither ſhould I have mentioned theſe writers at all, but to convince the reader, that this is not a tale invented by Benjamin, as he might otherwiſe very readily imagine.

‡ Both the Latin tranſlators have miſſed the ſenſe as to this name, which the Jews call ineffable, becauſe they are perſuaded that the true pronunciation of the name of God is loſt, or unknown; and they pretend, that whoever has the ſecret of pronouncing it right, is able thereby to work miracles. They likewiſe aſſert, that by this means our Saviour wrought his; and though this be a very idle conceit, yet it is worth the knowing, becauſe it ſhews plainly, that the Jews do not pretend to deny the matters of fact, but are forced to have recourſe to this evaſion, in order to juſtify their incredulity.

But

But the King of the Perſians ſending meſſengers unto Bagdat, informed the great Khaliff of the Iſhmaelites of this matter, and requeſted that he would cauſe David Elroi to be reſtrained from ſuch enterprizes, by the head of the captivity, and the chief rulers of the aſſemblies, otherwiſe he threatened total deſtruction to all the Jews living in the kingdom of Perſia. All the ſynagogues of the kingdom of Perſia falling thereupon into great fear of the matter, ſent letters therefore unto the heads of the captivity, and to the heads of all the aſſemblies in Bagdat to this purpoſe: "Why ſhould we die before your eyes, as well we as all the univerſities ſubject unto this kingdom? Reſtrain this man, we beſeech you, leſt innocent blood be ſhed." Therefore the head of the captivity, and the chief rulers of the aſſemblies, wrote letters unto David Elroi to the following effect: "We give you hereby to underſtand, that the time of our deliverance is not yet come, and that our ſigns, which ought to precede that deliverance, are not yet ſeen, and a man is not made ſtrong through pride; wherefore we enjoin you to abſtain wholly from ſuch enterpriſe and attempts, otherwiſe ye ſhall be excommunicated, and cut off from all Iſrael."

They alſo by meſſengers advertiſed Zachai Hanaſſi, who was in the country of Aſſur, and Joſeph, ſurnamed the Seer, Burhan Alpelech living there, that David Elroi might be reſtrained by letters written from them, which was diligently purſued by them, but all in vain; for he could not forſake that wicked way, but perſiſted till a certain King of the Togarmim called Zinaldin, ſubject to the King of Perſia, ſent 10,000 pieces of gold unto the father-in-law of David Elroi, and perſuaded him to end theſe troubles by privately killing his ſon-in-law, which, when he had undertaken to perform, he thruſt David through with a ſword in his bed as he ſlept; and this was the end of all his ſubtilty and deluſions *. But even when he was dead the anger of the King of Perſia was not appeaſed towards thoſe people of the mountains, and other Jews ſubject to him and ſettled in his dominion; and therefore they deſired once more help from the head of the captivity, who, going to the King himſelf, appeaſed him by mild and wiſe ſpeeches; and, having preſented him with 100 talents of gold, he ſo mollified him, that there was ever afterwards great quietneſs through the whole country.

8. From theſe mountains before deſcribed you travel ten days journey to Hamadan, the principal city of the country of Media, in which city there are about fifty thouſand Jews; and in that city over againſt one of the ſynagogues are the ſepulchres of Mordecai and Eſther. Dabreſtan is four days journey diſtant from hence, where four thouſand Jews dwell, nigh unto the river Gozan; but from thence you travel ſeven days journey to Iſpahan, a very great city, the capital of this country, and twelve miles in compaſs, wherein there are about twelve thouſand Iſraelites, over whom Shallum is appointed by the head of the captivity, as alſo over the reſt of the Iſraelites who dwell in the cities of Perſia. After four days journey you come to Siaphaz †, the moſt antient in this country, called Perſidis of old, from whence the name was given to the whole province, in which there are almoſt ten thouſand Jews.

From Siaphaz, in ſeven days journey, you come to the city Ginah, ſeated nigh the river Gozan, to which there reſort merchants of all nations and languages, and where

* The authors we have before cited tell us the ſame ſtory as to the death of this impoſtor, but with a circumſtance that Benjamin has omitted, which is, that the Jews themſelves were obliged to raiſe the 10,000 pieces of gold that were given as a bribe to the father-in-law of David, for killing him when he was aſleep.

† All the tranſlators and commentators on our author have been at a loſs to conceive what place he could mean by this; and yet I think the difficulty is not quite ſo great as they repreſent it; for to me it appears very plain that this city was Schizar, which anſwers directly his deſcription. As for confuſion in names, I have already aſſigned the cauſe of it; which was his expreſſing in Hebrew characters, words that theſe characters could not expreſs, and in expreſſing which words he was entirely governed by their ſound.

are about eight thouſand Jews. The farthеſt city of this kingdom is the famous Samarcand; and five days journey from Ginah, where are fifty thouſand Iſraelites, over whom Obdias ruleth; and among them there are many wiſe and rich men. In four days journey from hence you come to Thibet, a capital city of the province of the ſame name, in the foreſts of which are the animals found that produce muſk.

9. About twenty-eight days journey from thence lie the mountains of Niſbor, which are ſituated near the river Gozan; and ſome of the Jews that inhabit Perſia affirm, that in the cities of Niſbor dwell the four tribes of Iſrael, carried away in the firſt captivity by Salmanaſar the King of the Aſſyrians, viz. Dan, Zebulon, Aſſur, and Naphtali, as it is written, "And he carried them away into Lechalach and Habor, the mountains of Gozan, and the mountains of Media." Their country is extended twenty days journey in length, with many cities and caſtles inhabited, all mountainous, the river Gozan running on the one ſide; but the inhabitants are abſolutely free, and are ruled by a certain governor, whoſe name was at this time Joſeph Amracla, a Levite, and among them are the diſciples of wiſe men: they ſow and reap, and are at war with the children of Chus, who dwell in the deſarts. They are in league with the Copheral Turks, worſhippers of the winds, a people who lead their lives in the deſarts, neither eat bread nor drink wine, but feed on the raw fleſh of beaſts, as well clean as unclean; and theſe either new killed, and yet trembling with life-blood, or dried in the air, but unboiled. They devour alſo the limbs torn from beaſts yet alive. They ſeem to want noſes; but inſtead thereof, they have two holes in their faces, through which they breathe. They are friends to the Iſraelites *.

It happened about fifteen years ſince, that, invading the country of Perſia with a great army, they vanquiſhed the metropolitan city Rei; and, having made a mighty ſlaughter afterwards, utterly waſted it, and ſpoiled the houſes and fields, and carried away a prodigious plunder, returning through the deſarts, a calamity which for many ages was never felt in Perſia. The King of Perſia, vehemently enraged, ſaid, "In the days of my anceſtors, no army ever came out of this deſart, therefore will I go in purſuit of them and deſtroy them from the earth." He aſſembled accordingly an army for war, and ſeeking ſome guide to whom the places of that nation were known, a certain man offered himſelf, who affirmed, that he was of that nation, and knew their dwellings; but being aſked what proviſion was neceſſary for the army, he anſwered, "Bread and water for fifteen days, which you muſt ſpend in paſſing through the deſarts." When they had marched theſe fifteen days, the army found themſelves deſtitute of ſubſiſtence for men or beaſts, without ſeeing any thing of the place whither they intended to go, or the leaſt ſigns of an inhabited country. The guide was aſked for by the King, who ſaid to him, "You ſee how well you have kept your word; tell us where are our enemies that you aſſured us you could diſcover?" The guide ſaid by way of excuſe, "I have loſt my way;" and the King thereupon loſing all patience, ordered him to be put to death, commanding at the ſame time by proclamation, that whoever had any proviſions in his army ſhould bring them forth, and divide them with his companions †.

They

* This, without doubt, is a very odd deſcription of theſe people, and yet it is not very far wide of the truth; for modern travellers aſſure us, that the Kalmuc Tartars have noſes ſo flat that they are ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed but by the riſing of the noſtrils; and as to their manners, our author is not much out of the way. The city he ſpeaks of as ruined by the people was the great city of Rey, which makes ſuch a figure in all the eaſtern hiſtorians; the ſame that in the book of Tobit is called Rhages, and of which we ſhall give an ample account in the next volume.

† This expedition is among the ſingularities which render theſe Travels valuable; for I do not know that there is any account of it to be met with elſewhere; and our author tells us very honeſtly how he came by

They then ate up all that they had, even to the beaſts that carried their baggage; and in this diſtreſſed condition they proſecuted their March for thirteen days more, till at laſt they arrived at the mountains of Niſbor, inhabited by the Jews. The Perſians encamped themſelves among the gardens and orchards by the ſide of canals drawn from the river Gozan. As it was then the ſeaſon of ripe fruits, they ate what they thought fit, and made free with all they found, nobody coming out to oppoſe them; but at a diſtance they diſcovered among the mountains ſeveral hamlets, and ſome forts that looked like places of ſtrength. The King of Perſia being informed of all this, ſent two of his ſervants to diſcover what nation it was that had ſettled in theſe mountains, and directed them for this purpoſe to paſs the river either by boats, if they found any, or if not, by ſwimming.

Theſe men had not proceeded far in their journey before they met with a bridge that was very well built, and had a good barrier; and on the other ſide of the bridge they ſaw a very large city; they immediately called out, and the town's-people coming to the gate, demanded who they were, and to whom they belonged; but as they underſtood not each other's language, they were forced to wait till an interpreter was called, who underſtood the Perſian tongue; he having put the ſame queſtion, they anſwered, "We are ſervants to the King of Perſia, and we come to know who you are, and who is your Lord?" The townſmen replied, "We are Jews, and not ſubject to any King or Prince of the gentiles, but we have a Prince of our own." The Perſians then informed themſelves as to the Copheral Turks, and the Jews told them, that they were their allies, and that whoever were their enemies they muſt regard as enemies to themſelves. Theſe two men returning to the camp, and having reported to the King what they had diſcovered, he was very much at a loſs how to proceed. The Jews on the next day collected their forces, and the day following offered them battle.

The King declined fighting, and addreſſed himſelf to the Jewiſh chiefs in the following words: "I do not come to make war againſt you, but only againſt the Copheral Turks my enemies: but if you proceed to commit hoſtilities againſt me, I will revenge myſelf by putting to death all the Jews in my kingdom; for I know that as things ſtand here, you will be too hard for me; but let me adviſe you to prefer peace to war; ſuffer me to proceed in my expedition againſt the Copheral Turks my enemies, and ſupply me and my army, for ready money, with what we want." The Jews having conſidered this propoſition among themſelves, reſolved, out of regard to their brethren, to yield to the King of Perſia's propoſal. The King therefore being admitted with all his army into their country, ſpent fifteen days there, being honourably entertained among them.

But in the mean time the Jews declared the whole matter by meſſengers and letters unto their confederates. The Turks thereupon gathering their forces together expected the enemy at the paſſage of the mountains, and in a convenient place for that purpoſe they attacked and gave the Perſians ſo mighty an overthrow, that the King's army being ruined, they compelled him to return into his own country with a very ſmall number.

But it happened that a Jew of this province, named Moſes, being ſeduced by a certain Perſian horſeman, followed the King of Perſia, and when they came into Perſia he was made a ſlave by the ſame horſeman. But when at a time of public diverſion

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by it; neither do I think that the dexterity with which his countrymen the Jews made their court to both parties, is a circumſtance that, in the opinion of ſuch as are acquainted with that nation, will render it at all improbable.

they exercised their bows in the presence of the King, this Moses appeared the most excellent archer in Persia; he was thereupon examined by an interpreter, and openly declared to the King the manner of his being seduced, and his condition, whereon he was presently enfranchised, clothed with purple and silk garments, and enriched with royal gifts; and was offered likewise, if he would embrace their religion, great riches, and the government of the King's house; which, when he courteously denied to do, he was placed by the King with R. Shallom, the prince of the synagogue at Ispahan, whose daughter also he married by consent of the father. This very Moses it was who told me all that I have related.

10. When I departed out of these countries I returned into Chuzestan, through which the river Tigris runs, falling from thence into Hodu, or the Indian sea; and in its passage thither encompasses the island Nekrokis *, near the mouth thereof, which island is in extent six days journey. There is in it only one canal of fresh water, and they drink no other than what is gathered from the showers, which is the reason that land is neither sowed nor tilled; and yet it is very famous through the commerce of the Indians and Islands seated in the Indian sea, and merchants of the country of Senaar, Arabia the Happy, and Persia, bringing thither all sorts of silk and purple manufactures, hemp, cotton, flax, and Indian cloth; wheat, barley, millet, and rice in great plenty, which they barter and sell among themselves: but the Indian merchants bring also exceeding great plenty of spices thither, and the natives act as factors and interpreters, and by this they live; but in that place there are not above five hundred Jews. Sailing thence with a prosperous wind, in ten days I was brought to Kathipha, where are five thousand Jews.

In these places pearls are found, made by the wonderful artifice of Nature: for on the four-and-twentieth day of the month Nisan, a certain dew falleth into the waters, which being sucked in by the oysters, they immediately sink to the bottom of the sea; afterwards, about the middle of the month of Tisri, men descend to the bottom of the sea, and, by the help of cords, these men bringing up the oysters in great quantities from thence, open and take out of them the pearls †.

In seven days journey from thence I came to Oulam, which is the entrance of their kingdom, who worship the Sun, and are prone to the study of astrology, being the children of Chus. They are men of a dark complexion, sincere tempers, and of very great fidelity in all respects. They have among them this custom, that such as come to them from remote countries, when received into the haven, have their names set down in writing by three secretaries, who carry their lists to the King, and afterwards bring the merchants themselves, whose merchandise being received into his protection, the King directs them to be landed, and left on the shore, where they remain without any

* There is no passage in the Travels of Benjamin more perplexed than this description of the island of Nekrokis, about which all his commentators are divided in their sentiments. That which hitherto has been thought most probable is, that he means the island of Ormuz, which, without doubt, was once a place of great trade, and was always destitute of water. It is however more credible that he means the city and country of Bassora, because he places it at the mouth of the river Tigris, makes it the centre of the Indian commerce, and mentions precisely the commodities of which that city was the staple.

† This description has also gravelled many of the commentators. The word used in the Hebrew is Bdellia; and from the description there is no sort of doubt that our author meant pearls. The account he has given of their formation, how wild and extravagant soever it may appear, is however that which is embraced by the most learned of his countrymen. Their opinion, in few words, is this: they hold, that at a certain season of the year there is an oily, spirituous, and briny substance, floats on the surface of the sea, which being swallowed by the oysters, or rather sucked in, as our author expresses it, turns afterwards to a pearl. Thus far, without doubt, they have truth on their side, that such a substance is sometimes seen floating on this and other seas, the drops of which, at first sight, resemble liquid pearl.

watch

watch to keep them. There is alſo a magiſtrate unto whom all things that are loſt, or caſually removed, are conſtantly brought, and of him they are eaſily received by the owner, ſo that certain tokens be ſhewed whereby the loſt thing may be made known; and this ſtrict fidelity and honeſt dealing is common through all the kingdom.

In this country, from Eaſter to the beginning of the ſucceeding year, the ſun ſhines with outrageous heat; and therefore, from the third hour of the day until the evening, all men remain ſhut up in their houſes. But about that time lamps being lighted, and ſet in order throughout all the ſtreets and markets, they work and exerciſe their reſpective arts and callings all the night; for, as I ſaid, they cannot do it in the day-time by reaſon of the exceeding heat. It is in this country that pepper grows upon trees planted by the inhabitants in the fields belonging to every city, and their proper gardens are particularly aſſigned and known. The ſhrub itſelf is ſmall, and brings forth a white ſeed, which being gathered, is put into baſons ſteeped in hot water, and is ſet forth in the ſun, that it may be dried and hardened, acquiring thereby a black colour. Cinnamon and ginger are likewiſe found there, as well as many other kind of ſpices.

The inhabitants of this country do not bury their dead, but, having embalmed their bodies with divers ſorts of drugs and ſpices, they place them in niches, and cover them with nets ſet in order according to their ſeveral families; but their fleſh drieth with the bones, and when grown ſtiff, they ſeem as if they were alive, and every one knows their anceſtors for many deſcents *. But as to their religion, or rather ſuperſtition, they worſhip the ſun, and have many and great altars built along the coaſt about half a mile without the city. Early in the morning therefore they go in crowds to pay their devotion to the ſun, to whom upon all the altars are the ſpheres conſecrated, made by magic, reſembling the circle of the ſun; and when the ſun riſes theſe orbs ſeem to be inflamed, and turn round with a great noiſe †. They have every one a cenſer in their hands, as well women as men, and all together offer incenſe to the Sun: ſuch and ſo great is their folly. But among theſe people, the Jews, who are ſettled, at the moſt amount to a thouſand families in all; they are of as black a colour as the inhabitants themſelves, yet are nevertheleſs good honeſt men, and ſtrict obſervers of the commandments of the law of Moſes; and are not altogether unſkilful in the books of doctrine and cuſtoms commonly called the Talmud.

From this country in two-and-twenty days I ſailed unto the Iſlands Cinrag, the inhabitants of which worſhip the fire, and are called Dogbiim, among whom twenty-three thouſand Jews are ſettled. The Dogbiim have prieſts in every place to officiate in their temples; and theſe prieſts are the moſt ſkilful ſorcerers and inchanters in the whole world. Before every temple there is a large pit, in which a mighty fire is lighted every day, which they call Alhuta, and they make their children paſs through this fire to purge them, and alſo caſt their dead into the midſt of this fire to be there burned: nay, there are ſome of the nobility who ſolemnly devote themſelves to be conſumed in this fire alive.

* It appears from this account, that theſe people were Perſees, neither is there any thing in what he relates that is not very eaſily reconcileable to the truth; for all writers that pretend to give us an account of the religion of the antient Perſians agree, that they did not bury their dead, but left them expoſed to the elements, from this principle, that the living man being a compound of all the elements, it was but reaſonable, after he was dead, that each element ſhould recover its own.

† This is another Jewiſh notion agreeable to their ignorance in thoſe days, which made them aſcribe every thing they did not perfectly underſtand to witchcraft. As to theſe ſpheres they were really very wonderful things, being ſo contrived as to ſhew the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, and the motions of the heavenly bodies. They were made and kept by the Magi, who made uſe of them to ſtrike the vulgar with aſtoniſhment, and to inſtruct their diſciples in the ſcience of aſtronomy.

When a man who has taken this reſolution, declares ſuch his intended devotion to his acquaintance and kindred, they preſently ſalute him in theſe words: Bleſſed art thou, and it ſhall be well with thee. On the day the vow is to be performed, having firſt given an entertainment, he is carried, if rich, on horſe-back; but if he be poor, he is brought on foot, accompanied with a multitude of his friends and others unto the brink of the pit, from whence beginning his career, he leaps into the fire, at which all his friends and kindred rejoice exceedingly, and with all ſorts of muſick and dancing, celebrate the feaſt, until he be wholly conſumed. But the ſtrangeſt part of the ſtory is to come; for three days after two of the chief prieſts going unto his houſe, command the whole family to prepare for the reception of their father, who is coming to viſit them the ſame day, and declare to them what they are to do on this occaſion: they call to them certain perſons to be witneſſes out of the city, and bring ſomething reſembling the deceaſed, of whom the wife and children demandeth how it fareth with him in the other world, to whom he anſwers, I came unto my companions, by whom I am not received until I diſcharge my duty to my friends and kindred. He then diſtributes his goods to his children, and orders all the debts to be paid to his creditors, and whatever is owing to him to be demanded, the witneſſes ſetting down in writing all his inſtructions, of whom, notwithſtanding, he is not ſeen: and then ſaying he will go his way again, he vaniſheth *. By theſe arts (in which there is nothing but juggling and colluſion) the prieſts govern all.

In the ſpace of forty days one may travel from hence by land to the frontiers of Tzin that is, to the borders of China, which is the very extremity of the Eaſt. Some hold that this country is waſhed by the Nikpha, or coagulated ſea, which is liable to prodigious ſtorms, by which, when mariners are ſurprized, they are caſt frequently into ſuch ſtraights, that not being able to go out, they are, after expending all their proviſions, miſerably ſtarved to death †.

At firſt ſight there is nothing in this paſſage that will ſeem very extraordinary to the reader, and yet after a little reflection it will appear of conſiderable uſe. This coagulated ſea is no other than the Icy or Frozen Sea on the coaſt of Tartary and Ruſſia to the north of China, and through which the north-eaſt paſſage, ſo often ſought to little purpoſe, is ſuppoſed to lie. It appears clearly from hence, that before this time ſome attempts had been made on that ſide, and that ſeveral ſhips had been frozen, and their crews periſhed; whence the oriental name of Nikpha, or congealed ſea, which Benjamin gives it. It muſt be confeſſed, that our author has a very romantic way of expreſſing even the plaineſt facts; but at the ſame time we ought to conſider, that this was not only the vice of all the writers of his country, but of the age in general in which he flouriſhed, ſo that he is the more excuſable; and at the ſame time the reader will be ſo juſt as to remember, that we do not inſert his travels as the beſt, but as the only travels

* This is pretty evident from the manner in which Benjamin tells this ſtory, that he ſuſpected the prieſts impoſed upon the people, as without doubt they did. The witneſſes were perſons in the confederacy, and the terror of the family was probably ſo great, and their prejudice ſo ſtrong, that with tolerable management this ſcene might be carried through, and little or nothing of the fraud be diſcovered. Beſides, whoever had attempted to diſcloſe the cheat, would have been conſidered as an impious perſon, and a declared an enemy to the religion of his country. It would be no difficult matter to ſhew, from the abſurdities that have paſſed upon other nations, the poſſibility of tranſacting an impoſture of this kind, as the intelligent reader will eaſily conceive.

† Our author has added a ſtory here concerning the Gryphons, ſo very ridiculous, and of ſuch an extent, that I could not prevail upon myſelf to inſert it. It is plain enough from his account, that he does not pretend to have travelled into China, but barely to relate what he had heard of it. The extent of his travels ſeems to have been Cape Commorin, or of ſome of the countries near it, from whence he took ſhipping for the oppoſite coaſt of Africa.

we have in this period of time, which muſt acquit us in the judgment of the impartial from all objections that might be otherwiſe made from the contents of this performance. But to proceed.

11. It is three days journey to Gingala, where there are about a thouſand Iſraelites; from thence in ſeven days you ſail to Coulan, where there are none of our countrymen. It is from thence twelve days journey to Zabid, where there are ſome few Jews. It is from thence eight days journey to the Indies on the oppoſite coaſt (by which our author means Ethiopia). In this country there are very high mountains inhabited by multitudes of Iſraelites, who are not under the yoke of the Gentiles, but have here great cities and ſtrong fortreſſes. They deſcend from thence in parties into the flat countries of Abyſſinia, which are under the dominion of the Edomites, (which is the name the Jews beſtow upon all Chriſtians,) where, having acquired as much as they can by plunder, they return with their booty into the mountains where they are abſolutely ſafe from all purſuits. Many of theſe Jews travel on the ſcore of commerce into Perſia and Egypt *.

It is from thence to the land of Afvan twenty days journey through the deſarts of Saba, which lie on the river Phiſon, which comes from the country of Chus; the inhabitants of which are ſubject to a prince, who is ſtiled Shah-Abaſch, i. e. the King of Abyſſinia. Part of the inhabitants of this country live like beaſts, they feed only on the graſs and herbs that grow along the river-ſide, are quite naked, and as if their miſeries had deprived them of common ſenſe, they propagate their kind with their ſiſters and neareſt relations, without the leaſt ſhame or ſcruple. The climate of this country is exceſſively hot. When the people of Afvan make their expeditions into theſe parts for the ſake of plunder, and what they can carry away; they conſtantly take with them bread, rice, dried raiſins, and figs. Theſe they throw in large quantities among the half-famiſhed blacks, whom, while they ſcramble for them like dogs, they ſeize and carry away priſoners, and ſell them in Egypt and other countries. Theſe are the negroes, or black ſlaves, the poſterity of Ham. It is twelve days journey from Afvan to Chelvan, in which there are about three hundred Jews.

From Chelvan they go in caravans fifty days journey through the deſart called Al Tfachra, or Zaara, to the province called Zuila, which is Havilah, in the land of Gana, i. e. Guincy. In theſe deſarts there are vaſt mountains of ſand, which, being carried by the force of violent tempeſts, ſometimes overwhelm whole caravans, and bury under them all the paſſengers. Such of the merchants as eſcape this perilous journey bring with them from that country, iron, copper, ſalt and all ſorts of fruits and pulſe; and they likewiſe bring gold and precious ſtones. This country is part of the land of Chus, and lies to the Weſt of Abyſſinia. It is thirteen days journey from Chelvan to the city of Kous, which is the firſt in the land of Egypt, where there are ſettled about thirty thouſand Jews. At the diſtance of five days journey is Phium, anciently called Pithom. In the neighbourhood of this city are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of thoſe ancient ſtructures that were built by our anceſtors during their captivity in Egypt.

12. Four days journey from thence ſtands the great city of Miſraim, or Cairo, ſituated on the banks of the river Nile, in which there are ſettled about two thouſand

* There is no doubt to be made from what Benjamin relates, that he followed the old opinion, according to which Ethiopa was looked upon as part of the Indies; and with regard to what he tells us of the Jews being ſettled in the mountains there, it is fully juſtified both by the antient and modern accounts of that country, as is alſo the following circumſtances in relation to the paſſage of caravans through the deſarts, and the accidents to which they are ſometimes ſubject in paſſing through them. His readineſs to aſcribe the ſlavery of the negroes to the curſe pronounced by Noah on Ham and his poſterity, is very agreeable to the divinity and ſpirit of the Jews.

Jews, who have in this city two fair ſynagogues, one belonging to the Jews of Paleſtine and Syria, the other to thoſe of the country of Babylon. Theſe two ſorts of Jews differ only in the diviſion of the law into ſections; for the Babylonians every week read one Paraſcha after the manner which is common throughout all Spain; and therefore once every year they finiſh the law: but the Iſraelites of Syria divide every Paraſcha into three Sedarim, or ſmaller ſections, and ſo they read over the law only once in three years; and both theſe after a ſolemn manner twice in the year join in their prayers together, *viz.* upon the day of the rejoicing of the law, and on the feſtival day of the law given. Over all theſe Nathaniel hath the chief authority, being the greateſt of the nobility, and head of the aſſembly, who rules all the ſynagogues in Egypt, and appoints maſters and elders.

He is alſo the miniſter of the great king, who reſides in the palace of Zoan (which is a city of Egypt, wherein Ali the ſon of Abitaleb was once commander of the faithful) whoſe ſubjects are ſtyled rebels by the other Arabs, becauſe they refuſe obedience to the Abiſſidian Khaliff, whoſe ſeat is Bagdat. There is an irreconcileable enmity between theſe princes. This monarch appears in public twice in the year, *viz.* at the time of their feaſt of Eaſter, and when the river Nile overflows *.

The royal city itſelf is encompaſſed and fortified with walls, but Miſraim is without walls, ſurrounded by the river Nile on the one ſide. This is a very large city, furniſhed with many market-places and publick buildings; and here are many rich Jews. The country itſelf is never troubled with rain, ice, or ſnow, but is often afflicted with outrageous heat. It is watered by the Nile, which once every year ſwelling in the month Elul covers and overflows all the land for fifteen days journey, the waters continuing to riſe in the months of Elul and Tiſri, and making the earth fruitful: and the policy and diligence of the old Egyptians was ſuch, that in an iſland which the river makes here, a pillar was by them erected of fine marble and excellent workmanſhip, raiſed twelve cubits above the ſurface of the river. When therefore the waters overflow and cover that column, the inhabitants are fully ſatisfied that the whole extent of their country for fifteen days journey is entirely overſpread. If the water riſe but half the height of the pillar, they gather from thence that their country is but half watered. There is a man ſtands by the pillar, and every day at noon proclaims in all parts of the city the height of the water in this form, "Be thankful to God, the river is riſen ſo many cubits."

If the water riſes to the top of the column, it is a ſign that the year will be fertile throughout all Egypt. At this ſeaſon whoever has any land, hires workmen to cut a trench through his ground into which, as the water riſes, the fiſh are carried, and are left therein; when the river ſinks, then the owners of the lands take them out, and either ſpend them in their families, or ſell them to ſuch as ſalt and export them. Theſe fiſh are exceedingly large and fat, and the very beſt people in the country make uſe of the oil drawn from them to burn in their lamps. If it falls out, as it frequently does, that people eat too much of theſe fiſh, they have nothing more to do than to drink

* There is not a paſſage in all our author's work which has been more conteſted than this with regard to the Khaliff then reigning in Egypt; and ſome have gone ſo far as to produce it as a direct proof of his never having travelled at all; but I cannot help ſaying, that though the critics have a right to amend what is amiſs in the copies of any author which they publiſh, yet I cannot conceive they have any authority firſt of all to impoſe their own ſenſe upon a paſſage, and then produce it to the prejudice of the author, whoſe credit they would deſtroy. We ſhall ſhew hereafter, that in the preſent caſe there is no ground for ſuch a ſuggeſtion; but that what our author has delivered may be well reconciled to the current of hiſtory, without any alteration whatever.

largely

largely of the water of the Nile, which immediately removes that inconvenience. It has been an old queſtion, and a great diverſity of opinions there has been concerning the overflowing of the Nile, but the Egyptians ſuppoſe, that at the time when this river overflows, heavy rains fall in the higher countries, that is in the land of Habahs, which we call Havilah; at the time the river does not overflow, nothing is ſown in Egypt, and hereupon ſterility and famine follow.

But uſually the fields are ſowed in the month of September, the Nile being then retired into its channel; but barley is reaped in the month of February, and wheat the next month after, and in the ſame month cherries are ripe, as are alſo almonds and cucumbers, gourds, peaſecods and beans, lentils, &c. and divers kinds of pot-herbs, as purſlain, aſparagus, and lettice, corianders, ſuccory, coleworts and grapes; but the gardens and orchards throughout Egypt are watered, and trenches filled with the waters of the river *.

This great river, after paſſing through the city Miſraim or Cairo, is divided into four heads, one whereof runneth by Damiata, ſometime called Caphtor, nigh unto which it falleth into the ſea. The ſecond runneth down into the city Raſir, not far from Alexandria, and there diſcharges itſelf into the ſea. The third paſſeth by Aſmon, a very great city on the borders of Egypt, nigh which heads of the river many cities, caſtles, and towns, are ſeated on either ſide, and people may travel to them all either by boat or land. No country in the whole world can be compared to this for the multitude of inhabitants, and all the country of Egypt is plain, fruitful and well-ſtored with good things. Old Miſraim is two leagues diſtant from the New Miſraim, but it is waſted and deſolate: yet there are many ruins of the walls and houſes, and not a few monuments there of the treaſuries and ſtorehouſes of Joſeph, yet to be ſeen. In the ſame place there is an artificial pillar built by art magic, like which there is none in all the land. Without the compaſs of the city ſtands a ſynagogue, which bears the name of Moſes our teacher, of ancient date; to preſerve the ruins that yet remain, a certain old miniſter, a diſciple of the wiſe men, is there maintained, who from his office is ſtyled Sehech Albounetzar, or "the father of the watch." The ruins of Old Miſraim take up a ſpace of about three miles.

13. The land of Goſhen is no more than eight leagues from hence, and therein ſtands Bolſir Salbis, a great city, in which there are three thouſand Jews. From hence you travel half a day's journey to Iſkaal Lein Al Sames, which was anciently called Rameſes, where now are only the ruins of a city, in which many works are ſeen built by our fathers, and among theſe certain huge edifices like towers made of brick. From thence you make one whole day's journey to Al-Buyg, where are two hundred Jews; and from hence in half a day's journey you come to Manziptha, where are two hundred Jews, from which city Ramira is four leagues diſtant, and in it there are ſeven hundred Jews, from whence it is five days journey to Lamhala, where are five hundred Iſraelites.

* In the ſubſequent part of this work, we ſhall have more than once occaſion to mention moſt of the circumſtances that our author hath recorded, and to compare the reports of later travellers with his. The reaſon of this note is, to take notice of a particular which our author has omitted, and which however the reader may be glad to know. It is this, the Nile is of ſo great conſequence to the Egyptians, that they have always had a very ſuperſtitious regard to it, inſomuch that they fancied the riſe and fall of this river not only portended the fertility or ſcarceneſs of the ſucceeding year, but likewiſe great revolutions of ſtate. It is certain that it did not overflow in the tenth year of the reign of Cleopatra, which might ſeem to predict the conqueſt of that country by the Romans, that ſoon after followed; but then the ſame accident happened in the time of Trajan, when nothing remarkable followed it. Beſides, we read of no ſcarcity in Egypt before the conqueſt of it by the Arabs, or deſtruction of the Khaliffs of the family of Ali, which was brought about by Saladin; ſo that this ought to be conſidered as an abſurd and ridiculous opinion, as moſt of theſe notions are.

Two days journey more bring you to Alexandria, a city called after the name of Alexander the Macedonian, at whoſe command we read it was built and ſtrongly fortified, and adorned with walls admirably finiſhed, houſes uniformly built, and ſtately palaces: without the city a great and beautiful building is yet to be ſeen, which is reported to have been the college of Ariſtotle, the maſter of Alexander, wherein there are almoſt twenty ſchools, which were frequented in former times by the learned men of the whole world, who aſſembled there to learn the philoſophy of Ariſtotle; and his academy had ſtately porticoes of marble pillars *. The city itſelf is excellently built as well from the pavement of the ground, as with vaults and arches under ground, through the hidden paſſages whereof men may come into the market-places and not be ſeen; of which ſome are a whole mile in length, as from the gate Reſid unto the gate leading to the ſea, from which gate a way was made and paved unto the very haven of the city of Alexandria, which is extended one mile within the ſea.

In this place a very high tower was built, which the inhabitants call Hemagarah, but the Arabians Magar Alexandria, that is, the Pharos of Alexandria; on the top of which tower it is reported that Alexander ſet a curious mirror, in which all warlike ſhips ſailing either out of Græcia or from the weſt unto Egypt might be ſeen above the ſpace of five hundred leagues †. This continued for a long time after the death of Alexander. It fell out however that a ſhip coming hither under the command of a certain Greek captain, who had a great knowledge in the ſciences, came and caſt anchor in that port; and having made preſents to the King, of gold, ſilver, and very rich ſilks, he thereby obtained his favour. While he lay in the port, he took abundance of pains to ingratiate himſelf with the officer, who had the charge of this watch-tower and mirror; and having frequently entertained him on board his ſhip, contracted with him at laſt ſuch an intimacy, that he was permitted to go and ſtay in the tower as long as he thought fit. One day having feaſted the captain and his men very magnificently, he doſed them at laſt ſo plentifully with ſtrong wine, that they all fell faſt a ſleep. Having thus carried his point, the captain and his crew firſt broke the mirror to pieces, and then weighed anchor and ſailed away in the night.

Since that time the Edomites, i. e. the Chriſtians, have infeſted the coaſts of Egypt with their ſhips of war and privateers, and have deprived the ſovereigns of this country of the two great iſlands of Crete and Cyprus, which remain at this day under the power of the Greeks, from whom the preſent poſſeſſors of Egypt have not been able to recover them. This watch-tower is ſtill uſed as a beacon for the ſervice of ſuch ſhips as are bound to Alexandria; for they are able to diſcern it at the diſtance of one hundred miles by day and night, in conſequence of a vaſt fire which is kept continually burning for that purpoſe.

This country enjoys a large ſhare of trade, and is frequented by all nations for the ſake of commerce. The port of Alexandria ſwarms with veſſels from all parts of Idumæa, i. e. Chriſtendom; viz. from Valencia, Tuſcany, Lombardy, Apulia, Malfi, and Sicily; others come from the moſt northern and ſome inland parts of Europe, as

* Our author had this notion of the ſchool of Ariſtotle from the Mohammedans, ſo that whether it be wrong or right, he is not anſwerable for it. But with regard to the fact, it is certain, that it was not Alexander but Ptolemy that erected this famous ſchool; in which however it is as certain that the philoſophy of Ariſtotle was taught, and in which the moſt famous of his commentators flouriſhed.

† It muſt be confeſſed that this fact is abſolutely falſe, ſince, as the reader has been before informed, the Pharos of Alexandria was built by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and not by Alexander the Great. As to this mirror, it is mentioned by ſome other writers as well as our Benjamin; but it is apparently a fable, and a fable ridiculous in all its circumſtances. It is however of uſe ſometimes to know ſuch fables, and therefore I have preſerved it.

from

from Cracow, Cordova, Spain, Ruſſia, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, England, Flanders, Artois, Normandy, France, Poitou, Angiers, Gaſcony, Arragon, and Navarre. There come alſo from the weſtern empire of the Iſhmaelites, viz. from Andaluſia, Algarve, Africa, and even Arabia, beſides what come by the Indian ocean from Havilah, and Abyſſinia, and the reſt of Ethiopia, not omitting the Greeks and Turks. Thither are brought the richeſt merchandiſes of the Indies, and all ſorts of perfumes and ſpices, which are bought by chriſtian merchants.

The city is extremely populous on account of its extenſive trade; and for the greater conveniency in the carrying on their dealings, every nation has its factory by itſelf. There is near the ſea ſide a marble tomb, on which are engraved the figures of all ſorts of birds and beaſts, with an inſcription in characters ſo old, that none now are able to read them; whence it is believed with ſome colour of truth, that it belongs to an old king who governed that country before the deluge. The length of this ſepulchre is fifteen and the breadth of it ſix ſpans. To conclude, there are in Alexandria about three thouſand Jews.

14. It is not neceſſary to give at large the remainder of our Jews travels, and therefore I ſhall acquaint the reader in few words, that having made a tour from Damietta in Egypt to mount Sinai, he returned back to the firſt-mentioned place, and thence ſailed to Meſſina in the iſland of Sicily, from whence he went by land to Palermo, and croſſing the Sea to Italy continued his journey to Rome and Lucca.

He afterwards croſſed the Alps, and paſſed through a great part of Germany, from whence he takes occaſion to mention what multitudes of Jews were ſettled in the ſeveral great cities of that extenſive empire. He inſiſts at large on their wealth, their generoſity, and, above all, their hoſpitality to their diſtreſſed brethren, and gives us a very particular detail of the manner in which they receive them. He aſſures us, that at their feaſts they encourage each other to perſiſt in hoping for the bleſſed advent of their Meſſiah, when the tribes of Iſrael ſhall be gathered together, and under his conduct be led back into their own land. Until this long-expected time ſhall come, the Iſraelites, he ſays, hold it their duty to perſevere in their obedience to the law of Moſes, to lament with tears the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and Sion, to beſeech the Almighty to pity them in their affliction, and to reſtore them in his appointed time *.

He aſſerts, that his countrymen are not only ſettled in all the provinces of the empire, but alſo through all the northern countries to the very extremity of Ruſſia, which he deſcribes as a country ſo exceſſively cold in winter, that the inhabitants are not able to ſtir out of doors. He tells us next, that the kingdom of France, which, he ſays, is called by their Rabbins the land of Tzorphat, is likewiſe full of the diſciples of the wiſe men, that is, of the Jewiſh doctors, who ſtudy the law day and night, and are extremely kind and charitable to their diſtreſſed brethren. He concludes with an earneſt prayer to god, to remember his promiſe to the children of Iſrael, and to return and aſſemble them from all nations through which in his wrath he has diſperſed them.

In the ſeveral places he mentions, he reckons up in the whole 394,687 Jews, from which if we ſubtract 740 Caraites, 1000 Samaritans, and 2000 other Schiſmatics, there

* It is very clear from hence, as well as from a multiude of other circumſtances, that our author chiefly intended this work to celebrate his own nation, to preſerve an account of the different places in which they were ſettled, and to do all in his power to keep up their ſpirits under their captivity, by putting them in mind of the coming of the Meſſiah. I muſt confeſs, I conſider this in a different light from moſt of the critics, for I do not conceive that a man's loving his countrymen ought to prejudice him in the opinion of his readers; and though it may poſſibly beget ſome doubts as to the fidelity of his relations with regard to the Jews, yet I do not ſee how this can with juſtice be extended to the other parts of his book.

will remain 390,947, to which, if we add 350,000 free Iſraelites, whom he found in the kingdoms of Thema and Chebar, they will ſwell the account of the Rabbanites he met with in his travels to 740,947, which, when duly conſidered, will not, perhaps, appear very improbable. Thus we have brought to a ſpeedy concluſion the Travels of Benjamin de Tudela, which had never appeared ſo fully as we have given them in the Engliſh language.

15. We have in the introduction to this ſection given ſo large an account of our author, of his performance, and the reaſon of our inſerting it, that we have not much to add here That there may be, and indeed that there are, many miſtakes in theſe travels, is not to be denied, neither can we help confeſſing that the author was a very credulous man, and far enough from deſerving the high character beſtowed upon him by the Jews, who repreſent him as a perſon ſkilled in all ſciences, and refer us to this performance of his as a proof of it. But granting that he did not merit theſe praiſes, yet there is ſomething ſurely due to him for the lights he has communicated to the world. It is from him, as from an impartial perſon, that we learn the true ſtate of affairs at Conſtantinople within the compaſs of this period, the immenſe wealth and luxury of its inhabitants, and their extenſive commerce throughout the whole Eaſt.

His travels from that city to Baſſora ſhew plainly, that the communication was open, ſince otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible for a private traveller to have proceeded through the whole kingdom of Perſia in the manner he did. Some objections have been made to his account of the Jews ſettled in the mountains of Niſbor, which from his relation appear to have been upon the borders of the kingdom of Tibet; yet if we reflect upon what our Arabian travellers have told us of the number of Jews ſettled in the Empire of China before this time, and remember that the Emperor Heraclius had long before driven them out of all the Greek empire, we ſhall ſee many reaſons to think this account of his probable enough. It is true that R. Moſes and our author may be ſuſpected of magnifying theſe ſettlements, and of making this colony of Jews more conſiderable than it really was; but that we ſhould regard the whole as a fiction, I muſt confeſs I ſee no juſt grounds. It is very likely, though Benjamin does not ſay it, that he received from the ſame perſon what he relates of China, and of the icy ſea to the north of that country, which ſhews there had been a conſiderable commerce carried on that way, though Benjamin could give but a dark account of it.

We are indebted to him likewiſe for a piece of hiſtory, which for any thing I know is not to be met with elſewhere, I mean the ſettlement of the Perſees, who were the old Perſians or worſhippers of fire, in ſeveral iſlands of the Eaſt-Indies, of which we ſhall make ſome uſe in another place. The account he has given us of Ethiopia, and of the Jewiſh colonies in that country, is ſo conſiſtent with the ancient and modern hiſtory of that empire, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt the truth of it, or of what he ſays as to the paſſage of the caravans through the deſarts. It is evident from thence, that there was by this means a large commerce carried on between this country and Egypt, in ſlaves, gold, ivory and perhaps alſo in ſome Indian commodities; and it is likewiſe clear, that there was a great trade between that country and the oppoſite coaſt of Arabia. If our author had travelled as a merchant, he might very poſſibly have given us many more curious particulars on this ſubject; but as he did not, we muſt be content with theſe he had delivered occaſionally, and as they ſtruck him in his paſſage.

There are great exceptions taken at his ſhort account of the government of Egypt, when he was in it; and ſome of his tranſlators have inclined to give him up in this particular, though without any great reaſon. It is plain enough from the reſt of his work, that he did not ſet up for a great politician, or pretend to deſcribe the conſtitutions of the

the ſtates through which he paſſed, but only to mention in general what he underſtood of ſuch matters. It is alſo certain, that without changing his words, we may give a clear and ſatisfactory account of this matter, which amounts to no more than this: that the then maſters of Egypt, though they were Mohammedans, were yet treated as heretics, or rebels, on account of their diſowning the Khaliff at Bagdat, and that on this account there was an inveterate hatred between the ſubjects of the Khaliff of Babylon, and the Mohammedans in Egypt, as to which there can be no doubt at all.

The ſingle difficulty in this caſe is our author's calling the commander of the faithful in Egypt, Ali the ſon of Abitalab; from whence it is inferred, that he makes him the monarch then reigning, which would have been a moſt notorious abſurdity. But the truth of the matter is, our author ſays no ſuch thing: he only mentions Ali the ſon of Abitalah as having been once commander of the faithful in Egypt; and the reaſon of his mentioning it is very plain, viz. in order to account for the difference between the Mohammedans in Aſia and Egypt, and the latter being ſtiled rebels by the former on account of their taking the part of this Ali.

But the greateſt difficulties that occur in our author's work, ſome of which, it muſt be owned, are not to be got over, ariſe from his uſing ſcriptural names for the countries and places through which he paſſed: and theſe, according to the notions of the Rabbins, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with which, it is impoſſible for any tranſlator to be perfectly ſure as to his meaning. But if we ſhould be ſomewhat miſtaken in the names of the ſeveral countries from which ſhips came to Alexandria, yet we muſt be right in the main; and the reader may reſt ſatisfied from thence, that at the time of our author's being there, the port of Alexandria was the centre of commere between Chriſtendom and the Indies. All the fables that he relates about the magical mirror there cannot prejudice this truth; for though our author might be, as to be ſure he was, a very indifferent hiſtorian, a bad mathematician, and a credulous writer, yet he could not be miſtaken about things he ſaw, or be induced to ſet down the names of nations never heard of at Alexandria. Beſides, he is remarkably accurate in this account; and the liſt he has given us is more methodical than any other paſſage in his book, which ſeems to have been owing to his making an enquiry at Alexandria, as to the ſeveral foreign lodges or factories eſtabliſhed there.

On the whole, as theſe travels plainly demonſtrate that it was both poſſible and practicable for a perſon to travel in the midſt of the twelfth century from Spain through Italy and Greece into the remote parts of Aſia, and to return from thence through Ethiopia and Egypt into Europe, it was requiſite, that in a collection of this kind, ſuch a performance ſhould not be omitted; and if not omitted, it ought ſurely to appear in the beſt dreſs we could poſſibly give it, which muſt be an apology to the reader for our having taking ſo much pains therewith, and having dwelt upon it ſo long.

THE

THE REMARKABLE TRAVELS

OF

WILLIAM DE RUBRUQUIS, A MONK,

Sent by Louis IX. King of France, commonly ſtiled St. Louis, Ambaſſador into different Parts of the Eaſt, particularly into Tartary and China, A.D. 1253.

CONTAINING

Abundance of curious Particulars relating to thoſe Countries.

Written by the Ambaſſador, and addreſſed to his Royal Maſter King Louis.

1. *A ſuccinct Account of the Empire of the Tartars, and particularly of the Prince to whom our Author was ſent.* — 2. *The Character of Louis IX. of France; and a ſhort Hiſtory of his Expedition into Syria and Egypt.* — 3. *The Occaſion and Deſign of his Embaſſy, together with the Character of our Author.* — 4. *His dedicatory Epiſtle to the King his Maſter.* — 5. *An Account of his Journey to Conſtantinople.* — 6. *His Arrival at Soldaia, the firſt Town in Tartary.* — 7. *An Account of the Habitations of the Tartars.* — 8. *Of their Beds, Idols, and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies.* — 9. *Of their Drinking and Merry-makings.* — 10. *Of their Food and Manner of Eating.* — 11. *Of a particular Kind of Drink uſed by them, called Coſmos.* — 12. *Of the Animals in their Country, their Rabbits, and their Manner of Hunting.* — 13. *Of the Manner in which the Men ſhave themſelves, and of the Ornaments of their Women.* — 14. *Of the Employments of the Female Tartars; of their Way of Life, and of their Marriages.* — 15. *The Manner of adminiſtering Juſtice among them, and of the Ceremonies uſed at their Funerals.* — 16. *The Author reſumes the Account of his Voyage, and acquaints us with the Ingratitude and Brutality of the Tartars.* — 17. *Of the Court of Zagatay, and of their Adventures there.* — 18. *Of the Alans, who came to viſit them there at the Feaſt of Whitſuntide.* — 19. *An Account of a Saracen who deſired to be baptized, and of certain People that ſeem to be Lepers.* — 20. *Of the great Hardſhips and Difficulties they went through in theſe Travels, and of the Burials of the Comanians.* — 21. *Of the Country in which they found Sartach and his Subjects.* — 22. *Of the Court of Sartach, and of its Splendour and Magnificence.* — 23. *They are ordered to repair to Baatu, the Father of Sartach.* — 24. *The Reſpect paid by Sartach, Mangu-Khan, and Ken-Khan, to Chriſtians, and of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Tartar Empire.* — 25. *Of the Ruſſians, Hungarians, Alans, and of the Caſpian Sea.* — 26. *Of the Court of Baatu, and of their Reception there.* — 27. *Their Journey from thence to the Court of Mangu-Khan.* — 28. *Of the River Jagag, and of the Countries and People on that Side.* — 29. *Of the Hunger, Thirſt, and other Inconveniencies by them ſuſtained in this Journey.* — 30. *Of the Death of Ban, and of the Germans ſettled in that Country.* — 31. *Of the ſtrange Mixture of Religions in this Country, viz. Neſtorians, Mahommedans, and Idolaters.* — 32. *Of their Temples, Idols, and of their Manner of worſhipping their falſe Gods.* — 33. *Of ſeveral Nations in thoſe Parts; and of thoſe whoſe Cuſtom it is to devour their Parents.* — 34. *Of what happened to them at Cailac, in their Paſſage from thence to the Country of the Naymans.* — 35. *A Deſcription of that Country, with an Account of the Death of Ken-Khan, the Princeſs, his Conſort, and their eldeſt Son.* — 36. *Their Arrival at the Court of Mangu-Khan.* — 37. *An Account of their meeting there with one Sergius, a Neſtorian Monk.* — 38. *A Deſcription of their Audience, and what happened thereat.* — 39. *They meet with a Woman of Lorrain, and a Goldſmith of Paris ſettled in theſe Countries.* — 40. *An Account of ſeveral other Chriſtians they met with there.* — 41. *Of*

a grand Feaſt given by Mangu-Khan, and of the Ceremonies of the Neſtorians. — 42. *Of the Faſt obſerved by thoſe People, and of a grand Proceſſion made to the Palace of the Khan.* — 43. *An Account of a great Cure performed on a Lady by the Monk Sergius.* — 44. *Deſcription of the Country under the Dominion of the Khan, and of the Cuſtoms and Manners of his Subjects.* — 45. *Of the ſecond Faſt of the Neſtorians, which falls out in our Lent.* — 46. *Of a noble Piece of Workmanſhip performed by the French Goldſmith and of the Palace of the Khan at Caracarum.* — 47. *Of ſeveral religious Ceremonies of the Neſtorians.* — 48. *Of the Sickneſs of the French Goldſmith, and of Jonas the Prieſt.* — 49. *A Deſcription of the City of Caracarum, and of Mangu-Khan's ſending his Brethren to make War againſt ſeveral Nations.* — 50. *How our Author was ſeveral Times examined, and of ſeveral Conferences and Diſputes he had with the Idolaters.* — 51. *Of our Author's being called before the Khan at Whitſuntide, and of the Confeſſion of Faith made by the Tartars.* — 52. *Of the Sorcerers and Conjurers in this Country, and of the wicked Lives they lead.* — 53. *The Letters written by the Khan to the King of France, by our Author, and the Reſolution taken by his Companion to remain in Tartary.* — 54. *Of our Author's Departure from Caracarum for the Court of Baatu, and from thence for the City of Saray.* — 55. *Of the Road from Saray by the Mountains of Alania, of the Leſgies, Derbent, and other Places.* — 56. *The Remainder of their Journey to the River Araxes, the City of Waxnam, the Country of Sahenna, and other Places.* — 57. *Of their Paſſage over the Euphrates, the Caſtle of Samuth, the Author's Arrival at Cyprus, Antioch, and Tripoli.* — 58. *His Letter from thence to the King his Maſter, and other Particulars.* — 59. *Remarks and Obſervations upon this Section.*

1. IT ſeems to be a problem hitherto undiſcuſſed, how it came to paſs, that for the ſpace of ſo many ages the inhabitants of the northern parts of the world lay ſo ſtill and quiet, that hiſtory ſcarce gives us any account of them; and then of a ſudden burſt out on all ſides, and over-ran, as it were, the greateſt part of the known world. At firſt ſight it ſhould ſeem from hence, that theſe northern countries were firſt peopled, for otherwiſe it may appear difficult to account for their being ſo much more populous than any of the reſt. A little attention, however, will clear this point, and ſhew us plainly, that inſtead of contradicting, it is the ſtrongeſt proof that can be of the world's being originally peopled from the country of Chaldea. For whoever conſiders what an immenſe tract of land lies to the north of that original ſeat of mankind, will eaſily diſcern the reaſon why it required a longer ſpace to people it thoroughly than the reſt of the world; and yet, at the ſame time, if he reflects on the accounts given us by ancient authors, of the manners of the Scythians, he will eaſily perceive that they retained the old ſimplicity of living much longer than any other people, and were therefore celebrated by Homer and Hippocrates, as the juſteſt and moſt innocent of mankind. But, in proceſs of time, even theſe vaſt countries became over-peopled; and then being preſſed by each other, theſe barbarous nations, as they were ſtiled by the Greeks and Romans, broke out like an inundation, and ſwept all before them.

At preſent our concern is with thoſe who broke out laſt; I mean the Tartars, who are generally ſaid to have derived their name from a river ſo called; but that is a miſtake. The original name of this numerous nation was Turks, which they derived from Turk, the eldeſt ſon of Japhet. But Alanza-Khan, one of their ancient Princes, leaving his dominions to his ſons, which were twins, the one called Tatar, and the other Mogul, this gave riſe to the diſtinction of thoſe two nations, which hath ever ſince prevailed.

The great conqueror Jenghiz-Khan, who in our old writers is generally called Zengis, united both under his dominion. He was born A.D. 1162, and was raiſed to the command of his own ſmall tribe at the age of thirteen. He by degrees firſt eſtab-

eſtabliſhed his power in his own country, then attacked and conquered the northern parts of China, but was never heard of in Europe till about the year 1218, when he entered the Great Bucharia; he extended his conqueſts afterwards over a great part of Aſia, and died in the year 1227, at the age of ſixty-five, and after having held the dignity of Khan twenty-five years. His eldeſt ſon Zuzi died ſix months after him, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Batu or Baatu, as our author calls him, who had a great part of Tartary for his ſhare. Zagatai, ſon to Jenghiz-Khan, had that country which the antients call Tranſoxiana, which has been ſince called Turkeſtan, or the country of the Uſbeks; but by the Tartars to this day Zagatai. Tuli, another ſon of this conqueror, had for his ſhare, Choraſſan, Perſia, and the Indies; and Octai all the reſt, with the title of Khan. This prince began his reign in 1228, and died in 1241. So much as to the ſtate of Tartary.

2. The Chriſtian princes had been very often put upon the recovery of the Holy Land by the Popes; and Louis IX. King of France, called from thence St. Louis, took the croſs, and engaged himſelf by a vow to endeavour the recovery of the city and kingdom of Jeruſalem from the Infidels. It was with this view that he embarked at Marſeilles, Auguſt 23d 1248, accompanied by his Queen and two brothers. He ſailed from thence to the iſland of Cyprus, where he ſpent the winter in preparing for the war. There he received ambaſſadors from the Khan of the Tartars, with an account that he had embraced chriſtianity, and was diſpoſed to attack the Infidels on one ſide, while His Majeſty carried on the war on the other. This was an affair of very great importance to the King of France, who treated the ambaſſadors with great reſpect, and promiſed to ſend an ambaſſador to conclude an alliance with the Emperor their maſter.

He was hindered however in the proſecution of this deſign by the unlucky accidents of the war; for having invaded Egypt at firſt with great ſucceſs, he was afterwards, in the year 1250, taken priſoner in the battle of Maſſora, and remained for a long time in the hands of the Infidels, who treated him very ill, but at laſt ſet him at liberty, upon his ſurrendering the city of Damietta, and paying them a ranſom of 400,000 livres. This cruel reverſe of fortune did not hinder the King from purſuing his deſign: he paſſed immediately over into Syria, where he put the affairs of the Chriſtians into as good a condition as it was poſſible, and would very probably have accompliſhed all that he propoſed, if the death of his mother, whom he had left Regent of France, had not obliged him to return home, which he did in the year 1254, and reigned very glorioufly for many years, and then undertook a ſecond expedition in the ſame cauſe, of which we ſhall hereafter give ſome account.

3. At preſent our buſineſs is to obſerve, that while this monarch was in Syria, and there concerted meaſures for reducing the power of the Mohammedans, he made choice of our author, Friar William Rubruquis, for his ambaſſador to the Khan of the Tartars, and that for theſe three reaſons: firſt, becauſe he had engaged himſelf, while in Cyprus, to ſend ſuch an embaſſy; ſecondly, becauſe the aſſiſtance of ſo powerful a Prince was a matter of great conſequence to all Chriſtendom; and, thirdly, that he might obtain a diſtinct and authentic account of the policy, ſtrength, and intereſt of a nation which, in the ſpace of fifty years, had obtained an empire of ſuch an extent as hitherto the world had never ſeen.

The reaſons which induced him to make choice of our author were many; but we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning only a few. His condition, as a religious man, made him a fit miniſter to a Prince lately converted to the Chriſtian faith. It diſpenſed likewiſe with his having any train of attendance, with which ſuch an embaſſy could not be incumbered; and it put it more into his power to enquire into all things that his maſter deſired to know, than if he had gone with all that pomp which is uſually annexed

to a public character. But, above all, he depended on the abilities of the man, who was looked upon as a perſon of admirable parts, and great diligence, and whoſe unaffected piety and probity were not to be diſputed. After his return from this embaſſy, he compiled this account, which we now preſent to the reader, and ſent it to the King. It has been always eſteemed the fulleſt and cleareſt, as well as the moſt faithful and exact deſcription of the Tartars that ever was publiſhed, and therefore we have given it entire, and in the author's own words, together with his dedication, which follows.

4. *To the Moſt Excellent and Moſt Chriſtian Lord Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France, Brother William de Rubruquis, of the Order of Friars Minors, wiſhes Health, and that he may ever triumph in Jeſus Chriſt.*

"It is written in the book of Eccleſiaſticus, that the wiſe man ſhall paſs through countries inhabited by foreign nations, and that he ſhall have his ſhare in all things good and evil. I have done all this, Sire, and God grant that I have done it as a wiſe man, and not as a fool; for many there are which do thoſe things which wiſe men do, but not wiſely, and much I fear that I am of that number. However that matter may be, you were pleaſed to command me, at the time of my departure, that I ſhould write to you all I ſaw, and whatever I could diſcover among the Tartars. You were likewiſe pleaſed to add, that I ſhould not be afraid of writing long Letters. I am now about to perform what Your Majeſty then gave me in charge; yet not without great fear and apprehenſion that the ſimpleneſs of my thoughts, and the homelineſs of my ſtyle, may ſeem unworthy of being addreſſed unto Your Sovereign Majeſty."

5. May it pleaſe you then, Sire, to underſtand, that departing from Conſtantinople on the 7th May, A. D. 1253, we entered into the Sea of Pontus, now the Black Sea, which the Bulgarians call the Great Sea, and which, as I was informed by merchants who have long traded there, extends in length from eaſt to weſt one thouſand miles, and is, as it were, divided into two parts. About the middle there are two provinces, the one on the South, which is called Sinople, from a fortreſs and port of the ſame name, which belongs to the Sultan of the Turks: the other towards the north, which the weſtern Chriſtians call Gazaria, now Crimea, or Crim-Tartary; but the Greeks who dwell therein, Caſſaria, which I take to be the ſame as Cæſaria. In this province there are two promontories, or capes, which run into the ſea towards the ſouth, and the country of Sinople; the diſtance may be about three hundred miles between Sinople and Caſſaria; ſo that theſe points may be about ſeven hundred miles from Conſtantinople, as well towards the ſouth as towards the eaſt, in which quarter lies Iberia, which is a province of the country of Georgia, or Georgiana.

We came then into the country of Gazaria, which is in the ſhape of a triangle, having on the moſt weſtern point a city called Kerſova, where St. Clement Biſhop of Ancyra ſuffered martyrdom; and paſſing in view of this city, we had ſight of an iſland in which there is a church ſaid to have been built by angels. In the middle, which is alſo the moſt ſouthern part, ſtands the city of Soldaia, which is directly over-againſt Sinople, to which all the merchants coming from Turkey reſort in their paſſage to northern countries, as do likewiſe ſuch as come from Ruſſia with intent to go to Turkey.

Theſe laſt bring ermine and other rich furs; the former deal in cotton, cloth, ſilks of all ſorts, and ſpices. Towards the eaſt part of this country ſtands a city called Matriga, at the mouth of the river Tanais, or the great river Don, where it falls into

the ſea of Pontus, being there about twelve miles over. This river, before it falls into the ſea, makes of itſelf a kind of ſea, which is near ſeven hundred miles in extent, but ſo ſhallow, that no ſhips of burthen can ſail therein. The merchants of Conſtantinople however, when they arrive at the city of Matriga, ſend their barks up the river Tanais to purchaſe dried fiſh, ſuch as ſturgeons, theoſes, barbels, and many other ſorts of fiſh. The province of Gazaria before mentioned has the ſea on three ſides, viz. on the weſt, where ſtands the city of Kerſova; on the ſouth, where lies the city of Soldaia, or Caffa, where we landed; and on the eaſt, where is the city of Matriga, at the mouth of the river Tanais.

Beyond this country lies Zichia, that is the country about Azoph, which is not ſubject to the Tartars; to the eaſt of which lie the countries of the Suevians and Iberians, which likewiſe do not pay obedience to the Tartars. Towards the ſouth again ſtands the city of Trebizond, which belongs to its own prince, whoſe name is Guido, and he is deſcended of the race of the Emperors of Conſtantinople, but is for all that ſubject to the Tartars. The city of Sinople ſtands next, belonging to the Sultan of Turkey, who is at preſent their vaſſal likewiſe.

Beyond his dominion lies the country of Vaſtacius, the ſon of whoſe King is called Aſtar, after his grandfather by the mother's ſide, and he is not under their ſubjection. All the country from the mouth of the Tanais weſtward as far as the Danube, is at preſent under their dominion, and even beyond the Danube towards Conſtantinople; all Wallachia, which is alſo called the country of Aſſanus, and the Leſſer Bulgaria, as far as Solinia, pay tribute to them: and beſides this tribute, they have of late years impoſed a new burthen on the inhabitants; for they exact from every family an axe and a conſiderable quantity of corn.

This introduction of our author's is in itſelf very clear, and by adding the modern names of places, it is hoped it will be perfectly intelligible to every reader.

The author intended it to explain the ſituation and condition of thoſe countries at the time he wrote, which was the more neceſſary, becauſe great alterations had been occaſioned by the repeated irruptions of the Tartars. In regard therefore to the ſituation of commerce at this time, as well as the perfect comprehending his route to the camps of the Tartar Princes, this explanatory diſcourſe was very expedient; and as this writer begins very methodically, ſo his whole work is conducted with ſuch order and eloquence, as is not uſual in the writers of thoſe times. His ſtyle is agreeable to his matter, plain and expreſſive, without any flouriſhes, or the leaſt deſire of heightening the wonders which he relates: on the contrary, he every where endeavours to avoid heightening things beyond credit, and delivers himſelf with ſuch viſible ſincerity, as gives an intrinſic value to his work that no length of time can ever take away. This in all probability was in ſome meaſure owing to his attention to the inſtructions given him by his maſter, who was a Prince of great abilities, had himſelf travelled into the eaſt, and was conſequently a better judge of theſe particulars than moſt other princes, either of that or any other age. It was for the ſame reaſon, probably, that our author thought proper, as the reader will ſee, to inſert his account of the Tartars, their habitations, cuſtoms, manners, laws, government, and whatever elſe was neceſſary to give a juſt idea of theſe people, before he proceeds to his negotiations with them; which is a clear proof that this treatiſe was not compoſed in a hurry, or written as occaſion offered while he was actually on his travels, but after his return out of Tartary, when he had time to recollect himſelf, to compare and digeſt the notes he had taken during his ſtay in that country, and to bring every thing into its proper place. So that we have no occaſion to interrupt his diſcourſe

with remarks or corrections, but are able to leave his work as it ſtands to the peruſal of the ingenious reader, who will find therein abundant proofs of what we have here advanced.

6. We arrived, continues he, at Soldaia the twenty-firſt of May, and ſeveral merchants of Conſtantinople who arrived before us, reported that ambaſſadors were coming thither from the Holy Land, who were to travel to Sartach. I had however publicly given out on Palm-Sunday, in the church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your ambaſſador, or the ambaſſador of any other Prince, but that I travelled to thoſe Princes to preach the Goſpel to them according to the rule of our order; and being arrived, the ſaid merchants admoniſhed me to be very cautious in what I ſpoke, becauſe they having reported me to be an ambaſſador, if I ſhould ſay to the contrary, I could not have free paſſage granted unto me. Then I ſpoke to the lieutenants of the cities, becauſe the governors themſelves were gone to pay tribute unto Baatu, and were not as yet returned. "We heard of your Lord Sartach in the Holy Land that he was become a Chriſtian, of which the Chriſtians were exceedingly glad, and eſpecially the Moſt Chriſtian King of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, and fighteth againſt the Saracens to redeem the holy places out of their hands. I am determined therefore to go to Sartach, and to deliver unto him the letters of my Lord the King of France, wherein he admoniſheth him concerning the welfare of all Chriſtendom."

On this they received us with joy, and gave us entertainment in the cathedral church, the Biſhop of which church had been with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning him, which afterwards I found untrue. They then gave us our choice, whether we would have carts and oxen, or a number of horſes to tranſport our baggage, and the merchants of Conſtantinople adviſed me not to take carts of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy covered carts of my own (ſuch as the Ruſſians carry their ſkins in), and to put all our baggage into them, becauſe if I ſhould uſe horſes, I muſt be conſtrained at every bait to take down my things and to lift them up; and beſide that, I ſhould ride a more gentle pace in the carts. Wherefore yielding unto their evil counſel, I ſpent in travelling to Sartach two months, which I could have done in one, if I had gone on horſeback. I brought with me from Conſtantinople pleaſant fruits, Muſkadell wine, and delicate biſcuit bread, to preſent unto the governors of Soldaia, that I might obtain free paſſage, becauſe they look favourably upon no man who comes with an empty hand.

All theſe things I packed in one of my carts, and the governors being abſent when we came, I ſtill carried them on; for they told me if I could bring them to Sartach, that they would be moſt acceptable unto him. We took our journey therefore about the beginning of June, with four covered carts of our own, and with two others which we borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to reſt on in the night, and they allowed us five horſes to ride upon, there being juſt five perſons in company; I, Friar Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goſſet the bearer of theſe preſents, the interpreter, and Nicholas my ſervant, whom I bought at Conſtantinople with ſome of the alms beſtowed upon me. They allowed us beſides two men, who drove our cars, and looked after our oxen and horſes. There are high promontories on the ſea-ſhore, from Kerſova unto the mouth of the Tanais. Alſo there are forty caſtles at Kerſova and Soldaia, in every one of which almoſt they uſe different languages, amongſt whom there were many Goths who ſpoke the Dutch tongue.

Beyond theſe mountains, towards the north, there is a moſt beautiful wood growing on a plain pleaſant country, full of ſprings and rivulets. Beyond the wood there is a mighty plain, five days journey, unto the very extremity of the province northward;

and there is a narrow iſthmus, a neck of land, having the ſea on the eaſt and weſt ſides, which enter the land ſo far that there is a canal made from one ſea unto the other. On this plain before the Tartars the Comanians inhabited, who compelled the above-mentioned cities and caſtles to pay tribute unto them; but when the Tartars came upon them, the multitude of Comanians fled all of them to the ſea-ſhore, being in ſuch extreme famine, that they which were alive were conſtrained to eat up thoſe which were dead; and, as a merchant reported to me who ſaw it with his own eyes, living men devoured and tore with their teeth the raw fleſh of the dead, as dogs would gnaw carrion.

Towards the borders of the ſaid province there are a great many lakes, upon the banks whereof are ſalt-pits, the water of which, ſo ſoon as it entereth into the lake, becomes hard ſalt like ice; and out of theſe ſalt-pits Baatu and Sartach have great revenues, for they repair thither out of all Ruſſia for ſalt, and for each cart load they give two webs of cotton, amounting to the value of half an yperpera. There come alſo many ſhips for ſalt, which pay tribute every one according to their burthen. The third day after we were departed out of theſe precincts of Soldaia, we found the Tartars, amongſt whom being entered, methought I was come into a new world, whoſe life and manners I will deſcribe unto Your Highneſs as well as I can.

7. They have no ſettled habitation, neither know they to-day where they ſhall lodge to-morrow. They have all Scythia to themſelves, which ſtretcheth from the river Danube to the utmoſt extent of the eaſt. Each of their captains, according to the number of his people, knows the bounds of his paſtures, and where he ought to feed his cattle winter and ſummer, ſpring and autumn; for in the winter they remove into warm regions ſouthward, and in the ſummer they go up into the cold regions northward. In winter when ſnow lies upon the ground, they feed their cattle in paſtures where there is no water, becauſe then they uſe ſnow inſtead of water. Their houſes in which they ſleep, they raiſe upon a round foundation of wickers, artificially wrought and compacted together; the roof conſiſting of wickers alſo meeting above in one little roundell, out of which there riſes upwards a neck like a chimney, which they cover with white felt, and often they lay mortar or white earth upon the felt with the powder of bones, that it may ſhine and look white: ſometimes alſo they cover their houſes with black felt. This cupola of their houſe they adorn with variety of pictures.

Before the door they hang a felt curiouſly painted over, for they ſpend all their coloured felt in painting vines, trees, birds, and beaſts thereupon. Theſe houſes they make ſo large, that they contain thirty feet in breadth; for meaſuring once the breadth between the wheel-ruts of one of their carts or wains, I found it to be twenty feet over, and when the houſe was upon the cart, it ſtretched over the wheels on each ſide five feet at leaſt. I told two-and-twenty oxen in one draught drawing a houſe upon a cart, eleven in one row according to the breadth of the cart, and eleven more on the other ſide. The axle-tree of the cart was of an huge bigneſs, like the maſt of a ſhip, and a fellow ſtood in the door of the houſe upon the foreſtall of the cart driving the oxen. They likewiſe make certain four-ſquare baſkets of ſlender twigs as big as great cheſts, and afterwards from one ſide to another they frame an hollow lid or cover of ſuch like twigs, and make a door in it before. Then they cover the ſaid cheſt or houſe with black felt, rubbed over with tallow or ſheep's milk, to keep the rain from ſoaking through, which they likewiſe adorn with paintings or white feathers. Into theſe cheſts they put their whole houſhold ſtuff, or treaſure, and bind them upon other carts, which are drawn by camels, that they may paſs through rivers, neither do they ever take down theſe cheſts from their carts. When they take down their dwelling-houſes, they turn

turn the doors always to the south, and next they place the carts laden with the chests here and there within a stone's cast of the house, insomuch that the house standeth between two ranks of carts, as it were between two walls.

The women make themselves most beautiful carts, which I am not able to describe to Your Majesty but by pictures only; I would willingly have painted all things for you, had my skill been great enough in that art. A rich Tartar hath a hundred or two such carts with chests. Baatu hath sixteen wives, every one of which hath one great house, besides other little houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their women to dwell in, and to each of the houses belong two hundred carts. When they take their houses off the carts, the principal wife placeth her court on the west, and so all the rest in order; so that the last wife's house is on the east frontier, and the court of each wife is distant from another about a stone's cast.

Hence it is, that the court of a rich Tartar will appear like a very large village, few men being to be seen therein; one woman will guide twenty or thirty carts at once, for their country is very flat, and they fasten the carts with camels or oxen one behind another, a wench sits in the foremost cart driving the oxen, and all the rest of themselves follow a like pace: when they come to a place which is a bad passage, they loose them, and guide them one by one, for they go a slow pace, and not much faster than an ox can walk.

8. When they have taken down their houses from their carts, and turned the doors southward, they place the bed of the master of the house at the north part thereof; the women's place is always on the east, that is, on the left hand of the master of the house, when sitting upon his bed with his face to the south; but the men's place is to the west, that is, at the right hand of their master. Men, when they enter into the house, never hang their quivers on the women's side. Over the master's head there is an image made of felt, which they call the master's brother, and another over the head of the mistress, which is called her brother, fastened to the wall, and a bow between both of them. There is a little lean idol, which is, as it were, the guardian of the whole house. The mistress of the house places at the foot of her bed, on the right hand, the skin of a kid, stuffed with wool, and near that a little image, looking towards the apartment of the woman. Next the door, on the women's side, there is another image, with a cow's udder, which is the guardian of the women that milk the cattle, for that is the constant employment of their women. On the other side of the door next the men, is another image, with the udder of a mare, for the guardian of those who milk the mares.

When they meet to make merry they sprinkle part of their drink upon the image which is over the master's head, and afterwards upon the other images in their order; then a servant goes out of the house with a cup full of drink, sprinkling it thrice towards the south, and bowing his knee every time; and this is done in honour of the Fire. He performs the same ceremony towards the east in honour of the Air; and then to the west, in honour of the Water; and lastly, to the north, in behalf of the dead. When the master holds a cup in his hand to drink, before he tastes he pours a part of it upon the ground; if he drinks sitting on horseback, he pours out part upon the neck or mane of the horse before he drinks. After the servant has paid his reverence to the four quarters of the world, he returns to the house, and two other servants stand ready with two cups, and two basons, to carry drink to their master and his wife, who sit together upon a bed. If he has more wives than one, she with whom he slept the night before, sits by his side the next day, and all his other wives must that day resort to her house to drink, and there the court is for that day; the gifts also which

are

are preſented that day are laid up in the cheſts of that wife. One piece of ceremony is conſtant in all houſes, viz. a bench, on which ſtands a veſſel of milk, or of other drink, and cups for drinking it.

9. They make in winter an excellent drink of rice and of honey, ſtrong, well taſted, and high coloured like wine; they have alſo wine brought to them from other countries. In the ſummer time they care not for any drink but Coſmos. This liquor ſtands always at the entrance of the door, and next to it a fidler. I ſaw there no ſuch violins as ours; but many other muſical inſtruments which are not uſed with us. When the maſter of the houſe begins to drink, one of his ſervants crieth out with a loud voice, Ha! and the muſician plays upon the fiddle.

When they make a ſolemn feaſt, they all of them clap their hands and dance to the noiſe of muſic, the men before their maſter, and the women before their miſtreſs; and when the maſter has drunk, then his ſervants cry ha! as before, and the fidler ſtops; then they drink all round, both men and women, and ſometimes they carouſe, eſpecially for victory, till they are drunk. When they invite a man to drink, they pull him by the ears to the veſſel, and ſo lug and draw him ſtrongly to ſtretch out his throat, clapping their hands, and dancing before him.

When they would do honour to any perſon at their ſolemn feaſting and rejoicing, one of the company takes a full cup, and two others ſtand, one on his right hand, and the other on his left, and ſo they three come ſinging to the man, who is to have the cup preſented to him, ſtill ſinging and dancing before him; and when he ſtretches his hand to receive the cup, they leap ſuddenly back, returning again as they did before; and ſo having deluded him three or four times by drawing back the cup, until he is eager and very deſirous to drink, then they give him the cup, ſinging and dancing, and ſtamping with their feet, until he hath done drinking.

10. In reſpect to their food, give me leave to inform Your Highneſs, that without difference or diſtinction, they eat all their beaſts that die of age or ſickneſs; and amongſt ſo many drovers, there muſt ſome cattle die in ſummer. However, ſo long as their coſmos, that is, their mares' milk, laſts, they care not much for any food; and if they chance to have an ox or a horſe die, they dry the fleſh, cutting it into thin ſlices, and hanging it up againſt the ſun and the wind, it is preſently dried without ſalt, and without ill ſavour or corruption. They make better puddings of their horſes than their hogs, which they eat as ſoon as made; the reſt of their fleſh they reſerve till winter. They make of their ox ſkins great bags, which they dry in the ſmoke; of the hinder part of their horſe hides they make very fine ſandals. They give fifty or an hundred men the fleſh of one ram to eat; for they mince it in a bowl with ſalt and water, having no other ſauce, and then with the point of a knife, or little fork, which reſembles ſuch as we uſe to take roaſted pears or apples out of wine, they reach unto every one of the company a morſel or two, according to the number of gueſts. The maſter of the houſe, before the ram's fleſh is diſtributed, firſt takes of it what he pleaſes; if he giveth unto any of the company a particular ſervice, the receiver thereof muſt eat it alone, and not impart unto any other; or if he is not able to eat it up all, he carries it with him, and delivers it to his boy, if he be preſent, to keep it; if not, he puts it up into his Saptarget, that is to ſay, his ſatchel, or knapſack, which they carry about with them for ſuch purpoſes, and wherein they lay up their bones, when they have not time to pick them thoroughly, that they may ſcrape them at leiſure, and ſo nothing be loſt.

11. Their common drink coſmos, which is mares' milk, is prepared after this manner: they faſten a long line to two poſts, ſtanding in the ground, and to the ſame line they tie the young foals of thoſe mares which they intend to milk; then come the mares

to

to ſtand by the foals, ſuffering themſelves to be milked; and if any of them be rude, then one takes her foal and puts it under her, letting it ſuck a little while, and preſently carrying it away again, there comes another man to milk the mare. When they have got a good quantity of this milk together, while it is new, they pour it into a great bag, and they beat the bag with a piece of wood made for that purpoſe, having a knot at the lower end like a man's head, which is hollow within; and ſo ſoon as they beat it, it begins to boil like new wine, and to be ſour, and of a ſharp taſte; and they beat it in that manner till butter comes; then they taſte it, and being indifferently ſharp, they drink it, for it bites one's tongue like the raiberry wine. After a man hath taken a draught, it leaves a taſte behind it like that of almond milk, going down very pleaſantly, and intoxicating weak brains, for it is very heady and powerful.

As for their caracoſmos, that is to ſay, black coſmos, which is for great lords to drink, they make it thus; firſt, they beat the milk ſo long, that the thickeſt part thereof deſcends down to the bottom, like the lees of white wine, and that which is thin and pure remains above like whey, or white muſt; the lees and dregs, being very white, are given to ſervants, and will make them ſleep exceedingly. That which is thin and clear, their maſters drink; and indeed it is a wonderful ſweet and wholeſome liquor. Baatu hath thirty farms within a day's journey of his abiding-place, every one of which ſerves him daily with caracoſmos of an hundred mares' milk, and ſo all of them together every day with the milk of three thouſand mares, beſides white milk, which the reſt of his ſubjects bring; for, as the huſbandmen of Syria pay the third part of their fruits, and carry it unto the courts of their lords, ſo do they their mares' milk every third day.

Out of their cows' milk they firſt churn butter; boiling which butter unto a perfect decoction, they put it into rams' ſkins, which they reſerve for that purpoſe; neither do they ſalt their butter; and yet by this boiling it never putrefies, and they keep it for winter; the churn milk, which remains of the butter, they let alone till it be as ſour as poſſible; then they boil it, and in boiling it is turned all into curds, which curds they dry in the ſun, making them as hard as the droſs of iron; and this kind of food alſo they preſerve in ſatchels againſt winter. In that ſeaſon when milk fails them, they put the curds before-mentioned, which they call Gra-ut, into a bladder, and pouring hot water upon them, they beat it till they have diſſolved them, and it is thereby made exceeding ſour; and this they drink inſtead of milk; for it ſeems a rule with them never to drink fair water by itſelf.

12. The great lords of this nation have all of them farms in the ſouth part of their country, from whence their tenants bring them millet and meal againſt winter. The poorer ſort provide themſelves with ſuch neceſſaries, by the exchange of rams, and other beaſts' ſkins. As for their ſlaves, they are forced to be content with water, and that thick and bad enough. The only ſort of animals from which I have known them abſtain, are mice and rats. There is, however, a little animal which they call ſogur, which in the winter time lie and ſleep twenty or thirty of them together in caves for ſix months, where the Tartars find them out, and eſteem them excellent eating; and indeed they are very tender and fat. They have likewiſe great plenty of a ſort of rabbits with long tails, the outſide hair of which is black and white; other ſmall creatures they have, on which they freely feed. I ſaw no deer there, and but a few hares, but a great number of roes.

I ſaw wild aſſes in great abundance, which are like mules; I ſaw alſo another kind of beaſt called artack, reſembling in its body a ram, with crooked horns, and are of ſuch bigneſs,

bigneſs, that I could ſcarce lift up a pair of them with one hand; and of theſe horns they make drinking-cups. They have falcons, and other hawks in great numbers, which they carry upon their right hands, and they put always about their falcon's necks a ſtring of leather, which hangs down to the midſt of their gorges; by which ſtring, when they caſt them off the fiſt at the game with the left hand, they bow the heads and breaſts of the hawks to prevent their being toſſed up and down in the wind, or their ſoaring too high. Being expert in this art, they gain a great part of their proviſion by hunting and hawking. In regard to their attire, it may pleaſe Your Majeſty to know, that out of Cataya, and other regions of the Eaſt, out of Perſia alſo, and other countries to the South, are brought to them manufactures of ſilks, cloth of gold, and cotton cloth, which they wear in time of ſummer; but out of Ruſſia, Moxell, Bulgaria, Hungaria, and out of Kerſis, all which are Northern regions, and full of woods, and alſo out of many other countries of the North, which are ſubject unto them, the inhabitants bring them many rich and coſtly ſkins of divers ſorts, ſuch as I never ſaw, wherewith they are clothed in winter, and againſt which ſeaſon they make themſelves two gowns, one with the fur inward to their ſkin, and another with the fur outward, to defend them from wind and ſnow, which for the moſt part are made of wolves' ſkins, or foxes ſkins.

When they ſit in the houſe they have a finer gown to wear: the poorer ſort make their gowns of dogs' or of cats' ſkins. When they go to hunt wild beaſts, they meet in a great company, and ſurrounding the place where they are ſure to find game, by little and little they approach on all ſides, till they have got all the wild beaſts into the midſt in a circle, and then they diſcharge their arrows at them. They make themſelves breeches of ſkins. The rich Tartars ſometimes fur their gowns with ſilk ſhag, which is exceedingly ſoft, light, and warm: the poorer ſort line their cloaths with cotton or cloth, which is made of the fineſt wool they can pick out; and of the coarſer part of the wool they make felt to cover their houſes, and their cheſts, and for their bedding; alſo of the ſame wool, being mixed with one-third part of horſe-hair, they make all their cordage. They make of this felt likewiſe covering for their ſtools, and caps to defend their heads from the weather; for all which they ſpend a great quantity of their wool.

13. The men ſhave a four-ſquare ſpot upon the crowns of their heads, and from the two corners they ſhave, as it were, two ſeams down to their temples. They ſhave alſo their temples, and the hinder part of their head, to the nape of the neck. They likewiſe ſhave the fore part down to their foreheads, and upon their foreheads they leave a lock of hair, reaching down to their eye brows; on the two hinder corners of their heads they have two locks alſo, which they twine and braid into knots, and ſo bind and knit them one under each ear. The garments of their women differ not from the mens, except that they are ſomewhat longer. But the day after a woman is married, ſhe ſhaves from the midſt of her head down to her forehead, and wears a wide garment like the veil of a nun; but larger and longer in all parts than a nun's veil, being open before, and they gird them under the right ſide. The Tartars differ from the Turks, becauſe the Turks faſten their garments to their bodies on the left ſide, but the Tartars always on the right ſide.

They have always an ornament for their heads, which they call *Botta*, which is made of the bark of a tree, or of ſome ſuch ſubſtance as they can find, which by the thickneſs and roundneſs thereof, cannot be held but in both hands together; and it hath a ſquare ſharp top ariſing from the top thereof, being almoſt two feet in length, and ſhaped like a pinnacle. This *Botta* they cover all over with a piece of rich ſilk, and it

is hollow within; and upon the midſt of this ſame ſpire they place a bunch of quills, or ſlender canes, a foot and a half long, or more, and the bunch on the top thereof they beautify with peacock's feathers; and round about they ſtick the feathers of a mallard's tail, and adorn it with precious ſtones. Alſo great ladies wear this kind of ornament upon their heads, binding it ſtrongly to a kind of hat or coif, which hath a pole in the crown, fit for the ſpire to come through; and under this ornament they comb the hair of their heads, which they gather up round together, from the hinder part thereof to the crown, and ſo lap them up in a knot or bundle within the *Botta*, which afterwards they bind ſtrongly under their throats.

It is on this account, that when a great company of ſuch ladies ride together, and are ſeen at a diſtance, they look like ſoldiers with helmets on their heads, carrying their lances upright, for the *Botta* appears like a helmet with a lance over it. All their women ſit on horſeback like men, and they bind their veils or gowns about their waiſts with a ſky-coloured or ſilk ſcarf, and with another ſcarf they gird it about their breaſts; and they alſo bind a piece of white ſilk, like a muffler or maſk, under their eyes, reaching down to their breaſts. Theſe ladies are, generally ſpeaking, exceeding fat; and the leſs their noſes, the handſomer they are eſteemed. They daub over their face with greaſe too moſt frightfully, and they never keep their beds on account of their bringing forth children.

14. As to the employments of their women, they drive carts, lay their houſes upon carts, and take them down again, milk cattle, make butter and griat, dreſs ſkins and ſew them, which they uſually do with thread made of ſinews; for they divide ſinews into ſlender threads, and then twine them into one large one. They make ſandals and ſocks, and other kind of apparel; but they never waſh any cloaths, for they ſay that God is then angry, and that dreadful thunder will enſue, if waſhed garments be hung out to dry. Nay, they beat ſuch as waſh, and take their garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder; for in the time of thunder they force all ſtrangers out of their houſes, and then wrapping themſelves in black felt, lie hid therein till the thunder be over. They never waſh their diſhes or bowls; yet when the fleſh is boiled they waſh their platter, wherein it muſt be put, with ſcalding hot broth out of the pot, and then pour the broth into the pot again. They make felt alſo, and cover the houſes therewith.

The men are employed to make bows and arrows, ſtirrups, bridles and ſaddles, to build houſes and carts, to keep horſes, to milk mares, to churn coſmos and mares' milk, and to make bags to put it in; they keep camels alſo, and lay burthens upon them. As for ſheep and goats, they mind and milk them, both men and women. With ſheeps' milk thickened and ſalted, they dreſs and tan their hides. When they waſh their hands and their heads, they fill their mouths full of water, and ſpouting it into their hands by little and little, they ſprinkle their hair, and waſh their heads therewith. As to their marriages, Your Highneſs is to underſtand, that no man can have a wife among them till he hath bought her; therefore ſometimes their maids are very ſtale before they are married, for their parents always keep them till they can ſell them. They abſtain from the firſt and ſecond degrees of conſanguinity inviolably as we do; but they have no regard to the degrees of affinity, for they will marry together, or by ſucceſſion, two ſiſters; their widows never marry a ſecond time, for this reaſon, becauſe they believe that all who have ſerved them in this life, ſhall do them ſervice alſo in the life to come. Whereupon they are perſuaded, that every widow after death ſhall return to her own huſband; and hence ariſes an abominable and filthy cuſtom amongſt them, namely, that the ſon marrieth ſometimes all his father's wives, except his own

mother; for the court, or houſe of the father or mother, falleth by inheritance always to the youngeſt ſon, whereupon he is to provide for all his father's wives, becauſe they are part of his inheritance, as well as his father's poſſeſſions; and then, if he will, he uſeth them for his own wives, for he thinks it no injury or diſparagement to himſelf, though they return unto his father after death. Therefore, when any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the damſel makes him a feaſt; in the mean time ſhe flies away to ſome of her kinsfolk to hide herſelf. Then her father ſays to the bridegroom, my daughter is yours, take her whereſoever you can find her. Then he and his friends ſeek her till they find her, and having found her, he takes her by force, and carries her to his own houſe.

15. In regard to their laws, or their execution of juſtice, Your Majeſty is to be adverti ſed, that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himſelf to part them: the father dare not help his own ſon: but he that happens to have the worſt, muſt appeal to the court of his Lord, and whoever elſe offereth him any violence after appeal, is put to death; but he muſt be taken preſently without delay. They puniſh no man with death, unleſs he be taken in the commiſſion of the fact, or elſe confeſs the ſame; but being accuſed, they put him to extreme torture to make him confeſs the truth. They puniſh murder with death, and even fornication with any other beſides his own women: by his own, I mean his wife or his maid-ſervant; for every man may uſe his ſlave as he pleaſes. Heinous theft alſo, or felony, they puniſh with death. For a light theft, as for ſtealing of a ram, the criminal not apprehended in the fact, but otherwiſe detected, is cruelly beaten; and if the executioner lays on an hundred ſtrokes, he muſt have an hundred rods, for ſuch as are beaten upon ſentence given in court. Frauds likewiſe of every kind they puniſh with death. Sacrilegious perſons they uſe in like manner, (of which kind of malefactors Your Majeſty ſhall be more fully informed hereafter,) becauſe they eſteem ſuch to be witches. When a man dies they lament and howl moſt pitifully over him, and the mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole year after; alſo, whoever is preſent in the houſe where one of man's eſtate lies dead, he muſt not enter into the court of Mangu-Khan till one whole year be expired. If it was a child deceaſed, he muſt not enter into the court till the next month after. Near the grave of the party deceaſed, they always leave one cottage. If any of their nobles, being of the ſtock of Zingis, their firſt Lord, dies, the place of his burial is not known. About theſe places where they inter their nobles, there is a family left to keep the ſepulchre. I could not learn that they uſed to hide treaſures in the graves of their dead.

The Comanians build a ſtately tomb over their dead, and erect the image of the dead man thereupon, with his face towards the Eaſt, holding a drinking-cup in his hand before his navel. They erect alſo upon the monuments of rich men pyramids; and in ſome places I ſaw high towers made of brick; in other places pyramids made of ſtone, though there are no ſtones to be found thereabouts. I ſaw one newly buried, in honour of whom they hung up ſixteen horſe-hides unto each quarter of the world, four between certain high poſts; and they ſet beſide his grave Coſmos for him to drink, and fleſh to eat; and yet they ſaid that he was baptized. We beheld other kind of ſepulchres alſo towards the Eaſt, viz. large floors of pavements, made of ſtones, ſome round and ſome ſquare, and then four long ſtones pitched upright about the pavement, towards the four corners of the world. When any man is ſick, he lieth in his bed, and cauſeth a ſign to be ſet up on his houſe, to ſignify that there lies a ſick perſon, that no man may enter into the houſe; for none are admitted there to ſick perſons but a ſervant only. When any one is ſick in their great courts, they appoint watchmen to ſtand

round about the court, who will not ſuffer any perſon to enter the precincts thereof; for ſuch is their ſuperſtition, that they are afraid that evil ſpirits or witches ſhould come together with the parties that enter in.

16. On my arrival among theſe barbarous people, I thought, as I before obſerved, that I was come into a new world, for they came flocking about us on horſeback, after they had made us wait for them in the ſhade under the black carts. The firſt queſtion they aſked was, whether we had ever been with them heretofore or not? And on our anſwering that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals from us; we gave them ſome of our biſcuit and wine, which we had brought with us from the town of Soldai; and having drank off one flaggon of our wine, they demanded another, telling u, that a man does not go into the houſe with one foot; we gave them no more, however, excuſing ourſelves that we had but little. Then they aſked us whence we came, and whither we were bound; I anſwered them in theſe words: that we had heard concerning their Prince Sartach, that he was become a chriſtian, and that unto him our determination was to travel, having Your Majeſty's letters to deliver unto him. They were very inquiſitive to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I was ſent. I anſwered, that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come unleſs I had been willing; and that therefore I was come according to my own will, and to the will of my ſuperior. I took the utmoſt care never to ſay that I was Your Majeſty's ambaſſador. Then they aſked what I had in my carts, whether it were gold, ſilver, or rich garments to carry to Sartach. I anſwered, that Sartach ſhould ſee what we had brought when we were come unto him; that they had nothing to do to aſk ſuch queſtions, but rather ought to conduct me unto their captain, and that he, if he thought proper, ſhould cauſe me to be directed to Sartach, if not, that I would return; for there was in the ſame province one of Baatu's kinſmen, called Zagatai, to whom the Emperor of Conſtantinople had written letters to ſuffer me to paſs through his territories.

With this anſwer of ours they were ſatisfied, giving us horſes and oxen, and two men to conduct us. But before they would allow us thoſe neceſſaries, they made us wait a long while, begging our bread for their brats, wondering at all things they ſaw about our ſervants, as their knives, gloves, purſes, and points, and deſiring to have them. I excuſed myſelf, ſaying, we had a long way to travel, and that we could not deprive ourſelves of things neceſſary to finiſh ſo long a journey. Then they ſaid I was a niggardly ſcoundrel. It is true, they took nothing by force from me, but they will beg all they ſee very importunately; and if a man beſtows any thing upon them, it is but loſt, for they are thankleſs wretches. They eſteem themſelves lords, and think that nothing ſhould be denied them by any man. If a man gives them nothing, and afterwards ſtands in need of their ſervice, they will do nothing for him. They gave us of their cows' milk to drink after the butter was churned out of it, which was very ſour, which they call apram. So we departed from them; and indeed it ſeemed to me that we were eſcaped out of the hands of devils. The next day we were introduced to their captain. From the time wherein we departed from Soldai, till we arrived at the court of Sartach, which was the ſpace of two months, we never lay in houſe or tent, but always under the canopy of heaven, and in the open air, or under our carts; neither ſaw we any village, or heard of any building where any village had been; but the graves of the Comanians we ſaw in great abundance. The ſame evening our guide which had conducted us, gave us ſome coſmos; after I had drank thereof, I ſweated extremely, which was owing, I believe, to the novelty of it, becauſe I never drank of it before; notwithſtanding I thought it was very pleaſant and well-taſted.

17. We met the day following with the carts of Zagatai, laden with houſes; and I really thought that a great city came to meet me. I wondered at the multitude of droves of oxen and horſes, and droves of ſheep; I could ſee but a few men that guided all theſe; upon which I enquired how many men he had under him, and they told me that he had not above five hundred in all, and that the one half of this number were paſſed, as they lay in another lodging. Then the ſervant which was our guide, told me that I muſt preſent ſomewhat to Zagatai; and ſo he cauſed us to ſtay, going themſelves before to give notice of our coming. By this time it was paſt three, and they unladed their houſes near a river; and there came unto us his interpreter, who being informed by us that we were never there before, demanded ſome of our victuals, and we granted his requeſt. He alſo required of us ſome garment for a reward, becauſe he was to interpret our meſſage to his maſter; we excuſed ourſelves as well as we could. Then he aſked us what we would preſent to his lord, and we took a flaggon of wine, and filled a baſket with biſcuit, and a ſalver with apples, and other fruits; but he was not contented therewith, becauſe we brought him not ſome rich garment.

We were, however, admitted into his preſence with fear and baſhfulneſs. He ſat upon his bed holding a muſical inſtrument in his hand, and his wife ſat by him, who, in my opinion, had cut and pared her noſe between the eyes, that ſhe might ſeem to be more flat-noſed; for ſhe had left herſelf no noſe at all in that place, having anointed the very ſcar with black ointment, as ſhe alſo did her eye-brows; which ſight ſeemed to us moſt ugly. Then I repeated to him the ſame words which I had ſpoken in other places; for we were directed in this circumſtance by ſome that had been amongſt the Tartars, that we ſhould never vary in our tale. I beſought him that he would vouchſafe to accept this ſmall gift at our hands, excuſing myſelf that I was a monk, and that it was againſt our profeſſion to poſſeſs gold, ſilver, or precious garments, and therefore that I had not any ſuch thing to give him, unleſs he would receive ſome part of our victuals inſtead of a bleſſing. He cauſed thereupon our preſent to be received, and immediately diſtributed the ſame amongſt his men, who were met together for that purpoſe, to drink and make merry. I delivered alſo to him the Emperor of Conſtantinople's letters, eight days after the feaſt of Aſcenſion, and he ſent them to Soldai, to have them interpreted there; for they were written in Greek, and he had none about him that was ſkilled in the Greek tongue.

He aſked us if we would drink any coſmos, that is to ſay mares' milk, for thoſe that are Chriſtians among them, as the Ruſſians, Grecians, and Alans, who keep their own law very ſtrictly, will not drink thereof, for they account themſelves no Chriſtians after they have once drank of it, and their prieſts reconcile them unto the church as if they had renounced the Chriſtian faith. I anſwered, that we had as yet ſufficient of our own to drink, and that when it failed us, we muſt be conſtrained to drink ſuch as ſhould be given us. He enquired alſo what was contained in the letters which Your Majeſty ſent to Sartach? I anſwered, that they were ſealed up, and that there was nothing contained in them but friendly words. And he aſked, what words we would deliver unto Sartach? I anſwered, the words of Chriſtian faith. He aſked again, what thoſe words were? For he was very deſirous to hear them. Then I expounded unto him as well as I could by my interpreter, who was a very ſorry one, the Apoſtles' Creed, which after he had heard he ſhook his head. Then he aſſigned us two men to attend upon us, and our horſes and our oxen, and he cauſed us to ride in his company, till the meſſenger he had ſent for the tranſlation of the Emperor's letters arrived; ſo we travelled in his company till the day after Whitſunday.

18. There

18. There came to us on Whitſun-eve ſome of the people called Alans, who are the Chriſtians of the Greek church, uſing Greek books, and were prieſts, but they are not ſchiſmatics as the Grecians are, ſince without exception of perſons they honour all Chriſtians; and they brought unto us boiled fleſh, requeſting us to eat of their meat, and to pray for one of their company, who was dead. I anſwered, becauſe it was the eve of ſo great a feaſt, we would not eat any fleſh; and I expounded to them the ſolemnity of the feaſt, for they were ignorant of all things relating to the Chriſtian religion, except the name of Chriſt.

They and many other Chriſtians, both Ruſſians and Hungarians, demanded of us whether they might be ſaved or no, becauſe they were conſtrained to drink coſmos, and to eat the dead carcaſes of things ſlain by the infidels, which even the Greeks and Ruſſian prieſts alſo eſteemed as things ſtrangled or offered to idols, becauſe they were ignorant of the times of faſting, neither could they have obſerved them if they had known them. I inſtructed them as well as I could, and ſtrengthed them in the faith; as for the fleſh which they had brought, we reſerved it till the feaſt-day, for there is nothing ſold among the Tartars for gold and ſilver, but for cloth and garments, of which we had none. When our ſervants offered them any of their coin, called by them Yperpera, they rubbed it with their fingers and put it to their noſes, to try by the ſmell whether it were copper or no. They did not allow for our food any ſubſiſtence but cows' milk only, which was very ſour: one thing moſt neceſſary was greatly wanting to us, for the water was ſo foul and muddy by reaſon of their horſes, that it was not fit to be drank; ſo that had it not been for ſome Biſcuit which by the goodneſs of God was ſtill left us, we had undoubtedly periſhed.

19. On the Feaſt of Pentecoſt there came to us a Mohammedan, to whom, as he talked with us, we expounded the Chriſtian faith, who (being informed of God's goodneſs to mankind in the incarnation of our Saviour Chriſt, the reſurrection of the dead and the judgment to come, and that baptiſm was a waſhing away of ſins) ſaid that he would be baptized; but when we prepared to baptize him, he ſuddenly mounted on hoaſeback, ſaying, that he would go home and conſult with his wife: and the next day he told us that he durſt not receive baptiſm, becauſe then he ſhould drink no more coſmos; for the Chriſtians of that place affirm, that no true Chriſtians ought to drink it, and that without it he could not live in that deſart; from which opinion I could not for my life remove him. It is ſcarce credible, how many are reſtrained from becoming Chriſtians from this opinion, broached and confirmed among them by the Ruſſians, of whom there are a great many ſettled here. The ſame day Zagatai gave us one man to conduct us to Sartach, and to guide us to the next ſtage, which was five days journey for oxen to travel. They gave us alſo a goat for victuals, and a great many bladders of cows' milk, and but a little coſmos, becauſe they love it ſo much themſelves; and ſo taking our journey directly towards the north, I thought we had paſſed through one of hell-gates.

The ſervants who conducted us began to play the bold thieves, ſeeing us take little heed to ourſelves; at length having loſt much by their thievery, ſuffering taught us wiſdom. When we came to the extremity of that province, which is fortified with a ditch from one ſea unto another, without which was their place of lodging, into which ſo ſoon as we had entered, it appeared to us as if all the inhabitants were infected with leproſy, for certain baſe fellows were placed there to receive tribute of ſuch as took ſalt out of the ſalt-pits. From that place they told us we muſt travel fifteen days journey before we ſhould find any other place; with them we drank coſmos, and gave to them a baſket full of fruits and of biſcuit, and they gave unto us eight oxen and one goat to maintain

maintain us in ſuch a journey, and I know not how many bladders of milk, and ſo changing our oxen we proceeded for ten days, arriving then at another ſtage, neither found we any water all that way, but only in ſome ditches made in the vallies and in two rivers. From the time alſo that we departed out of the province of Gaſſaria, we travelled directly eaſtward, having the ſea on the ſouth ſide of us, and a vaſt deſart on the north, which deſert in ſome places reaches twenty days journey in breadth, without tree, mountain, or ſo much as a ſtone therein, and is a moſt excellent paſture. Here the Comanians, which were called Copthai, were wont to feed their cattle, and were the ſame the Germans ſtiled Walani, and the province itſelf Walania. But Iſidore calleth all the tract of land ſtretching from the river of Tanais to the lake of Meotis, and ſo far as the Danube, the country of the Alani. And the ſame country extends in length from the Danube to Tanais (which divides Aſia from Europe) for the ſpace of two months journey, and it was all inhabited by the Comanians, called Copthai, and beyond Tanais as far as the river of Edil or Volga, the ſpace between which two rivers is a long journey to be travelled in ten days. To the north of the ſame province lieth Ruſſia, which is full of wood in all places, and ſtretches from Poland and Hungary to the river of Tanais, and it likewiſe hath been waſted by the Tartars, and is ſtill waſted by them.

20. The Tartars have more eſteem for the Saracens than the Ruſſians, becauſe the latter are Chriſtians, and when they are able to give them no more, they drive them and their children, like flocks of ſheep, into the wilderneſs, conſtraining them to keep their cattle there. Beyond Ruſſia lieth the country of Pruſſia, which the Teutonic knights of the order of St. Mary's hoſpital of Jeruſalem have of late wholly ſubdued, and indeed they might eaſily win Ruſſia if they would attempt it vigorouſly; for if the Tartars ſhould once know that the great prieſt, for that is the name they give to the Pope, had cauſed the enſign of the croſs to be diſplayed againſt them, they would fly into the deſarts. But to proceed:

We went towards the eaſtward, ſeeing nothing but the ſky and the earth, and ſometimes the ſea on our right hand, called the ſea of Tanais, and the ſepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared unto us two leagues off, in which their cuſtom was to bury their dead altogether. While we were travelling through the deſart it went reaſonably well with us, but I cannot ſufficiently expreſs the irkſomeneſs of their place of abode, for our guide would have us go to every captain with a preſent, which was an expence our circumſtances would not bear, for we were eight perſons ſpending our own proviſion, for the Tartar ſervants would all of them eat of our victuals. The fleſh which they gave us was not ſufficient for us, neither could we find any thing to be bought for our money: and as we ſat under our carts in the cool ſhadow, on account of the extreme heat, they would importunately and ſhamefully intrude themſelves into our company, ſo that they would even tread upon us to ſee what we had; ſuch ſlovens they were, that they would lay their tails in our preſence while they were yet talking with us: many other things they committed, which were moſt tedious and loathſome unto us.

But above all, it grieved me to the very heart, that when I would have ſpoken what might tend to their edification, my fooliſh interpreter would ſay, you ſhould not make me become a preacher now; I tell you I cannot, I will not rehearſe any ſuch words: and true it was which he ſaid, for I perceived afterwards, when I began to have a little knowledge in the language, that when I ſpoke one thing he would ſay quite another; that is, whatſoever came next to his witleſs tongue's end. Then ſeeing the danger I might incur in ſpeaking by ſuch an interpreter, I reſolved rather to hold my peace; and thus we travelled with great fatigue from place to place, till a few days before the feaſt of

of St. Mary Magdalen, we arrived at the banks of the mighty river Tanais, which divides Aſia from Europe, even as the river Nile of Egypt ſeparates Aſia from Africa. At the place where we arrived, Baatu and Sartach had cauſed cottages to be built upon the eaſtern bank of the river, for a company of Ruſſians to dwell in, that they might tranſport ambaſſadors and merchants in ferry-boats over that part of the river; where firſt they ferried us over, and then our carts, putting one wheel into one, and the other into the other lighter, firſt binding both the lighters together, and ſo they rowed them over.

In this place our guide played the fool ſtrangely; for he imagining that the Ruſſians dwelling in the cottage ſhould have provided us horſes, ſent home the beaſts we brought with us, in another cart, that they might return to their own maſters. But when we demanded ſome beaſts of them, they anſwered, that they had a privilege from Baatu, whereby they were bound to no other ſervice but to ferry goers and comers; and that they received great ſums from merchants even for that. We ſtayed there by the river ſide three days. The first day they gave us a great freſh turbot: the ſecond day they beſtowed rye-bread and a little fleſh upon us, which the purveyor of the village had taken up at every houſe for us: and the third day dried fiſh, which they have there in abundance. The river was as broad in that place as the river Seine is at Paris; and before we came there, we paſſed over many fine waters all full of fiſh, and yet the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them; neither do they make any reckoning of any fiſh, except it be ſo great that they may eat the fleſh of it as they do the fleſh of a ram.

This river is the limit of the eaſt part of Ruſſia; it riſeth out of the fens of Mæotis, which fens extend quite to the Northern ocean. It runs ſouthward, and forms a ſea of ſeven hundred miles in extent before it falls into the Pontus Euxinus, or the Black ſea; and all the rivers we paſſed over ran into the ſame. This river has alſo great ſtore of wood growing on the weſt ſide thereof. The Tartars remove no farther towards the north: for about the firſt of Auguſt they begin to return back to the ſouth; and therefore there is another cottage ſomewhat lower, where paſſengers are ferried over in winter time. And in this place we were driven to great extremity, becauſe we could get neither horſes nor oxen for money; at length, after I had declared unto them, that my coming was for the common good of all Chriſtians, they ſent us oxen and men, but we ourſelves were forced to travel on foot. At this time they were reaping their rye; as for wheat, it grows not well in that ſoil: they have millet in great abundance.

The Ruſſian women dreſs their heads like our women; they embroider their gowns on the outſide, from their feet unto the knees, with party-coloured or grey ſtuff. The Ruſſian men wear caps like the Dutchmen; alſo they wear upon their heads certain ſharp and high-crowned hats made of felt, much like a ſugar-loaf. We travelled thence three days together without finding any people; and when ourſelves and our oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far it would be to any Tartars, on a ſudden there came two horſes running towards us, which we caught with great joy: our guide and our interpreter mounted upon their backs, to ſee how far off they could deſcry any people; and upon the fourth day of our journey, having found ſome inhabitants, we rejoiced like ſeamen who had eſcaped out of a dangerous tempeſt, and had newly recovered the haven. Then having taken freſh horſes and oxen, we paſſed on from ſtage to ſtage, till at laſt, the ſecond of Auguſt, we arrived at the Habitation of Sartach, the Tartar prince.

21. All the country lying beyond Tanais is a very beautiful and pleaſant region, abounding with rivers and woods. Towards the north part thereof there are large foreſts inhabited

inhabited by two ſorts of people, one of them is called Moxel, being mere Pagans, and without law; they have neither towns nor cities, but only cottages in the woods. Their Lord, and a great part of themſelves, were put to the ſword in Germany; whereupon they highly commend the brave courage of the Alanians, hoping as yet to be delivered out of the bondage of the Tartars by their means. If any merchant come among them, he muſt provide things neceſſary for him with whom he is firſt entertained all the time of his abode among them. If any lieth with another man's wife, her huſband, unleſs he be an eye witneſs thereof, doth not regard it, for they are not jealous of their wives. They have abundance of hogs, and great ſtore of honey and wax, and various ſorts of rich and coſtly ſkins, and plenty of falcons.

The other people are called Mercias, which the Latins call Mardui, and they are Mohammedans. Beyond them is the river of Etilia, or Volga, which is the greateſt river that ever I ſaw, and it iſſues from the north part of Bulgaria the Greater; and ſo trending along ſouthward, diſcharges itſelf into a certain lake, containing in circuit the ſpace of four months travel, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The two rivers afore-mentioned, Tanais and Etilia, otherwiſe called Volga, in the northern regions, through which we travelled, are not diſtant above ten days journey; but ſouthward they are divided a great ſpace one from another, for Tanais deſcendeth into the ſea of Pontus. Etilia maketh the foreſaid ſea or lake, with the help of many other rivers which fall into it out of Perſia, and we had to the ſouth of us very high mountains; upon the ſide thereof towards the ſaid deſart, the people called Carges, and the Alani or Arcas inhabit, who are as yet Chriſtians, and make war againſt the Tartars. Beyond them, next unto the ſea or lake of Etilia, there are certain Mohammedans called Leſgi, who are in ſubjection to the Tartars. Beyond this is Porta-Ferrea, or the Iron Gate, concerning the ſituation of which Your Majeſty ſhall be further informed towards the end of this treatiſe, for I travelled in my return by the very place between theſe two rivers; in the regions through which we paſſed the Comanians formerly inhabited before they were over-run by the Tartars.

22. We found Sartach lying within three days journey of the river Etilia, whoſe court ſeemed to us to be very great, for he himſelf had ſix wives, and his eldeſt ſon alſo had three wives, every one of which women hath a great houſe, and each of them above two hundred carts. Our guide went unto a certain Neſtorian named Coiat, who is a man of great authority in Sartach's court; he made us go a long way to one Janna, for ſo they call him who has the office of entertaining ambaſſadors. In the evening Coiat commanded us to come unto him. Then our guide began to inquire what we would preſent him with, and was exceedingly offended when he ſaw we had nothing ready to preſent. We ſtood before him, and he ſat majeſtically, having muſic and dancing in his preſence. Then I ſpoke unto him in the words before recited, telling him for what purpoſe I was come unto his Lord, and requeſting ſo much favour at his hands as to bring our letters unto the ſight of his Lord. I excuſed myſelf alſo, that I was a monk, not having, nor receiving, nor uſing any gold or ſilver or other precious thing, ſave our books, and the garments in which, as prieſts, we ſerved God; and this was the cauſe why I brought no preſent to him, or to his Lord; for having abandoned my own goods, it could not be expected I ſhould become a carrier for other men. To all which he anſwered very courteouſly, that being a monk, in ſo doing I did well, for ſo I ſhould obſerve my vow; neither ſtood he in need of aught we had, but rather was ready to beſtow on us ſuch things as we ſtood in need of; and having ſo ſaid, he cauſed us to ſit down, and to drink of his milk, and preſently after he requeſted us to ſay our devotions for him, and we did ſo.

He enquired alſo who was the greateſt prince among the Franks, i. e. the weſtern Chriſtians? and I ſaid the Emperor, if he could enjoy his own dominions in quiet. No, replied he, but the King of France, for he had heard of Your Highneſs by Lord Baldwin of Henalt. I found there alſo one of the Knights Templars, who had been in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he ſaw there. Then we returned to our lodging, and the next morning we ſent him a flaggon of Muſcadel wine (which had kept very well in ſo long a journey) and a box full of biſcuit, which was moſt acceptable unto him, and he detained our ſervants for that evening, and they were well entertained at his tents. The next morning he commanded me to come to court, and to bring the King's letters, and my veſtments and books with me, becauſe his lord was deſirous to ſee them, which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our books and veſtments, and another with biſcuit, wine, and fruits: then he cauſed all our books and veſtments to be ſpread abroad, and there ſtood round about us many Tartars, Chriſtians, and Saracens, on horſeback; at the ſight of which he demanded, whether I would beſtow all thoſe things upon his lord or no? which ſaying made me tremble, and threw me into an exceſſive fright. Diſſembling our grief as well as we could, we gave him the following anſwer: Sir, our humble requeſt is, that our lord, your maſter, would vouchſafe to accept our bread, wine, and fruits, not as a preſent, becauſe it is too mean, but as a benediction, leſt we ſhould come with an empty hand before him, and he ſhall ſee the letters of my Sovereign Lord the King, and by them he ſhall underſtand for what cauſe we are come unto him, and then both ourſelves and all that we have are at his pleaſure, but for our veſtments they are holy, and it is unlawful for any but prieſts to touch them.

Then he commanded us to dreſs ourſelves in the garments, that we might go before his lord, and we did ſo. Then putting on our moſt precious ornaments, I took in my arms a very fair cuſhion, and the bible which Your Majeſty gave me, and a moſt beautiful pſalter, which the Queen was pleaſed to beſtow upon me, wherein there were very fine pictures. My aſſociate took a miſſal and a croſs, and the clerk having put on his ſurplice, took a cenſor in his hand, and ſo we came to the preſence of his lord, and they lifted up the felt hanging before his door, that he might behold us.

Then they cauſed the clerk and the interpreter thrice to bow the knee, but of us they required no ſuch ſubmiſſion; and they diligently admoniſhed to take care that in going in, and in coming out, we touched not the threſhold of the houſe, and requeſted us to ſing a benediction for him. At length we entered ſinging *Salve Regina*; and in the entrance of the door ſtood a bench with coſmos, and drinking-cups, thereon, and all his wives were there aſſembled; alſo the Moguls, or, as they pronounce, Moals, or rich Tartars, thruſt in, and preſſed hard upon us. Then Coiat carried to his lord the cenſor, with incenſe, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand; afterwards he carried the pſalter unto him, which he looked earneſtly upon, and his wife alſo that ſat by him; after that he carried the bible; then Sartach aſked if the goſpel were contained therein? Yes, ſaid I, and all the Holy Scriptures beſides.

He took the croſs alſo in his hand, and aſked, as to the image, whether it were the image of Chriſt or no? I ſaid it was. The Neſtorians and the Armenians never make the figure of Chriſt upon their croſſes. Wherefore, either they ſeem not to think well of this paſſion, or elſe are aſhamed of it. Then he cauſed them that ſtood about us to ſtand aſide, that he might more fully behold our ornaments. Afterwards I delivered unto him Your Majeſty's letters, with the tranſlation thereof in the Arabic and Syriac languages, for I cauſed them to be tranſlated at Acon into the character and

dialect of both the ſaid tongues. There were certain Armenian prieſts who were verſed in the Turkiſh and Arabian languages, and the Knight before mentioned alſo of the order of the Temple, had knowledge in the Syriac, Turkiſh, and Arabian tongues. Then we departed, and put off our veſtments, and there came unto us ſome ſecretaries of the court, together with the Coiat, and cauſed our letters to be interpreted, which letters being heard, he cauſed our bread, wine, and fruits, to be received; and he permitted us alſo to carry our veſtments and books unto our own lodging.

23. We had the next morning betimes a viſit from a certain prieſt, who was brother to Coiat, requeſting to have our box of chriſm, becauſe Sartach, as he ſaid, was deſirous to ſee it, and ſo we gave it him. In the evening Coiat ſent for us, ſaying, my lord your King wrote kind words unto my lord and maſter Sartach. There are, however, certain matters of difficulty in them, concerning which he dare not determine without the advice of his father, and therefore you muſt depart unto him, leaving behind you the two carts which you brought hither yeſterday with veſtments and books in my cuſtody, becauſe my lord is deſirous to take a more diligent view of them. I, preſently ſuſpecting what miſchief might enſue from his covetouſneſs, made him anſwer, Sir, we will not only leave thoſe with you, but the two other carts alſo which we have, in your poſſeſſion. You ſhall not, ſaid he, leave thoſe behind you; but for the two carts firſt named, we will ſatisfy your requeſt: I ſaid that this could not conveniently be done, but we muſt leave all with him. Then he aſked. whether we meant to remain in the land? I anſwered, if you have read, and underſtand the Letters of my lord the King, you know that we are ſo determined; then he replied, that he ought to be patient, and ſo we departed from him that evening.

The next morning he ſent a Neſtorian prieſt for the carts, and we cauſed all the four carts to be delivered; then came the before mentioned brother of Coiat to meet us; and ſeparated thoſe things, which we had brought the day before to the court from the reſt, viz. the books and veſtments, and took them away with him. Coiat had, however, commanded, that we ſhould carry theſe veſtments with us, which we wore in the preſence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if he ſhould require it; but the prieſt took them from us by violence, uſing theſe words: you brought them to Sartach, and would you carry them to Baatu? and when I would have ſhewn him the reaſon, he anſwered, come, don't be too talkative, but go your way. Then I ſaw there was no remedy but patience, for we could have no acceſs unto Sartach himſelf, neither was there any that would do us juſtice. I was afraid alſo of the interpreter, that he had ſpoken other things than I directed him, for his will was good, that we ſhould have given away all that we had. There was yet one comfort left to me, for when I once perceived their covetous intent, I conveyed from among our books the bible, and the ſentences, and other books, which I valued moſt. I durſt not, however take away the pſalter of my ſovereign lady the Queen, becauſe it was too well known, on account of the golden pictures therein: ſo we returned with the two other carts to our lodging; then came he that was appointed to be our guide to the court of Baatu, bidding us provide for our journey in all haſte; to whom I ſaid, that I would in no caſe have the carts go with me, which he declared unto Coiat.

The Coiat commanded that we ſhould leave them and our ſervant with him, and we did as he directed, and ſo travelled directly eaſtwards towards Baatu; the third day we came to Etilia, or Volga, the ſtream of which when I beheld I wondered from what region of the north ſuch huge and mighty waters ſhould deſcend. Before we were departed from Sartach, Coiat, with many other ſcribes of the court, ſaid unto us,

do not make report that our lord is a Chriſtian, but a Moal, becauſe the name of a Chriſtian ſeemeth to them to be the name of ſome nation; and ſo great is their pride, that though they believe, perhaps ſome things concerning Chriſt, yet they will not be called Chriſtians, being deſirous that their own name, that is to ſay, Mogul Moal, ſhould be exalted above all other names: neither will they be called by the name of Tartars, for the Tartars were another nation, as I was informed by them.

24. At the time that the Franks made themſelves maſters of the city of Antioch, which was about the year 1097, there reigned in theſe northern parts a Prince whoſe name was Kon-Khan, or Ken-Khan. Kon or Ken was his proper name, and Khan his ſtyle of power or dignity; for it is to be underſtood that the word khan, ſtrictly taken, ſignifies a diviner, a man ſkilled in ſublime ſciences, or one who can foretel future events; and from thence it is transferred to their princes, as if they held them to be endowed with all theſe great qualities. The Turks, at the time of that ſiege, demanded ſuccours of Kon-Khan againſt the Chriſtians, as coming themſelves originally out of theſe countries. This Kon-Khan was ſtyled likewiſe Khan, or Prince of Cara-Cathay, which is as much as to ſay, the Black Cathay; for Cara in their language ſignifies black, and Cathay is the name of a certain country, which, however, is to be diſtinguiſhed from that Cathay which lies farther towards the eaſt, and is a maritime country, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

As for this Cara-Cathay, it lies behind certain mountains, over which I paſſed, as alſo through a plain country, in which dwelt formerly a certain great Neſtorian prieſt, who was the ſovereign of a nation called Naymans, and who were all Chriſtians of the Neſtorian ſect. This Kon-Khan being dead, the Neſtorian prieſt before-mentioned took upon him the ſtyle and office of a king, and thence the Neſtorians called him the King Preſtre John, i. e. John the Prieſt, and publiſhed mighty things concerning him, and much beyond the truth; for it is the cuſtom of the Neſtorians coming from this country to magnify every little thing into a great matter, juſt as they ſpread a report that Sartach was become a Chriſtian, and that Mangu-Khan and Ken-Khan, had alſo embraced our religion, only becauſe they were indulgent to thoſe of our profeſſion, though nothing is more certain than that none of them are Chriſtians. So likewiſe there went abroad a great report concerning this King and Prieſt John; notwithſtanding which, when I travelled through his territories, there was no body that knew any thing of him, but a few Neſtorians. In his paſtures or territories dwelt Ken-Khan, at whoſe court Friar Andrew was, and I myſelf paſſed by at my return. This John had a brother who was powerful alſo, and a ſhepherd like himſelf called Unc, and he inhabited beyond the mountains of Cara-Cathay, diſtant from his brother John the ſpace of three weeks journey. He was lord of a certain village called Cara-Carum, having people alſo for his ſubjects named Prit, or Merkit, who were Chriſtians of the ſect of Neſtorius; but their lord abandoning the worſhip of Chriſt, embraced idolatry, retaining with him prieſts of the ſaid idols, who all of them are worſhippers of devils, and are ſorcerers themſelves.

Beyond his paſtures, about ten or fifteen days journey, are the paſtures of Moal, who were a poor and beggarly nation, without governor and without law, except their ſoothſayings and their divinations, unto which deteſtable ſtudies all in thoſe parts apply their minds. Near unto Moal were other poor people called Tartars. The aforeſaid King John died without iſſue male, his brother Unc thereby was greatly inriched, and took himſelf the ſtyle of Khan, and his cattle and herds ranged to the borders of Moal. About the ſame time there was one Zingis a farrier among the people of Moal; this Zingis ſtole as many cattle from the Khan as he could poſſibly, ſo that the ſhepherds of

Unc complained unto their lord; upon which he raiſed an army, and marched up into the country of Moal to ſeek for Zingis: but Zingis fled amongſt the Tartars, and hid himſelf among them; and Unc having taken ſome ſpoils both from Moal and alſo from the Tartars, returned home; then Zingis addreſſed himſelf to the Tartars, and to the people of Moal, "Behold brethren," ſaid he, "becauſe we are deſtitute of a governor and a captain, you ſee how our neighbour oppreſſes us;" on which the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their captain.

Then having ſecretly gathered together an army, he broke in ſuddenly upon Unc, and overcame him, and Unc fled into Cathaya. At the ſame time his daughter was taken, which Zingis married unto one of his ſons, by whom ſhe conceived and brought forth the Great Khan, which now reigneth, called Mangu-Khan. Then Zingis ſent the Tartars before him in all place where he came; and thereupon was their name publiſhed and ſpead abroad; for in all places the people call out, "The Tartars come, the Tartars come. Yet through continual wars, they are now all of them in a manner conſumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals endeavour what they can to extinguiſh the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their own. The country wherein they firſt inhabited, and where the court of Zingis-Khan yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But becauſe Tartaria is the region out of which they have obtained their conqueſts, they eſteem that the ſeat of their kingdom; and there alſo, for the moſt part, do they elect their Great Khan.

25. In reſpect to this Sartach, whether he believes in Chriſt or no, I know not; this I am ſure of, that he will not be called a Chriſtian: on the contrary, he ſeems to me to deride and ſcoff at Chriſtians. His country is in the way of the Chriſtians, viz. of the Ruſſians, the Walachians, the Bulgarians, the Soldaians, the Kerchis, and the Alans, who all of them paſs by him as they are going to the court of his father Baatu to carry gifts; and therefore he is more in friendſhip with them. If the Saracens however come and bring greater gifts than they, they are diſpatched ſooner. He hath about him certain Neſtorian prieſts, who tell their beads and ſing their devotions. There is alſo another under Baatu, called Berta, who feeds his cattle towards the iron gate or Derbent, where lieth the paſſage of all the Saracens which come out of Perſia and out of Turkey, to go unto Baatu, and paſſing by they make him preſents, and he profeſſeth himſelf to be a Saracen, and will not permit ſwine's fleſh to be eaten in his dominions. At the time of our return, Baatu commanded him to remove himſelf from that place, and to inhabit upon the eaſt ſide of Volga, for he was not willing that the Saracen's Ambaſſadors ſhould paſs by the ſaid Berta, becauſe he ſaw it was not for his profit.

For the ſpace of four days while we remained in the court of Sartach, we had not any victuals allowed us, except once a little coſmos; and in our journey between him and his father, we travelled in great fear; for certain Ruſſians, Hungarians, and Alans, being ſervants to the Tartars (of whom they have great multitudes among them), aſſembled themſelves twenty or thirty in a company; and ſecretly in the night conveying themſelves from home, they take bows and arrows with them, and whoſoever they find in the night ſeaſon they put him to death, hiding themſelves in the day time; and having tired their horſes, they go in the night to a company of other horſes feeding in ſome paſture, and change them for new, taking with them alſo one or two horſes beſides to eat them when they ſtand in need. Our guide therefore was much afraid, leſt we ſhould have met with ſuch companions.

In this journey we had periſhed through famine, had we not carried ſome of our biſcuit with us: at length we came to the vaſt river Etilia, or the Volga, which is

four times greater than the river of Seine, and of a wonderful depth, falling into that which of late they call the Hircanian Sea, according to the name of a certain country in Perſia, lying on the ſhore thereof. Iſidore calleth it however the Caſpian Sea, for it hath the Caſpian mountains and the land of Perſia ſituate on the ſouth ſide thereof, and the mountains of Maſihet, that is to ſay, of the people called Aſſaſſini, towards the eaſt, which mountains are joined unto the Caſpian mountains; but on the north ſide thereof lieth the ſame deſart, wherein the Tartars now inhabit; in which heretofore there dwelt a nation called Changle; and on that ſide it receives the Etilia, which river riſes in ſummer-time like the river Nile in Egypt. On the weſt part thereof it hath the mountains of Alan, and Leſgi, and Derbent or the iron gate, and the mountains of Georgia. This ſea therefore is encompaſſed on three ſides, with mountains; but on the north ſide hath a fine flat country. Friar Andrew, in his journey, travelled round about two ſides thereof, namely the ſouth and eaſt ſides, and I myſelf about the other two; that is to ſay, the north ſide, in going from Baatu to Magu-Khan, and in returning likewiſe; on the weſt ſide, in coming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may travel round about it in four months; and it is not true which Iſidore reports, that this ſea is a bay or gulph coming out of the ocean, for in no part it communicates with the ocean, but is environed on all ſides with the land.

26. All the regions extending from the weſt ſhore of this ſea, where Alexander's iron gate, otherwiſe called the city of Derbent, is ſituate, and from the mountains Alan, all along by the fences of Mæotis, into which the river of Tanais falls, and ſo to the North ocean, was of old called Albania, of which country Iſidore reporteth, that there are in it dogs of ſuch huge ſtature, and ſo fierce, that they are able, in fight, to match bulls, and to maſter lions, which is true, as I was aſſured by ſeveral, who told me, that towards the North ocean they make their dogs draw in carts like oxen, on account of their bigneſs and ſtrength. On that part of Etilia where we arrived, there is a new ſtation built, wherein they have placed Tartars and Ruſſians together to ferry over and tranſport meſſengers going and coming to and from the court of Baatu, for Baatu keeps his court upon the farther ſide towards the eaſt; neither aſcendeth he in the ſummer-time more northward than the place where we arrived, but was even then deſcending to the ſouth. From January to Auguſt, he, and all other Tartars aſcend by the banks of rivers towards cold and northerly regions, and in Auguſt they begin to return back again.

We paſſed down the ſtream therefore in a bark from the above mentioned ſtation unto his court, from the ſame place unto a village of Bulgaria the Greater, ſtanding towards the north; it is five days journey. I wonder how the Devil carried the religion of Mohammed thither; for, from Derbent, which is upon the extreme borders of Perſia, it is above thirty days journey to paſs over the deſart, and ſo aſcend to the bank of Etilia into the country of Bulgaria, in all which way there is no city, only certain cottages near unto that place where Etilia falleth into the ſea. Theſe Bulgarians are more wicked Mahommedans than any other nations whatever. When I beheld the court of Baatu, I was aſtoniſhed at the firſt ſight thereof, for his houſes or tents are as though they had been ſome mighty city ſtretching out a great way in length, the people ranging up and down about it for the ſpace of ſome three or four leagues; and even as the people of Iſrael knew every man on one ſide the tabernacle to pitch his tent, ſo every one of them knoweth very well toward which ſide of the court he ought to place his houſe when he takes it from off the cart. The court is called therefore in their language Horda, which ſignifies the midſt, becauſe the governor, or chief captain among them, dwells always in the midſt of his people, except only that directly towards

wards the ſouth no inferior perſon places himſelf, becauſe, towards that region the court gates are ſet open; but to the right hand and the left hand they place themſelves as far as they will, according to the convenience of places, ſo that they erect not their houſes directly oppoſite againſt the court. At our arrival we were conducted to a Mohammedan, who provided no victuals for us at all. The day following, we were brought to the court, and Baatu cauſed a large tent to be erected, becauſe his houſe or tent could not contain ſo many men and women as were aſſembled. Our guide admoniſhed us not to ſpeak till Baatu had given us commandment ſo to do, and that then we ſhould ſpeak our minds briefly.

Then Baatu demanded whether Your Majeſty had ſent ambaſſadors unto him or no? I anſwered, that Your Majeſty had ſent meſſengers to Ken-Khan, and that you would not have ſent meſſengers or letters to Sartach, had not Your Highneſs been perſuaded that they were become Chriſtians, becauſe you ſent not unto them out of any fear, but only for congratulation and courteſy ſake, in regard that you heard they were converted to Chriſtianity. Then led he us unto his pavilion, and we were charged not to touch the cords of the tent, about which they are as ſuſpicious as about the threſhold of the houſe. There we ſtood in our habits bare-footed and bare-headed, and were a great and ſtrange ſpectacle in their eyes. Indeed Friar John Du Plano Carpini had been there before my coming; but becauſe he was the Pope's ambaſſador, he changed his habit, that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the midſt of the tent, neither required they of us to do any reverence, by bowing our knees as they uſed to do of other meſſengers; we ſtood therefore before him for the ſpace wherein a a man might have rehearſed the pſalm *Miſerere mei Deus*, and there was a great ſilence kept by all.

Baatu himſelf ſat upon a ſeat long and broad, like a bed gilt all over, with three ſtairs to aſcend, and one of his ladies ſat beſide him. The men there aſſembled ſat down ſcattering, ſome on the right hand of the ſaid lady, and ſome on the left. Theſe places on the one ſide, which the women filled not up (for there were only the wives of Baatu) were ſupplied by the men. Alſo at the very entrance of the tent ſtood a bench furniſhed with coſmos, and with ſtately cups of ſilver and gold, richly ſet with precious ſtones. Baatu beheld us earneſtly, and we him, and he ſeemed to reſemble in perſonage Monſieur John de Beaumont, whoſe ſoul reſteth in peace; for, like him, he had a freſh ruddy countenance.

At length he commanded us to ſpeak. Then our guide gave us direction that we ſhould bow our knees and ſpeak; on which I bowed one knee, then he ſignified that I ſhould kneel on both my knees; I did ſo, being loth to contend about ſuch circumſtances; and again he commanded me to ſpeak. Then I thinking of a prayer unto God, becauſe I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray in theſe words: "Sir, we beſeech the Lord, from whom all good things do proceed, and who hath given you theſe earthly benefits, that it would pleaſe him hereafter to make you partaker of his heavenly bleſſings, becauſe the former, without theſe, are but vain and unprofitable: and, indeed, further be it known unto you of a certain, that you ſhall not obtain the joys of heaven, unleſs you become a Chriſtian; for God ſaith, Whoſoever believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved, but he that believeth not ſhall be condemned."

At this he modeſtly ſmiled, but the other Moals began to clap their hands and to deride us, and my ſilly interpreter, of whom eſpecially I ſhould have received comfort in time of need, was himſelf abaſhed, and utterly out of countenance. Then after ſilence made, I ſaid to him, "I came to your ſon, becauſe we heard that he was become a Chriſtian, and I brought to him letters on the behalf of my Sovereign Lord the King

King of France, and your ſon ſent me hither unto you; the cauſe of my coming therefore is beſt known unto yourſelf." Then he cauſed me to riſe up, and he enquired Your Majeſty's name, my name, and the name of my aſſociate and interpreter, and cauſed them all to be put down in writing. He demanded alſo (becauſe he had been informed that you was departed out of your own countries with an army) againſt whom you waged war? I anſwered againſt the Saracens, who had defiled the Houſe of God at Jeruſalem. He aſked alſo whether Your Highneſs had ever before that time ſent any ambaſſador unto him or no? To you, Sir, ſaid I, never.

Then he cauſed us to ſit down, and gave us of his milk to drink, which they account to be a great favour, eſpecially when any man is permitted to drink coſmos with him in his own houſe: and as I ſat looking down on the ground, he commanded me to lift up my countenance, being deſirous yet to take a more diligent view of us, or elſe perhaps for a kind of ſuperſtitious obſervation; for they eſteem it a ſign of ill luck, or a prognoſtication of evil unto them, when any ſits in their preſence holding down his head as if he were ſad, eſpecially when he leans his cheek or chin upon his hand. Then we departed, and immediately after came our guide to us, and conducting us to our lodging, ſaid unto me; Your maſter the King, requeſteth that you may remain in this kingdom which requeſt Baatu cannot grant, without the knowledge and conſent of Mangu-Khan; wherefore you and your interpreter muſt, of neceſſity, go to Mangu-Khan; but, nevertheleſs, your aſſociate and the other man, ſhall return unto the court of Sartach, and ſtay there for you till you come back." Then began my interpreter to lament, eſteeming himſelf but a dead man; my aſſociate alſo proteſted he would ſooner loſe his head than withdraw out of my company: I myſelf ſaid, that without my aſſociate I could not go, and that we ſtood in need of two ſervants at leaſt, becauſe if one ſhould chance to fall ſick we would not be without another.

Upon this, returning unto the court, he told this to Baatu, and Baatu anſwered, let the two prieſts and the interpreter go together, but let the clerk return to Sartach; and coming again unto us, he told us ſo; and when I would have ſpoken for the clerk to have had him with us, he ſaid, no more words, for Baatu is reſolved that ſo it ſhall be and therefore I dare not go to the court any more. Goſet, the clerk, had the remainder of the alms-money beſtowed upon him, twenty-ſix Yperperas, and no more, ten whereof he kept for himſelf and the lad, and ſixteen he gave unto the interpreter for us; and thus were we parted with tears, he returning unto the court of Sartach, and ourſelves remaining ſtill in the ſame place.

27. On the eve of the feaſt of Aſſumption our clerk arrived at the court of Sartach, and the next day after, the Neſtorian prieſts were adorned with our veſtments, in the preſence of the ſaid Sartach. Then we ourſelves were conducted unto another hoſt, who was appointed to provide us houſe-room, victuals, and horſes; but becauſe we had not any thing to beſtow upon him, he did all things untowardly for us: then we rode on forward with Baatu, deſcending along by the bank of Etilia, or Volga, for the ſpace of five weeks together. Sometimes my aſſociate was ſo extremely hungry, that he would tell me in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though he had never eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a fair or market following the court of Baatu at all times; but it was ſo far diſtant from us, that we could not have recourſe thereto, for we were conſtrained to walking on foot for want of horſes. At length certain Hungarians, a ſort of clergymen, found us out, and one of them could as yet ſing many ſongs without book, and was accounted of other Hungarians as prieſt and was ſent for unto the funerals of his deceaſed countrymen.

There

There was another of them alſo pretty well inſtructed in his grammar, for he could underſtand the meaning of any thing that we ſpoke, but could not anſwer us. Theſe Hungarians were a great help to us, giving us coſmos to drink and ſometimes fleſh to eat alſo, who when they requeſted to have ſome books of us, and I had not any to give them (for indeed we had none except a Bible and a breviary) it greived me exceedingly; and I ſaid to them bring me ſome ink and paper, and I will write for you ſo long as we ſhall remain here; and they did ſo, and I copied out for them the hours of the bleſſed Virgin, and the office of the dead. One day there was a Comanian that accompanied us, that ſaluted us, ſaying Salve Domine; wondering thereat, and ſaluting him again, I demanded of him who had taught him that kind of ſalutation? He ſaid, that he was baptized in Hungary by our friars, and that of them he learned it: he ſaid moreover, that Baatu had inquired many things of him concerning us, and that he told him the ſtate of our order. Afterwards I ſaw Baatu riding with his company, and all his ſubjects that were maſters of families riding with him, and in my eſtimation there were more than five hundred perſons in all.

At length about the end of Holy-rood, there came a certain rich Moal unto us, whoſe father was a millanary, which is a great office among them, and told us, I am the man that muſt conduct you to Mangu-Khan, and we have thither a journey of four months to travel, and there is ſuch extreme cold in thoſe parts, that ſtones and trees burſt aſunder: therefore I wiſh you would adviſe with yourſelves whether you be able to endure it or no; I anſwered by God's help I hope we ſhall be able to go through that which other men can endure. Then he ſaid, if you cannot endure it, I will forſake you by the way, and I anſwered it were not juſt dealings for you ſo to do, for we go not thither upon any buſineſs of our own, but by reaſon that we are ſent thither by our lord; wherefore ſince we are committed to your charge, you ought in no wiſe to forſake us. Then he ſaid, all ſhall be well. He cauſed us to ſhew him our garments, and whatſoever he deemed to be leſs needful for us, he bid us leave behind in the cuſtody of our hoſt. On the morrow they brought unto each of us a furred gown made all of ram's ſkins with the wool ſtill upon them, and breeches of the ſame, boots according to their faſhion, ſhoes made of felt, and hoods alſo made of ſkins and after their manner. The ſecond day after Holy-rood we began to ſet forward on our journey having three guides to direct us, and we rode continually eaſtward till the feaſt of All-Saints throughout all that region, and beyond alſo, were the people Changles inhabitants, who were deſcended from the Romans. On the north ſide of us we had Bulgaria the Greater, and on the ſouth the Caſpian ſea.

When we had travelled twelve days journey from Etilia we found a mighty river called Jagac, which river iſſuing out of the north from the land of Paſcatar, or of the Hungarians, which all is one, and they are all of them ſhepherds, not having any cities; and their country bordereth upon Bulgaria the Greater on the weſt frontier; from the north-eaſt part of the country there is no city at all. Out of the ſaid region of Paſcatir proceeded the Hunnes of old, who afterwards were called Hungarians. Next unto it is Bulgaria the Greater. Iſidore reporteth concerning the people of this nation, that with ſwift horſes they traverſed the impregnable walls and bounds of Alexander, which with the rocks of Caucaſus, ſerve to reſtrain thoſe barbarous and blood-thirſty people from invading the regions of the ſouth, inſomuch as they had tribute paid unto them as far as Egypt, and they waſted all countries even unto France. If ſo they were more mighty than the Tartars as yet are, and unto them the Blacians and the Bulgarians and the Vandals joined themſelves: for out of Bulgaria the Greater came

came thoſe Bulgarians. As for them who inhabited beyond Danubius, near unto Conſtantinople, and not far from Paſcatir, are called Ilac, which (ſaving the pronunciation) is all one with black, for the Tartars cannot pronounce the letter B; from whom alſo deſcend the people which inhabit the land of Haſſan, for they are called Ilac (both theſe and the other) in the Language of the Ruſſians, and Polonians, and the Bohemians.

The Sclavonians ſpoke one language with the Vandals, all which confederate with the Hunnes, and now, for the moſt part, they unite themſelves to the Tartars, whom God hath raiſed up from the utmoſt parts of the earth, according to that which the Lord ſaith; "I will provoke them to envy by a people which is no people, and by a fooliſh nation will I anger them." This prophecy is fulfilled, according to the literal ſenſe thereof, upon all nations, which obſerve not the law of God. All this which I have written concerning the land of Paſcatir, was told me by certain friars, who travelled thither before ever the Tartars came; and, from that time, they were ſubdued unto their neighbours the Bulgarians, being Saracens; for which reaſon many of them proved Saracens alſo.

Other matters concerning theſe people may be known out of hiſtory; for it is manifeſt, that thoſe provinces beyond Conſtantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachi, and Sclavonia, were of old provinces belonging to the Greeks; alſo Hungary was heretofore called Panonia, and we were riding over the land of Changle from the feaſt of Holy-rood, until the feaſt of All-ſaints, travelling almoſt every day, according to my account, as far as it is from Paris to Orleans, and ſometimes farther, according as we were provided with poſt-horſes; for ſome days we had change of horſes twice or thrice in a day, ſometimes we were two or three days together, not finding any people, and then we were conſtrained not to ride ſo faſt. Of twenty or thirty horſes we had always the worſt, becauſe we were ſtrangers, for every one took their choice of the beſt horſes before us. They provided me always a ſtrong horſe, becauſe I was corpulent and heavy; but whether he went a gentle pace or no, I durſt not make any queſtion, neither durſt I complain, although he trotted very hard; for every man muſt here be contented with his lot as it falls. We were often exceedingly troubled, becauſe our horſes tired before we could come at any people, and then we were conſtrained to whip our horſes, and to lay our garments on other horſes, and ſometimes two of us to ride upon one horſe.

29. Of hunger and thirſt, cold and wearineſs, there was no end, for they gave us no fleſh-meat, but in the evening. In the morning they uſed to give us a little drink or ſome boiled millet; in the evening they beſtowed fleſh upon us, as a ſhoulder and breaſt of ram's mutton, and every man a quantity of broth to drink. When we had ſufficient of the fleſh broth we were well refreſhed, and it ſeemed to me moſt pleaſant, and moſt nouriſhing drink. Every Saturday I remained faſting until night, without eating or drinking; and when night came I was conſtrained, to my great grief and ſorrow, to eat fleſh: ſometimes we were compelled to eat fleſh half ſodden, or almoſt raw, for want of fuel to boil it, eſpecially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came to our journey's end, becauſe we then could not conveniently gather together the dung of horſes and oxen, for other fuel we found but ſeldom, except, perhaps, a few thorns in ſome places. Upon the banks of ſome rivers there are woods growing here and there, but they are very rare: in the beginning our guide highly diſdained us, and it was tedious unto him to conduct ſuch baſe fellows. Afterwards, when he began to know us ſomewhat better, he directed us on our way by the courts of rich Moals, and we were requeſted to pray for them: wherefore had I

carried a good interpreter with me I ſhould have had opportunities to have done much good.

The before-mentioned Zingis, who was the firſt great Khan or Emperor of the Tartars, had four ſons, of whom proceeded by natural deſcent many children, every one of which doth at this day enjoy great poſſeſſions, and they are daily multiplied and diſperſed over that huge and vaſt deſart, which is in dimenſions like the ocean. Our guide therefore directed us, as we were going on our journey, to many of their habitations; and they marvelled exceedingly, that we would not receive either gold or ſilver, or precious and coſtly garments at their hands. They enquired alſo concerning the great pope, whether he was of ſo laſting an age as they had heard; for there had gone a report among them, that he was five hundred years old. They enquired alſo after our countries, whether there was abundance of ſheep, oxen, and horſes or no? Concerning the ocean, they could not conceive of it, becauſe it was without limits or banks. Upon the eve of the feaſt of All-Saints we altered our courſe, which hitherto pointed eaſt, becauſe the people were now deſcended very much ſouth, and we went on our journey by certain mountains directly ſouthward for the ſpace of eight days together. In the deſart I ſaw many aſſes, which they call Colan, being rather mules; theſe did our guide and his companions chaſe very eagerly, though they did but loſe their labour, for the beaſts were too ſwift for them.

Upon the ſeventh day there appeared to the ſouth of us very high mountains; and we entered into a place which was well watered, and freſh as a garden, and found land tilled and manured. The eighth day after the feaſt of All Saints we arrived at a town of the Saracens named Kenchat, the governor whereof met our guide at the towns end, with ale and cups; for it is their cuſtom, at all towns and villages ſubject to them, to meet the meſſengers of Baatu and Mangu-Khan, with meat and drink; at this time of the year they went upon the ice in that country, and before the feaſt of Saint Michael they had froſt in the deſart. I enquired the name of this province, but being now in a ſtrange territory, they could not tell me the name thereof, but only the name of a ſmall city in the ſame province; and that there deſcended a great river down from the mountains, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would give it paſſage, by making divers channels and ſluices; neither did the river diſcharge itſelf into any ſea, but was ſwallowed up by a gulph into the bowels of the earth, and it cauſed many fens or lakes; alſo I ſaw many vines, and drank of the wine made from them.

30. The day following we came unto another cottage near the mountains, and I enquired what mountains they were, which I underſtood to be the mountains of Caucaſus, which are ſtretched forth and continued on both ſides to the ſea from the weſt unto the eaſt; and on the weſt they are bordering to the Caſpian ſea, into which the river Volga diſcharges its ſtreams. I enquired alſo of the city of Talas, wherein were certain Germans, ſervants unto one Buri, of whom Friar Andrew makes mention, concerning whom alſo I enquired very diligently in the courts of Sartach and Baatu. I could get no intelligence of them, but only that their lord and maſter Ban was put to death upon the occaſion following. This Ban was not ſettled in good and fertile paſtures; and upon a certain day being drunk, he ſpoke thus to his men: "Am not I of the ſtock and kindred of Zingis-Khan as well as Baatu? (for indeed he was very nearly related to Baatu,) why then do I not paſs and repaſs upon the bank of Etilia, to feed my cattle there as freely as Baatu himſelf doth?" Which ſpeech of his was reported unto Baatu; whereupon Baatu wrote to his ſervants to bring their lord bound unto him, and they did ſo.

Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had ſpoken any ſuch words; and he confeſſed that he had. But becauſe it is the manner of the Tartars to pardon drunken men, he

excuſed himſelf by ſaying that he was drunk at the time. How durſt you, ſaid Baatu, once name me in thy drunkenneſs? and having ſaid this, he cauſed his head to be chopped off.

Concerning the aforeſaid Germans, I could not learn any thing till I came to the court of Mangu-Khan, and there I was informed that Mangu-Khan had removed them out of the juriſdiction of Baatu for the ſpace of a month's journey from Talas eaſtward to a certain village called Bolac, where they are ſet to dig gold, and to make armour, ſo that I could neither go nor come by them. I paſſed very near the ſaid city in going, that is, within three days journey, but I was ignorant that I did ſo, neither could I have turned out of the way, if I had known ſo much. From the aforeſaid cottage, we went directly eaſtward by the mountains, and from that time we travelled among the people of Mangu-Khan, who in all places ſang and danced before our guide, becauſe he was the meſſenger of Baatu; for this courteſy they do to each other, namely, the people of Mangu-Khan receiving the meſſengers of Baatu, and ſo likewiſe the people of Baatu entertaining the people of Mangu-Khan, notwithſtanding the people of Baatu are more ſurly, and ſhew not ſo much courteſy to the ſubjects of Mangu-Khan as in their turn they do to them.

A few days after we entered upon thoſe mountains where the Cara-Cathayans were wont to inhabit, and there we found a mighty river, inſomuch that we were conſtrained to embark ourſelves, and to ſail over it. Afterwards we came into a valley, where I ſaw a caſtle deſtroyed, the walls whereof were only of mud, and in that place the ground was tilled alſo; and there we found a certain village named Equius, wherein were Mohammedans ſpeaking the Perſian language, but they dwelt a great way off Perſia. The day following, having paſſed over the great mountains ſouthward, we entered into a moſt beautiful plain, having high mountains on our right hand, and on the left hand of us a certain ſea or lake, fifteen days journey in circuit. All the plain is moſt commodiouſly watered by trenches diſtilling from the ſaid mountains; all which fall into the lake in ſummer time. We returned by the north ſide of the lake, and there were great mountains on that ſide alſo. Upon this plain there uſed to be formerly many villages; but for the moſt part they were all waſted in regard of fertile paſtures, that the Tartars might feed their cattle there.

We found one great city there named Cailac, which was a market, and great numbers of merchants frequented it. In this city we remained fifteen days, ſtaying for a certain ſcribe or ſecretary of Baatu, who ought to have accompanied our guide for the diſpatching of certain affairs in the court of Mangu. All this country was wont to be called Organum, and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kind of writing; but it was now inhabited by the people called Contomans. The Neſtorians likewiſe in thoſe parts uſe the very ſame kind of language and writing; they are called Organa, becauſe they were wont to be moſt ſkilful in playing upon organs, as was reported unto me. Here did I firſt ſee worſhippers of idols; concerning whom, let me obſerve to Your Majeſty, that there be many ſects of them in theſe eaſtern countries.

31. The firſt ſort of theſe idolaters are called Jugures, whoſe country borders upon the land of Organum, within the ſaid mountains eaſtward; and in all their cities Neſtorians inhabit, and they are diſperſed likewiſe towards Perſia in the cities of the Saracens. The citizens of the aforeſaid city of Cailac had three idol temples, and I entered into two of them, and beheld their fooliſh ſuperſtitions. In the firſt I found a man, having a croſs painted with ink upon his hand; whereupon I ſuppoſed him to be a Chriſtian, for he anſwered like a Chriſtian unto all queſtions which I demanded of him; and I aſked him, "Why therefore have you not the croſs with the image of Jeſus Chriſt thereupon?" and he anſwered, "We have no ſuch cuſtom."

I thereupon conjectured, that they were indeed Chriſtians, but that for lack of inſtruction they omitted the aforeſaid ceremony; for I ſaw there behind a certain cheſt, which was unto them inſtead of an altar, whereon they ſet candles and oblations, an image having wings like unto the image of St. Michael, and other images alſo, holding their fingers as if they would bleſs ſomebody. That evening I could not find any thing elſe, for the Saracens only invite men thither, but will not have them ſpeak of their religion, and therefore when I required of the Saracens concerning ſuch ceremonies, they were offended thereat.

On the next day after was the new moon, and the Saracens feaſt of Paſſover, and, changing my inn or lodging the ſame day, I took my abode near another idol temple; for the citizens of the ſaid city of Cailac courteouſly invite, and lovingly entertain all meſſengers, every man of them according to his ability and ſtation; and entering into the temple, I found the prieſts of the ſaid idols there; for always at the new moons they ſet open their temples, and the prieſts adorn themſelves, and offer up the people's oblations of bread and fruits. Firſt, therefore, I will deſcribe to you thoſe rites and ceremonies which are common unto all their idol temples, and then the ſuperſtitions of the aforeſaid Jugures, which are, as it were, a ſect diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. They all of them worſhip towards the north, clapping their hands together, and proſtrating themſelves on their knees on the earth, holding alſo their foreheads in their hands: whereupon the Neſtorians in thoſe parts will in no caſe join their hands together in the time of prayer, but they pray, diſplaying their hands before their breaſts.

They extend their temples in length eaſt and weſt, and on the north ſide they build a chamber in the manner of a veſtry, for themſelves to go into, or ſometimes it is otherwiſe. If it be a four-ſquare temple, in the midſt of the temple towards the north ſide thereof, they take in one chamber in that place where the choir ſhould ſtand, and in the ſaid chamber they place a cheſt long and broad like a table, and behind the ſaid cheſt towards the ſouth ſtands their principal idol, which I ſaw at Caracarum, and it was as big as the idol of St. Chriſtopher; alſo a certain Neſtorian prieſt, who had been in Cathay, ſaid, that in that country there is an idol of ſuch bigneſs, that it may be ſeen two days journey before a man came at it; and ſo they place other idols round about the principal idol, being all of them finely gilt over with pure gold, and upon the cheſt, which is in a manner a table, they ſet candles and oblations. The doors of their temple are always open towards the ſouth, contrary to the cuſtom of Saracens: they have alſo great bells like us, and that is the cauſe, as I think, why the Chriſtians of the eaſt will in no caſe uſe great bells, notwithſtanding they are common among the Ruſſians and Grecians of Gaſaria.

32. All their prieſts had their heads and beards ſhaven quite over, and they are clad in ſaffron-coloured garments; and being once ſhaven, they lead an unmarried life from that time forward, and they live an hundred or two hundred of them together in one cloiſter. Upon theſe days, when they enter into their temples, they place two long forms therein, and ſo ſitting upon the ſaid forms like ſinging-men in a choir, one half of them directly over againſt the other, they have certain books in their hand, which ſometimes they lay down by them upon the forms, and their heads are bare ſo long as they remain in the temple, and there they read ſoftly to themſelves, not uttering any voice at all. On my coming in among them at the time of their ſuperſtitious devotions, and finding them all ſitting mute in a manner, I attempted ſeveral ways to provoke them unto ſpeech, and yet could not by any means poſſibly. They have with them alſo, whitherſoever they go, a certain ſtring with an hundred or two hundred nut-ſhells thereupon, much like our beads which we carry about with us; and they do always utter

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theſe words, *Ou mam hactavi ;* " God, thou knoweſt," as one of them expounded it unto me. And ſo often do they expect a reward at God's hands as they pronounce theſe words in remembrance of God.

Round about their temple they always make a fair court like a church-yard, which they environ with a good wall ; and upon the ſouth part thereof, they build a great portico, wherein they ſit and confer together : and upon the top of the ſaid portico they pitch a long pole upright, exalting it if they can, above all the buildings in the town ; and by the view of the ſame pole, people may know that there ſtands a temple of the idols. Theſe rites and ceremonies are common to all idolaters in thoſe parts. Once I made a viſit to this idol-temple, and found certain prieſts ſitting in the outward portico, and thoſe which I ſaw ſeemed, by their ſhaven beards, as if they had been our countrymen. They wore certain ornaments upon their heads like mitres, made of paper. The prieſts of the Jugures above mentioned uſe thoſe ornaments wherever they go. They go always in their ſaffron-coloured jackets, which are very ſtrait laced or buttoned, from the boſom downwards, after the French faſhion : and they have a cloak upon their left ſhoulder deſcending under their right arm, like a deacon carrying the collector's box in time of Lent. Their letters or writings, the Tartars uſe as well as they. They begin to write at the top of their paper, drawing their lines right down, and ſo they read and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They uſe certain little papers and uncouth characters in their magical practices, and their temples are full of ſuch ſhort ſcrolls hanging round about them.

Mangu-Khan hath ſent letters unto Your Majeſty, written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, but in the characters of theſe Jugures ; they burn the dead, according to the ancient cuſtom, and lay up their aſhes on the top of a pyramid. After I had ſat a while with theſe prieſts, and entered into their temple, and ſeen many of their images both great and ſmall, I demanded of them, What they believed concerning God ? They anſwered, " We believe that there is only one God."—" Whether do you believe that he is a ſpirit, or ſome bodily ſubſtance ?" They ſaid, " We believe that he is a ſpirit." " Then," ſaid I, " do you believe that God ever took man's nature upon him ?" They anſwered, " No." Again, I ſaid, " Since you believe that he is a ſpirit, to what end do you make ſo many bodily images to repreſent him ? Since alſo you believe that he was not made man, why do you rather repreſent him by the image of a man than of any other creature ?" Then they anſwered, " We frame not theſe images to repreſent God ; but when any rich man amongſt us, or his ſon, or his wife, or any of his friends dieth, he cauſeth the image of the dead perſon to be made, and to be placed here, and we, in remembrance of him, do reverence thereunto." I replied then, " Do you theſe things only for friendſhip and out of flattery to men ?"—" No," ſaid they, " but out of regard to their memories."

Then they demanded of me, in ſcorn and diſdain, " Where is your God ?" To whom I anſwered, " Where is your ſoul ?" They ſaid, " In our bodies."—" Then," ſaid I, " is it not in every part of our body, ruling and guiding the whole body, and yet, notwithſtanding, it is not perceived ? Even ſo, God is every where, and rules all things, and yet he is inviſible, being underſtanding and wiſdom itſelf." I was very deſirous to have had ſome farther conference with them, but on account that my interpreter was weary and not able to expreſs my meaning, I was conſtrained to keep ſilence. The Moals, or Tartars, are in this regard of their ſect, that is to ſay, they believe there is but one God, yet they make images of felt, in remembrance of their deceaſed friends, covering them with five moſt rich and coſtly garments, and putting them into one or two carts, which carts no man dare touch ; and theſe are in the cuſtody of their ſoothſayers,

ſayers, who are their prieſts; concerning whom I will give Your Highneſs an account more at large hereafter.

Theſe ſoothſayers or diviners always attend upon the court of Mangu, and of other great perſonages; as for the poorer or meaner ſort, they have them not, except ſuch only as are of the kindred of Zingis; and when they are to remove or take any journey, the ſaid diviners go before them, as the cloudy pillar went before the children of Iſrael, and they appoint ground where the tents muſt be pitched; and, firſt of all, they take down their own houſes, and after them the whole court does the like. Alſo on their feſtival days, or new moons, they take out theſe images, and place them in order circle-wiſe within the houſe; then come the Moals or Tartars into the ſame houſe, bowing themſelves before the images, and worſhip them. It is not lawful for any ſtranger to enter the houſe. And, on a certain time, I myſelf would have gone in, but was very rudely turned out, and obliged to remove, ſo that I never after attempted to pry any further into this matter.

32. But it is my opinion, that theſe Jugures, who live among the Chriſtians and Saracens, by frequent diſputes with them, have been brought to believe that there is but one God; and they dwell in certain cities, which were brought into ſubjection to Zingis-Khan, and he gave his daughter in marriage unto their King: alſo the city of Caracarum itſelf is in a manner within their territories; and the whole country of King or Preſbyter John, and of his brother Unc, lieth near to their dominions, except that they inhabit in certain paſtures northward, and the ſaid Jugures between the mountains towards the ſouth.

The Moals received their letters or characters from them; and they are the Tartars' principal ſcribes, and all the Neſtorians almoſt can read their letters. Next unto them, between the aforeſaid mountains eaſtward, inhabiteth the nation Tangut, who are moſt valiant people, and took Zingis in battle; but after the concluſion of a peace he was ſet at liberty by them, and aftewards ſubdued them. Theſe people of Tangut have oxen of great ſtrength, with tails like horſes, and with long, ſharp hair upon the backs and bellies. Their legs are larger than thoſe of other oxen, and they are exceeding fierce; theſe oxen draw the houſes of the Moals; and their horns are ſlender, long, ſtraight, and very ſharp pointed, inſomuch that the owners are obliged to cut off the ends of them. A cow will not ſuffer herſelf to be coupled to one of them, unleſs they whiſtle or ſing unto her. They have alſo the qualities of a buffalo; for if they ſee a perſon clothed in red, they run upon him immediately to kill him.

Next to this nation are the people of Tibet; men, who had formerly a cuſtom to eat the bodies of their deceaſed parents, that they might make no other ſepulchre for them than their own bowels. But of late they have left off this cuſtom, becauſe thereby they became odious to all other nations; notwithſtanding which, at this day, they make fine cups of the ſculls of their parents, to this end, that when they drink out of them, they may, in the midſt of all their jollities and delights, call their dead parents to remembrance: this was told me by one that ſaw it. The ſaid people of Tibet have vaſt plenty of gold in their land; whoſoever therefore wants gold digs till he hath found ſome, and then taking ſo much thereof as will ſerve his turn, he lays up the remainder in the earth, becauſe, if he ſhould put it into his cheſt, or ſtorehouſe, he is of opinion that God would withhold from him all other gold.

I ſaw ſome of theſe people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I ſaw luſty, tall men, but brown and ſwarthy in colour. The Jugures are of a middle ſtature, like Frenchmen. The language of the Jugures is the original and root of the Turkiſh and Comanian languages. Next to Tibet are the people of Langa and Solanga, whoſe ambaſſadors,

baſſadors I ſaw in the Tartars' court; and they brought ten great carts with them, every one of which was drawn by ſix oxen. They are little brown men, like Spaniards. Theſe people wear jackets, like the upper veſtment of a deacon, ſaving that the ſleeves are ſomewhat ſtreighter, and they have mitres upon their heads like biſhops; but the fore-part of their mitre is not ſo hollow within as the hinder part, neither is it ſharp-pointed, nor cornered at the top; but there hang down certain ſquare laps, compacted of a kind of ſtraw, which is made rough through extreme heat, and is ſo trimmed that it glittereth in the ſun-beams like a glaſs, or a helmet well burniſhed. On their brows they have long bands of the ſame manufacture faſtened to their mitres, which hover in the wind as if two long horns grew out of their heads; and when the wind toſſes them up and down too much, they tie them over the midſt of their mitre, from one temple to another, and ſo they lie acroſs their heads. Their principal ambaſſador to the Tartars' court, had a table of elephant's teeth about him, of a cubit in length, and a hand-ful in breadth, very ſmooth; and whenſoever he ſpoke to the Emperor himſelf, or to any other great perſonage, he always looked on that table as if he had found therein thoſe things which he ſpake; neither did he caſt his eyes to the right hand or to the left of thoſe with whom he talked.

Beyond them, as I was certainly informed, there are other people called Muc, having villages, but no one man of them appropriates any cattle to himſelf, notwithſtanding there are many flocks and droves of cattle in their country, and nobody appointed to keep them; but when any of them want a beaſt, he goes upon a hill, and there makes a ſhout, and all the cattle which are within hearing of the noiſe come flocking about him, and ſuffer themſelves to be taken as if they were tame. And when any meſſenger, or ſtranger cometh into their country, they ſhut him up in a houſe, allowing him things neceſſary, till his buſineſs be diſpatched; for if any ſtranger ſhould travel through that country, the cattle would fly away at the very ſcent of him, and ſo become wild. Beyond Muc is the grand Cathaya, the inhabitants of which, as I ſuppoſe, were of old called Seres, for from them are brought moſt excellent ſtuffs and ſilk; and this people are called Seres of a certain town in the ſame country. I was credibly informed, that in the ſaid country there is a town having walls of ſilver, and bulwarks of gold. There are many provinces in that land, the greater part of which are not as yet ſubdued by the Tartars, and the ſea lieth between them and India. Theſe Cathayans are men of little ſtature, ſpeaking much through the noſe.

This is a general remark, that all the people of the eaſt have ſmall eyes. They are excellent workmen in every art, and their phyſicians are well ſkilled in the virtue of herbs, and judge very exactly of the pulſe, but know not any thing concerning urine. Some of them I ſaw, for there are many at Caracarum, and they always bring up their children in the ſame trade of their father, and therefore they pay ſo much tribute; for they give the Moals, or Moguls, every day, one thouſand five hundred Caſſinos, or Jaſ-cots (Jaſcot is a piece of ſilver weighing ten marks); that is to ſay, every day fifty thou-ſands marks, beſides ſilks, and a certain quantity of victuals, and other ſervices which they do them. All theſe nations are between the mountains of Caucaſus; on the north ſide of thoſe mountains to the eaſt ſea, on the ſouth part of Scythia, which the ſhep-herds of Moal inhabit, all are tributary unto them, and all given to idolatry, and report many fables of a multitude of gods, and certain deified men, and make a pedigree of their gods, as our poets do.

The Neſtorians are intermixed with them as ſtrangers, ſo are the Saracens as far as Cathay. The Neſtorians inhabit fifteen cities of Cathay, and have a biſhop there in a city called Segin; but if you proceed further, they are mere idolaters: the prieſts of

of the idols of thoſe nations have all broad yellow hoods. There are alſo among them certain hermits, living in the woods and mountains, of an auſtere and ſtrange life. The Neſtorians there know nothing, for they ſay their ſervice, and have holy books in the Syrian tongue, which they know not; ſo that they ſing as our monks do, who are ignorant of grammar, and hence it cometh that they are wholly corrupted. They are great uſurers and drunkards, and ſome of them alſo, who live among the Tar[illegible], have many wives in the ſame manner as the Tartars have.

When they enter into the church they waſh their lower parts, as the Saracens do; they eat no fleſh on Friday, and hold their feaſts on that day, after the manner of the Saracens. The Biſhops come ſeldom into the countries, perhaps once in [illegible]y years; then they cauſe all their little children to be made prieſts, even in the cradle, ſo that all their men almoſt are prieſts, and, after this, they marry wives, which is directly againſt the decrees of the Fathers. They are alſo bigamiſts, for their prieſt themſelves, when their wife is dead, marry another. They are all Simoniſts, for they give no holy thing freely. They are very careful of their wives and children, wherefore they apply themſelves to gain, and not to the ſpreading of the faith; whence it comes to paſs, while ſome of them bring up the nobility's children of Moal, although they teach them the goſpel, and the articles of the faith, yet by their evil life and covetouſneſs, they drive them further from Chriſtianity, becauſe the life of the Moals, or Moguls, and Tuinians, who are downright idolaters, is more juſt and upright than their's.

34. We departed from the city Cailac on St. Andrew's day, and within three leagues found a village of Neſtorians. Entering into the church, we ſang *Salve Regina*, &c. with joy, becauſe it was long ſince we had ſeen a church. Departing thence, in three days we came to the entrance of that province, not far from the ſea before mentioned, which ſeemed to us as tempeſtuous as the ocean, and therein we ſaw a great iſland. My companions drew near the ſhore, and wet a linen cloth therein, to taſte the water, which was ſomewhat ſalt, but however might be drank. There was a valley over againſt it, between the great mountains ſouth and eaſt, and between the hills was another ſalt lake or ſea; and there ran a river through that valley from the other ſea into this, and there came ſuch a continual wind through the valley, that men paſs along the road with great danger, fearing the wind ſhould carry them into the ſea.

Therefore we left the valley, and went towards the north, to the hilly countries, covered with deep ſnow, which then lay upon the earth, ſo that upon St. Nicholas's day we began to haſten our journey, and becauſe we found no people but the Jani, or men appointed from day's journey to day's journey to conduct the meſſengers; for in many places in the hilly countries the way is narrow, and there are but few fields, ſo that between day and night we meet with two Jani, and therefore of two days journey we made one, and travelled more by night than by day: it was extremely cold there, ſo that they lent us their goat-ſkins, turning the hair outward. On the 7th of December, in the evening, we paſſed by a certain place, between very terrible rocks, and our guide ſent unto me, intreating me to pray to God, which I did. Then we ſang with loud voice, *Credo in Deum*, &c. and by the grace of God we paſſed through unhurt.

After that, they began to intreat me that I would write them papers, and I told them I would teach them words which they ſhould carry in their hearts, whereby their ſouls and bodies ſhould be ſaved; but when I ſought to teach them, I wanted an Interpreter, yet I wrote them the Creed and Lord's Prayer, ſaying, "Here is written whatſoever a man ought to believe concerning God; here alſo is that prayer wherein we beg of God whatſoever is needful for a man; now therefore believe firmly what is written here, although you cannot underſtand it, and aſk God to do that for you which

is contained in this written prayer, becauſe with his own mouth he taught it his friends, and I hope he will ſave you." I could not do any thing elſe, becauſe it was dangerous to ſpeak by ſuch an interpreter, nay, almoſt impoſſible, becauſe he was ignorant.

35. After this, we entered into the country where the court of Kon Khan was, which was formerly called the country of Naymans, who were the peculiar ſubjects of Preſtre, that is Preſbyter John, but I ſaw not that court till my return; yet here I ſhall briefly mention what befel his ſon and wives. Kon Khan being dead, Baatu deſired that Mangu ſhould be Khan, but I could not well underſtand in what manner happened the death of Khan. Friar Andrew ſaid, that he died by a certain medicine given him, and it was ſuſpected that Baatu cauſed it to be adminiſtered: yet I heard it otherwiſe, for he ſummoned Baatu to come and do him homage, and Baatu took his journey with great pomp and ſplendor, but he and his ſervants were much afraid, and he ſent one of his brothers before, called Stichin, who, when he came to Kon, and ought to have preſented him with his cup, high words aroſe between them, inſomuch that they ſlew one another. The widow of Stichin kept us a whole day, that we might go to her houſe, and bleſs her, or pray for her.

Kon being dead, Mangu was choſen by the conſent of Baatu, and was then choſen while Friar Andrew was there. Kon had among others a brother called Siremon, who, by the counſel of Kon's wife and her vaſſals, went with a great train towards Mangu, as if he went to do him homage, and yet in reality he purpoſed to kill him, and deſtroy his whole court; and when he was near Mangu, and within one or two days journey, one of his waggons happened to break in the way; while the waggoner endeavoured to mend it, came one of the ſervants of Mangu who helped him; he was ſo inquiſitive of their journey, that the waggoner revealed unto him what Siremon purpoſed to do. Then turning out of the way, as if he lightly regarded it, he went unto the herd of horſes, and took the beſt horſe he could, and, poſting night and day, came ſpeedily to the court of Mangu, reporting what he had heard.

The plot being thus diſcovered, Mangu quickly aſſembled all his forces, cauſed four lines of armed men to encompaſs his court, that none might go in or out, and ſent the reſt againſt Siremon, who took him and brought him to the court with all his followers, who, when Mangu laid the matter to his charge, confeſſed it immediately. Then he and his eldeſt ſon Kon Khan were ſlain, and three hundred of the nobility of the Tartars with them. The noble women alſo were ſent for, who were all beaten with burning firebrands, to make them confeſs, and, having confeſſed, were put to death. His youngeſt ſon Kon, who was not capable of entering into the conſpiracy, was left alive, and his father's palace was left him with all belonging unto it, and we paſſed by it in our return, nor durſt my guide turn in unto it, either going or coming: "For the lady of the nations ſat there in heavineſs, and there was none to comfort her."

36. We now went up again into the high countries, ſteering always towards the north. At length, on St. Stephen's day, we entered into a great plain, where there was not ſo much as a Mole-hill, and the next day, on the feaſt of St. John the Evangeliſt, we came unto the palace of that great Lord; but when we were near it, that is to ſay, within five days journey, our hoſt where we lay would have directed us much about, ſo that we ſhould have travelled more than fifteen days; and this was the reaſon, as I underſtood, that we might go by Onam Kerule, their proper country, where the court of Zinghis Khan is. Others ſaid, that he did it for this purpoſe, that he might make the way longer, and might ſhew their power the more, for ſo they are wont to deal with men coming from countries not ſubject to them; and our guide obtained with great

difficulty, that we might go the right way, for they held us debating this from the morning till three o'clock.

By the way alſo the ſecretary told me, that it was contained in the letters which Baatu ſent to Mangu-Khan, that we required an army and aid of Sartach againſt the Saracens. Then I began to wonder much, and to be greatly troubled, for I knew the contents of the letters, and that no mention of any army was made therein, only you adviſed him to be a friend to all Chriſtians, and that he ſhould exalt the croſs; and bear enmity to all the enemies of the croſs; and becauſe alſo the interpreters were Armenians of the greater Armenia, who greatly hated the Saracens, leſt perhaps they had interpreted any thing in evil part, to make the Saracens more odious and hateful at their pleaſure. I therefore held my peace, not ſpeaking a word for them or againſt them; for I feared to gainſay the words of Baatu, leſt I ſhould incur ſome falſe accuſation, and without reaſonable cauſe.

We came therefore the day after into the ſaid court, our guide had a great houſe appointed him, and we three a little cottage, wherein we could ſcarce lay our baggage, make our beds, and have a little fire. Many came to viſit our guide and brought him drink made of rice, in long ſtrait-mouthed bottles, in which I could diſcern no difference from the beſt wine, except that it had not the ſcent of wine. We were called ſoon after, and moſt ſtrictly examined upon what buſineſs we came; "I anſwered, that we having heard Sartach was a Chriſtian, we came therefore unto him. The King our maſter ſent him a packet by us, he ſent us to Baatu his father, and his father ſent us hither, he ſhould have written the cauſe." Whereupon they demanded, whether we would make peace with them? I anſwered, "he had ſent letters unto Sartach as a Chriſtian, and if he had known he were not a Chriſtian, he would never have ſent him letters. That as to a treaty of peace, there was no ground for it, ſince he has done you no wrong; if he had not done any, why ſhould you war upon him or his people? He willingly (as a juſt man) would reform himſelf and deſire peace. If ye without cauſe will make war with him or his nation, we hope that God (who is juſt) will help them." At this they wondered, always repeating, why came ye not to make peace. For they are now ſo puffed up with pride, that they think the whole world ſhould deſire to make peace with them; whereas, if I might be ſuffered, I would preach war againſt them to the utmoſt of my power. But I would not plainly deliver the cauſe of my coming, leſt I ſhould ſpeak any thing againſt that which Baatu commanded; I told them therefore the ſole cauſe of my coming thither was, becauſe he ſent me.

The day following we were brought to the court, and I thought I could go barefoot, as I did in our country, and therefore I laid aſide my ſhoes; but ſuch as come to the court, alight far from the houſe, where the great Khan is, as it were a bow-ſhot off, where the horſes remain, and a boy to keep them. When we alighted there, and our guide went with us to the houſe, a Hungarian boy was preſent there, who knew our order; and when the men came about us, and ſtared at us as monſters, eſpecially becauſe we were barefooted, and demanded whether we did not need our feet, becauſe they ſuppoſed we ſhould by cold have loſt them, that Hungarian told them the reaſon, ſhewing them the rules and practice of our order. Then the chief ſecretary, who was a Neſtorian, and a Chriſtian, by whoſe council and advice almoſt all is done, came to us to ſee us, looked earneſtly upon us, and called the Hungarian, of whom he aſked many queſtions. Then we were directed to return to our lodging.

37. When we returned, at the end of the court, towards the eaſt, as far from the court as a croſs-bow could ſhoot at twice, I ſaw a houſe, upon which there was a little

croſs, at which I rejoiced much, ſuppoſing there was ſome Chriſtian there, and I went in boldly, and found an altar there, very well furniſhed; for there, in a golden cloth, were the images of Chriſt, the Bleſſed Virgin, and St. John Baptiſt, and two Angels; the lineaments of their bodies and garments diſtinguiſhed with pearl, and a great ſilver croſs with precious ſtones in the corners, and the middle thereof, and many other embroiderings, and a lamp burning with oil before the altar, having eight lights; and there ſat an Armenian monk, ſomewhat black and lean, clad with a rough hairy coat to the mid-leg having upon it a black cloak of briſtles, furred with ſpotted ſkins, girt with iron under his hair-cloth.

Preſently after we entered in, before we ſaluted the monk, falling flat upon the ground, we ſang *Ave Regina Cœlorum*, &c. and he riſing, prayed with us; then ſaluting him, we ſat by him, having a little fire before him in a pan; therefore we told him the cauſe of our coming, and he began to comfort us, ſaying, that we ſhould boldly ſpeak, becauſe we were the meſſengers of God, who is greater than all men. Afterwards he told us of his coming, ſaying, he came thither a month before us, and that he was a hermit of the territories of Jeruſalem, and that the Lord appeared unto him three times, commanding him to go to the Prince of the Tartars; and when he deferred to go the third time, God threatened him, and overthrew him upon the ground, ſaying, he ſhould die, unleſs he went; and that he told Mangu-Khan that if he would become a Chriſtian, the whole world ſhould be obedient to him. Then I anſwered, "Brother, I will willingly perſuade him to become a Chriſtian; I will promiſe him alſo that the French and the Pope will much rejoice thereat, and account him a brother and a friend; but I will never promiſe that they ſhall become his ſervants, and pay him tribute, as theſe other nations, becauſe in ſo doing, I ſhould ſpeak againſt my conſcience." On which he held his peace. We afterwards went together to our lodging, which I found a cold habitation.

We had eaten nothing that day, ſo we boiled a little fleſh and millet, of which we made broth for our ſuppers. Our guide and his companions were drunk at the court, and little care was had of us. At that time the meſſengers of Veſtace were there, hard by us, which we knew not, and the men of the court made us riſe in great haſte at the dawning of the day. I went barefoot with them a little way unto the houſe of the ſaid meſſengers, and they demanded of them whether they knew us. Then the Grecian ſoldier calling our order, and my companion to remembrance, becauſe he had ſeen him in the court of Veſtace, with friar Thomas, our miniſter, and all his fellows, gave great teſtimony of us. Then they demanded whether we had peace or war with Veſtace? We have, ſaid I, neither war nor peace; and they demanded how that might be? Becauſe, ſaid I, their countries are far from each other, and meddle not together. Then the ambaſſador of Veſtace ſaid we had peace, giving me a caution; ſo I held my tongue. That morning my toes' ends were ſo frozen, that I could no longer go barefoot; for in theſe countries the cold is extreme ſharp, and from the time when it beginneth to freeze, it never ceaſes till May; nay, in the month of May it froze every morning, but in the day-time it thawed, through the heat of the ſun; but in winter it never thaws, but the ice continues with every wind. And if there were any wind there in winter, as there is with us, nothing could live there; but it is always mild weather till April, and then the winds riſe; and at that time when we were there (about Eaſter) the cold riſing with the wind, killed multitudes of living creatures.

In the winter little ſnow fell there, but about Eaſter, which was in the latter end of April, there fell ſo great a ſnow, that all the ſtreets of Caracarum were full; ſo that they were forced to carry it out with their carts. Then they firſt brought us (from the

court) ram ſkin coats, and breeches of the ſame, and ſhoes, which my companion and interpreter received; but I thought I had no need of them, becauſe I ſuppoſed my furred garment, which I brought from Baatu, was ſufficient for me. On the 5th of January we were brought to the court, and there came Neſtorian prieſts to me, whom I knew not to be Chriſtians, demanding which way we worſhipped? I ſaid, to the eaſt, and this they demanded, becauſe we had ſhaven our beards, by the advice of our guide, that we might appear before the Khan according to the faſhion of our country, whereupon they thought we had been Tuinians, or idolaters: they made us alſo expound out of the bible. Then they demanded what reverence we would pay to the Khan, whether after our own faſhion or theirs? To whom I made anſwer, "We are prieſts dedicated to the ſervice of God; noblemen in our country will not ſuffer prieſts to bow their knees before them for the honour of God: nevertheleſs we will humble ourſelves to all men for the Lord's ſake. We came from a far country, if ye pleaſe we will firſt ſing praiſes unto God who hath brought us ſafe hither from afar, and afterwards we will do whatſoever pleaſeth this Lord, with this exception, that he command us nothing which may be againſt the worſhip and honour of God." Then they entering into the houſe, delivered what we had ſaid; ſo their Lord was contented, and they ſet us before the entrance of houſe, lifting up the felt which hung before the gate, and becauſe it was Chriſtmas, we began to ſing, *A Solis ortus cardine*, &c.

38. When we had ſung this hymn, they ſearched our boſoms to ſee we had no knives about us. They made our interpreter ungird himſelf, and leave his girdle and his knife without, in the cuſtody of a door-keeper. When we came in, there ſtood in the entrance a bench with coſmos, by which they made our interpreter ſtand, and cauſed us to ſit upon a form before the ladies; the whole houſe was hung with cloth of gold, and on a hearth, in the middle of the houſe, there was a fire made of thorns and wormwood roots (which grew there very big) and ox dung. The Khan ſat upon a bed covered with a ſpotted ſkin or fur, bright and ſhining like a ſeal's ſkin; he was a flat noſed man, of a middle ſtature, about the age of five and forty, and a little pretty young woman his wife ſat by him, and one of his daughters, whoſe name was Cerina, a hard-favoured young woman, with other children that were younger, ſat next unto them upon a bed; for that was the houſe of a certain Chriſtian lady he loved, by whom he had this daughter, and he married the young wife afterwards; yet the daughter was miſtreſs of all that court which was her mother's.

Then he made them aſk us what we would drink, whether wine or caracina, that is, drink made of rice, or caracoſmus, that is, clear cow's milk, or ball, that is, mead made of honey; for they uſe theſe four kinds of liquor in the winter? Then I anſwered, Sir, we are not men who take pleaſure in drink, what pleaſeth you ſhall content us. Then he commanded drink of rice to be given us, clear and good as white wine, whereof I taſted a little for reverence of him, and our interpreter, to our misfortune, ſtood by the butlers, who gave him much drink, ſo that he was quickly drunk; then the Khan cauſed falcons and other birds to be brought unto him, which he took upon his fiſt, and looked upon them, and after a long time he commanded us to ſpeak. We were then to bow the knee; and he had his interpreter, a certain Neſtorian, whom I knew not to be a Chriſtian; and we had our interpreter, ſuch a one as he was, who by this time was drunk. Then I ſaid, "We firſt give thanks and praiſe to God, who hath brought us from ſo remote parts of the world to ſee Mangu-Khan, to whom God hath given ſo great power upon earth; and we beſeech our Lord, by whoſe command we live and die, that he would grant him a long and proſperous life" (for this they deſire, that men pray for their lives); then I told him, "Sir, we have heard of Sartach, that he was

was a Chriſtian, and the Chriſtians who heard it, but eſpecially the French King, rejoiced; wherefore we come unto him, and our Lord and King hath ſent him letters by us, wherein were words of peace, and amongſt other things he teſtifieth of us whoſe ſervants we are, and entreated him to ſuffer us to abide in his country; for it is our office to teach men to live according to the law of God, and he ſent us to Baatu his father, and Baatu hath ſent us hither unto you; you are they to whom God hath given great dominions upon earth, we therefore intreat Your Highneſs to give us leave to continue in your country to do the ſervice of God for you, your wives, and children. We have neither gold, nor ſilver, nor precious ſtones to preſent unto you but ourſelves, whom we preſent to ſerve and pray unto God for you: at leaſt give us leave to continue while the cold be paſt. My companion is ſo weak, that he cannot by any means travel on horſeback without hazard of his life;" for my companion begged me and adjured me to crave leave to ſtay. Then he began to anſwer, even as the ſun ſpreads his beams every where, ſo our power and Baatu's ſhews itſelf every where, ſo that we had no need of your ſilver and gold.

Hitherto I underſtood my interpreter, but farther I could not perceive any perfect ſentence, whereby I eaſily found he was drunk, and Mangu-Khan himſelf was drunk too, at leaſt I thought ſo; yet he was diſpleaſed that we came firſt to Sartach, before we came to him. Then ſeeing the defect of my interpreter, I held my peace, this only excepted; I entreated his Highneſs not to be diſpleaſed for that which I ſpake of gold and ſilver, becauſe I ſpoke it, not that he had need of ſuch things, or deſired them, but becauſe we would willingly honour him with ſpiritual things. Then he made us riſe, and ſit down again, and after ſome few words, and paying our duty to him, we went out, and his ſecretaries, and that interpreter of his (who had the bringing up of one of his daughters) went with us. They began to be very inquiſitive concerning the kingdom of France, whether there were many rams, oxen, and horſes there, as if preſently they ſhould enter and take all? And oftentimes I was fain to bridle myſelf much in diſſembling anger and indignation. I anſwered, however, there are many good things there which ye ſhall ſee if you happen to come thither. Then they appointed us one who ſhould have care of us, and we went to the monk; and when we came out again ready to go to our lodging, the interpreter came to us, ſaying Mangu-Khan hath compaſſion on you, and gives you two months to ſtay, then the extream cold will be paſt; and he offers to ſend you ten days journey, where is a good city called Caracarum; if you will go thither he will cauſe neceſſary things to be given you, but if ye will ſtay here ye may have neceſſaries; yet it will be a troubleſome thing for you to follow the court.

I ſaid the Lord preſerve Mangu-Khan, and grant him a good and long life. We have found this monk here, who we think to be a holy man, and that by the good pleaſure of God he came into theſe parts; wherefore we would willingly ſtay with him, and we will pray together for the life of Khan. Then he held his peace, and departed, and we went to our houſe, which we found very cold, and without any fuel, as yet faſting, though it was night. Then he to whom we were recommended, provided us fuel, and a little meat. Our guide was now to return to Baatu, who deſired a carpet of us, which we left in the court of Baatu, which we gave him, and he peaceably departed; ſo kiſſing our right hand, and confeſſing his fault if he ſuffered us to endure hunger and thirſt upon the way, we pardoned him, craving pardon of him and his whole family, if we had given them any evil example.

39. A certain woman of Metz in Lorraine, called Paſcha, found us, who made us good cheer, according to her power, who belonged to the court of that lady who was a Chriſtian

a Chriſtian of whom I ſpeke before, who told us of her ſtrange poverty which ſhe endured before ſhe came to the court; but now ſhe was well to live, for ſhe had a young huſband, a Rutenian (by whom ſhe had three very fair children) who was ſkilful in building, which amongſt them is an excellent art. She told us farther, that at Caracaram there was a certain goldſmith called William, born at Paris, whoſe ſurname was Bouchier, and his father's name Lawrence Bouchier, and ſhe believed he hath a brother yet living upon the great bridge, called Roger Bouchier; and ſhe told me that he hath a certain young man which he brought up, whom he accounted as his ſon, who was an excellent interpreter; but Mangu-Khan delivered to the aforeſaid goldſmith three hundred jaſeots, that is, three thouſand marks, and fifty workmen, to make a piece of work, ſo that ſhe feared he could not ſend his ſon to me; for ſhe heard ſome ſay in that court, the men which came from your country are good men, and Mangu-Khan would willingly ſpeak unto them, but their interpreter is good for nothing; therefore ſhe was careful for an interpreter.

Then I wrote unto the goldſmith, certifying him of my coming hither, and requeſting him, that if he could he would ſend me his ſon, and he wrote me anſwer, that he could not that moon; but the next his work ſhould be perfected, and then he would ſend him unto me. We ſtayed therefore with other ambaſſadors and it is otherwiſe with ambaſſadors in Baatu's court than in the court of Mangu-Khan: for in the court of Baatu there is one Jani on the eaſt ſide, who receiveth all ſuch as come from the weſt, and ſo of other countries of the world; but in the court of Mangu they are all together under one Jani, and they may ſee and viſit one another. In Baatu's court they know not one another, or whether a man be a meſſenger or no, becauſe they know not one another's lodging, nor ſee one another, but in the court; and when one is called by accident, another is not, for they go not to court unleſs they be ſent for. We found there a certain Chriſtian in Damaſcus, who ſaid he came in the behalf of the Soldan of Mons Regalis, and of Crax, who deſired to become friend and tributary to the Tartars.

40. The year before I came thither there was a certain clerk of Acon or Ptolemais, in Syria who called himſelf Raimund, but his true name was Theodolus, and he took his journey from Cyprus with friar Andrew, and went with him into Perſia, and procured certain inſtruments of Amoricus, then in Perſia, who remained after friar Andrew. Friar Andrew returning, he went forward with his inſtruments, and came to Mangu-Khan, and being demanded upon what account he came, ſaid, "That he was with a certain holy biſhop, to whom the Lord ſent letters from heaven, written in golden characters, and commanded him to ſend them to the Emperor of the Tartars, becauſe he ſhould be Lord of the whole earth, and that he ſhould perſuade men to make peace with him." Then Mangu ſaid unto him, if thou hadſt brought theſe letters which come from heaven, and the letters of thy Lord, thou hadſt been welcome. He anſwered, that he brought letters, but they were with other things of his on a wild and pampered gelding, which eſcaping, fled from him through the woods and mountains, ſo that he had loſt all.

Then Mangu demanded the name of the biſhop; he ſaid he was called Odo of Damaſcus, and informed him alſo of Maſter William, who was clerk of the Lord Legate. The Khan demanded in whoſe kingdom it was? to whom he made anſwer, that it was under a certain king of the Franks, called Moles; for he had heard of that that happened at Maſſora, and he would have ſaid, that they were of your ſervants. He alſo told the Khan, that the Saracens were between the Franks and him, who hindered his way; but if the way had been open, he would have ſent ambaſſadors, and willingly have made peace with him. Then Mangu-Khan aſked him, if he would bring his meſſengers

meſſengers to that King, and that Biſhop? He told him he would, and alſo to the Pope.

Then Mangu cauſed an exceeding ſtrong bow to be made, which two men could ſcarce bend, and two arrows of ſilver, whoſe heads were full of holes, which ſung, when they are ſhot, like a whiſtle; and he choſe a Moal, whom he ſhould ſend with the ſaid Theodolus, and to whom he ſaid, "Thou ſhalt go to the King of the Franks, to whom this man ſhall bring thee, and preſent him with theſe on my behalf; and if he will have peace with us, we will win the country from the Saracens, even home to him, and will grant him the reſt of the country unto the weſt; if otherwiſe, bring back the bow and arrows unto us, and tell him we ſhoot far and ſtrongly with ſuch bows." Then he cauſed Theodolus to go forth whoſe interpreter Maſter William's ſon was, and in his hearing, he ſaid unto the Moal, "Thou ſhalt go with this man, mark well the ways, the countries, and their caſtles, men and mountains." For this reaſon the young man blamed Theodolus, ſaying, he had done ill in conducting the meſſengers of the Tartars with him, for they went for no other cauſe but to ſpy.

He anſwered, that he would ſet them on the ſea, that they ſhould not know which way to return. Mangu gave alſo unto Moal his golden bull or tablet, to wit, a plate of gold of an hand breadth, and half a cubit long, wherein his orders are engraven: whoſo carrieth that may command what he will and it is done without delay. So then Theodolus came to Veſtacius, determining to paſs over to the Pope, that he might deceive the Pope, as he had deceived Mangu-Khan. Then Veſtacius demanded of him, whether he had letters to the Pope, becauſe he was a meſſenger, and ſhould conduct the meſſengers of the Tartars; but not being able to ſhew the letters, he took him and ſpoiled him of all that he had got, and caſt him in priſon, and the Moal fell ſick and died there.

But Veſtacius ſent back the golden tablet to Mangu-Khan by the ſervants of the Moal, whom I met at Aſſron in the entrance into Turkey, who told me what had happened to Theodolus. Such ſharpers run through the world, whom the Tartars kill when they can take them. Now the Epiphany was at hand; and that Armenian monk, Sergius by name, told me that he ſhould baptize Mangu-Khan upon that holy day. I entreated him to labour, by all means, that I might be preſent, that I might bear witneſs that I ſaw it; and he promiſed me he would.

41. When this feſtival day came, the monk called me not, but at ſix of the clock I was ſent for to court, and I ſaw the monk with the prieſts returning from the court with his croſs, and the prieſts with the cenſor, and the goſpel for that day. Mangu-Khan made a feaſt, and his cuſtom is, that on ſuch days as his ſoothſayers appoint him, or the Neſtorian prieſts make holy days, he held his court; and on theſe days the Chriſtians come firſt, with their furniture, and pray for him and bleſs his cup; then they departing, the Saracen prieſts come and do the like: next after them come the idolatrous prieſts, and do the ſame. The monk told me that he only believes the Chriſtians, yet will have all to pray for him; but in this he lied, for he believes none; yet all follow his court as flies do honey. He giveth to all, and all men think they are his familiars and all propheſy proſperity to him. Then we ſat before the court a long ſpace, and they brought us fleſh to eat; to whom I made anſwer, that we would not eat there, but if they would provide us meat, they ſhould provide it for us at our houſe; to which they anſwered, get home to your houſe, you were invited here for nothing elſe but to eat: therefore we returned to the monk, who bluſhed at the lie he had told me, and therefore would not ſpeak a word of the matter; yet ſome of the

the Neſtorians affirmed that he was baptized; to whom I ſaid, that I would never believe it, nor report it to others, ſeeing I ſaw it not.

We came at laſt to our old and empty houſe, where they provided us bedding and coverlids; they brought us alſo fuel, and gave us three the carcaſe of one little lean ram, as meat for ſix days, and every day a little platterful of millet, and lent us a cauldron, and a trivet to boil our fleſh, which being boiled, we boiled our millet in the broth of the fleſh. This was our meat, and it had well ſufficed us, if they had ſuffered us to eat in peace; but there were ſo many ſtarved fellows, who were not provided with meat, that as ſoon as they ſaw us dreſs ours, they thruſt in upon us, and would eat with us. The cold began then to prevail, and Mangu-Khan ſent us three fur coats with the haſr outward, which we thankfully received: they demanded alſo how we were provided with neceſſary food; to whom I anſwered, that little meat ſufficed us, but we have not an houſe wherein to pray for Mangu-Khan; for our cottage was ſo little, that we could ſcarce ſtand upright in it, nor open our books for ſmoke after the fire was lighted. Of this they gave him an account, and he ſent to the monk, to know if he would be pleaſed with our company, who gladly anſwered that he would. From that time we were provided with a better houſe, and we went down with the monk before the court, where none lodged but we and their ſoothſayers; but they lodged nearer before the palace of the greateſt lady, and we at the fartheſt end towards the eaſt, before the palace of the laſt lady; and that was on the thirteenth of January.

On the next morning, all the Neſtorian prieſts came together before day at the chapel, and ſmote upon a board inſtead of ringing a bell, and ſang matins ſolemnly, and put on their ornaments, preparing the cenſor and the incenſe; and while they were waiting thus, behold, in the morning the principal wife, Cotata-Caten by name, (Caten is of the ſame import as lady, and Cotata is her proper name,) came into the chapel with many other ladies, and with her eldeſt ſon called Baltu, and other children, and they caſt themſelves down upon the earth, ducking after the manner of the Neſtorians; and after this, they touched all the images with their right hands, always kiſſing their hands after they had touched; and after that they gave their right hands to all that ſtood by them in the church, for this is the cuſtom of the Neſtorians when they come into the church; then the prieſts ſang many things, giving the lady incenſe in her hand, and ſhe put it upon the fire; then they perfumed her: after this, when the day was clear ſhe began to put off the ornament from her head, which is called Bacca, and I ſaw her bare head; then ſhe commanded us to go forth, and as I went out I ſaw a ſilver baſon brought, whether they baptized her or no I know not; but I know they celebrate not maſs in a tent, but in a ſtanding church; and at the feaſt of Eaſter I ſaw them baptize and conſecrate a font with great ſolemnity, which now they did not.

While we went into our houſe, Mangu-Khan himſelf came and went into the church or Oratory, and a golden bed was brought, on which he ſat by his Queen, over-againſt the altar; then we were ſent for, who knew not then that Mangu was come, and the door-keeper ſearched us, leſt we ſhould have knives about us; but coming into the Oratory, having a bible and a breviary in my boſom, I firſt bowed down to the altar, and after to Mangu-Khan, and ſo paſſing by we ſtood between the monk and the altar; then they made us ſing a pſalm after our manner, and chant it; but we ſang *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, &c. and Khan cauſed our books to be brought unto him, the bible and the breviary, and diligently enquired concerning the images, what they ſignified; the Neſtorians anſwered him at their pleaſure, becauſe our interpreter

came not in with us; and when I was firſt before him, I had the bible in my boſom, which he commanded to be brought unto him, and he looked earneſtly on it; then he departed, and his lady remained there, and diſtributed gifts to all the Chriſtians there; ſhe gave the monk a Jaſcot, and to the archdeacon of the prieſts another; ſhe cauſed a naſſic to be ſpread before us, that is, a piece of cloth as broad as a coverlid of a bed, very large, and a buckram, which, when I would not receive, they ſent them to my interpreter, who had them to himſelf. He brought the naſſic to Cyprus, which he ſold for eighteen ſultanines of Cyprus, but it was much the worſe for the carriage. Then drink was brought us, viz. drink made of rice and red wine, like a wine of Rochelle, and coſmos; then the lady holding the cup full in her hand, deſired a bleſſing upon her knees, and all the prieſts ſung with a loud voice, and ſhe drank it up, and I and my companion were obliged to ſing.

Another time, when all of them were almoſt drunk, there was brought the carcaſe of one ram, which was preſently devoured, and after that great fiſhes, which are like our carp, without ſalt or bread, whereof I eat a little, ſo they paſſed the day till the evening; and when the lady herſelf was drunk, ſhe took her chariot, the prieſts ſinging, and went her way. The next Sunday, which was the twenty-third of January, the Khan's ſon came (whoſe mother was a Chriſtian) and did the like, but not with ſo great ſolemnity, for he gave no gifts, but made the prieſts drink, and gave them parched millet to eat. Before the firſt Sunday in Lent, the Neſtorians faſt three days, which they call the faſt of Jonas, when he preached to the Ninevites. And the Armenians faſt five days, which they call the faſt of St. Lorkis, who is the greateſt ſaint among them. The Neſtorians begin their faſt on Tueſday, and end it on Thurſday; ſo that on Friday they eat fleſh: and all that time I ſaw the chancellor, who is there called Bulgai, give them ſmall pieces of fleſh upon the Friday, and they bleſſed the fleſh with great ſolemnity, as the paſchal lamb is bleſſed, but he eat none with them; and this I learned of the French goldſmith, who was his very familiar friend.

The monk ſent to Mangu to faſt that week, which he did; ſo that on the Eaſter of the Armenians we went in proceſſion to the Houſe of the Mangu, and the monk and we too went in with the prieſts before him; and while we went in, one of the ſervants went out, carrying out the ſhoulder bones of rams burnt as black as coals. I wondered at this greatly, as not knowing what it ſhould mean; but after I had enquired, I underſtood, that the Khan never does any thing before he has conſulted theſe bones, which kind of divination is thus performed: when the Khan undertakes any thing, or rather before he undertakes it, he cauſes three of theſe bones to be brought to him unburnt, and holding them, he conſiders in his mind the thing he conſults about, and whether he ſhall do it or not, and then delivers the bones to be burnt; and there are always two little rooms by the houſe where he lies, where theſe bones are burnt, which are diligently ſought for every day through all the leſkar or camp of the Tartars. When they are burnt black, they bring them to him; then he looks upon them, whether the bones, by the heat of the fire, be cleft lengthways, for then he may do it; but if the bones are cracked athwart, or round pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not; for the bones are always cleft in the fire or the thin ſkin which covers the bone; and if one be cleft downright, he proceeds in his deſign, be it what it will.

When therefore we went in before him, having a caution to avoid touching the threſhold, the Neſtorian prieſts brought him incenſe, and he put it upon the cenſor, and they perfumed him; then they ſung, bleſſing his cup; after them the monk pronounced his bleſſing, and we bleſſed laſt: and when he ſaw us holding up the bible towards our breaſts, he cauſed it to be brought to him that he might ſee it, which he

earneſtly looked upon; then after he had drunk, and the chief prieſt had waited on his cup, they gave the prieſts drink, but we went out; but my companion ſtaying laſt, when we were gone, turned his face to the Khan, bowing himſelf to him, and then haſtily following us, he ſtumbled at the threſhold of the houſe, while we went in haſte towards the houſe of Baltu, the Khan's eldeſt ſon. They that obſerved the threſhold ſeized my companion and made him ſtay, calling one, and commanding him to be carried to the Bulgai, who is the chancellor, or ſecretary of the court, who judgeth thoſe that are arraigned of life and death, but I knew it not; yet, when I looked back, and did not ſee him coming, I thought they kept him to give him ſome lighter garments, for he was weak, and ſo laden with felt garments that he could ſcarce go.

Then they called our interpreter, and made him ſit with him, but we went to the Khan's eldeſt ſon's houſe, who had two wives, and was lodged at the right ſide of his father's court; who, as ſoon as he ſaw us coming, leaping from his bed whereon he ſat, caſt himſelf upon the earth, ſmiting his forehead againſt the ground, where kiſſing the croſs, and then ariſing, cauſed it to be laid upon a new cloth, in an high place by him, very honourably. He hath a ſchoolmaſter, a Neſtorian prieſt called David, a drunkard, who inſtructs him. Then he made us ſit, and gave the prieſts drink, and he alſo drank, receiving the bleſſing from them; then we went to the court of the ſecond lady, which was called Cota, who followed idolaters, whom we found lying ſick a-bed; then the monk made her riſe out of her bed, and worſhip the croſs, bowing her knees thrice, and bowing towards the ground, he ſtanding with the croſs at the weſt ſide of the houſe, and ſhe on the eaſt; this being done, they changed places, and the monk went with the croſs unto the eaſt, and ſhe unto the weſt, and he boldly commanded her, though ſhe was ſo weak that ſhe could ſcarce ſtand upon her feet, that ſhe ſhould caſt herſelf down thrice, and worſhip the croſs, towards the eaſt, after the manner of the Chriſtians, which ſhe did, and he taught her to make the ſign of the croſs upon her forehead, after ſhe laid down upon her bed; and praying for her, we went unto the third houſe, where a Chriſtian lady uſed to be, who being dead, a young woman ſucceeded her, who, together with the daughter of her lord, joyfully received us; and all that whole houſe reverently worſhipped the croſs, and he ſet it upon a velvet cloth, in an high place, and ſhe ordered meat to be brought, which being ſet before the lady, ſhe cauſed it to be diſtributed to the prieſts; but I and the monk were very weary of the meat and drink, for the meat being eaten, and much drink drunk, we were to go to the young lady Cerina, who lodged behind that great houſe, which was her mother's, who, at the coming in of the croſs, caſt herſelf down upon the earth, and worſhipped it very devoutly, becauſe ſhe had been taught ſo to do, and ſhe ſet it in a high place, upon a piece of ſilk, and all thoſe cloths whereon the croſs was ſet, were given to the monks.

A certain Armenian brought his croſs, who came with the monk as he ſaid, from Jeruſalem, and it was of ſilver, weighing about ſome four marks, and it had four precious ſtones in the corners, and one in the middle. It had not the image of our Saviour, and he had preſented it to Mangu-Khan, and Mangu demanded of him what he deſired? to whom he anſwered, that he was the ſon of an Armenian prieſt, whoſe church the Saracens had deſtroyed, and craved his help for the building again that church. Then he aſked him for how much it might be built again? he anſwered, for two hundred jaſcots, that is, for two thouſand marks; and he commanded letters to be given him, to him who received the tribute in Perſia and Armenia the Greater, that they ſhould pay him the ſaid ſum in ſilver. This croſs the monk carried with him every where, and the prieſts ſeeing the gain he made thereof began to envy him. We were therefore

in the houſe of the young lady, and ſhe gave the prieſts much drink; from hence we went up into the fourth houſe, which was the laſt, for he uſed not to come often unto that lady, and her houſe was very old, and herſelf not over gracious; but after Eaſter, the Khan made her a new houſe, and new chariots. She likewiſe, as well as the ſecond, knew little or nothing of chriſtianity, but followed foothſayers and idolaters; yet at our coming in, ſhe worſhipped the croſs as the monk and the prieſt taught her. There alſo the prieſts drank again, and from this place we returned to our oratory, which was not far from thence, the prieſts accompanying us with great howling and outcries in their drunkenneſs, which is not conſidered there as blameable, either in man or woman. A little after, my companion was brought home, and the monk ſharply rebuked him, becauſe he touched the threſhold. The next day Bulgai came (who was a juſtice) and diligently enquired whether any had warned us to take heed of touching the threſhold; and I anſwered, Sir, we had not our interpreter with us, and if they did, how could we underſtand? Then he pardoned him, but would never after ſuffer him to come into any of the houſes of Mangu-Khan.

43. Sometime afterwards, it happened that the lady Cota was ſick, almoſt to death, and the divination by lot of the idolaters did her no good at all; then Mangu ſent unto the monk, demanding of him what might be done for her, and the monk indiſcreetly anſwered, that if ſhe were not cured he ſhould cut off his head. Having made that anſwer, the monk called us, declaring the matter unto us with tears, intreating us to watch with him that night in prayer, which we did; and he had a certain root which is called rhubarb, and he beat it almoſt to powder, and put it in water, with a little crucifix which he had, whereon the image of our Saviour was advanced, whereof he reported, that by it he knew whether the ſick would recover or die; for if they ſhould eſcape, it ſtuck to the breaſt of the ſick, as if it were glued; if otherwiſe, it ſtuck not at all; and I ſtill thought that rhubarb had been ſome holy relick, which he had brought from the holy land of Jeruſalem. And he gave all ſick perſons of that water to drink, ſo that it could not be, but their bowels ſhould be griped with ſo bitter a potion; which alteration in their bowels they accounted a miracle. Then I told him, he ſhould prepare ſome of that holy water which is made in the church of Rome, which hath great virtue to expel devils, becauſe I underſtood ſhe was vexed of a devil; and at his requeſt, we made him ſome holy water, and he mingled rhubarb, and put his crucifix all night long in the water to temper it. I ſaid, moreover, that if he were a prieſt, that the order of prieſthood had great power to expel devils; and he ſaid it was very true, yet he lied, becauſe he had no order, nor knew any one letter; but was a weaver, as I underſtood after, in his country, when I returned.

The next morning therefore, I and the monk, and two Neſtorian prieſts, went unto the lady, and ſhe was in a little houſe behind her greater houſe. When we came in, ſhe ſat in her bed, and worſhipped the croſs, and ſet it honourably by her, upon a cloth of ſilk, and drank of the bleſſed water with rhubarb, and waſhed her breaſt, and the monk requeſted me to read a goſpel over her; ſo I read the paſſion of our Lord according to John; at length ſhe was cheered, and felt herſelf better, and ſhe cauſed four jaſcots to be brought, which ſhe firſt laid at the feet of the croſs, and after gave them to the monk, and reached me one, which I would not receive; then the monk ſtretched forth his hand, took it, and gave each of the prieſts one; ſo that at that time ſhe gave forty marks. Then ſhe cauſed wine to be brought, and gave it the prieſts to drink, and I was forced to drink thrice from her hand in honour of the Trinity: ſhe began alſo to teach me the language, jeſting with me, becauſe I was ſilent, as not having any interpreter.

The next day again Mangu-Khan, hearing that we came that way, made us come in to him, becauſe he underſtood that the lady was ſomewhat better; and we found him with a few ſervants, taking a ſort of meat made of paſte, for comforting the head, and the burnt ſhoulder-blades of a ram lay before him, and he took the croſs in his hand, but that he worſhipped it, I ſaw not; he looked upon it indeed, and aſked ſome queſtions, but I know not what. Then the monk craved leave to carry the croſs aloft, upon a lance, becauſe I had ſpoken to the monk before concerning this, and Mangu anſwered, carry it as you think beſt; then paying our duty to him, we went unto the lady, and we found her ſtrong and cheerful, and ſhe ſtill drank of the holy water, and we read the paſſion over her, and thoſe miſerable prieſts never taught her the faith, nor adviſed her to be baptized; but I ſat there mute, not able to ſpeak any thing, yet ſhe ſtill taught me the language; the prieſts found no fault with any kind of ſorcery, for there I ſaw four ſwords half drawn out of the ſheath, one at the head of the lady's bed, another at the feet, and two others, on either ſide of the door one. I ſaw alſo there one ſilver chalice, of our chalices, which very probably was taken out of ſome church in Hungary, and it hung againſt the walls full of aſhes, and upon thoſe aſhes there was a black ſtone, and concerning ſuch things, the prieſts never teach them that they are evil; nay, they themſelves do teach ſuch things. We viſited her three days, ſo that ſhe was reſtored to perfect health; after that, the monk made a banner full of croſſes, and got a cane as long as a lance, and we carried the croſs aloft.

I honoured him as my Biſhop, becauſe he could ſpeak the language, yet he did many things that did not pleaſe me; for he cauſed a chair, which may be folded, to be made for him, ſuch as biſhops uſed to have, and gloves, and a cap of peacock's feathers, and upon it a little croſs of gold; I was well pleaſed with the croſs. He had ſcabbed feet, which he endeavoured to palliate with ointments, and was very preſumptuous in ſpeech; the Neſtorians alſo repeated certain verſes of the Pſalter upon two rods, which were joined together, being held by two men. The monk was preſent at ſuch things, and many other vanities appeared in him, which diſpleaſed me, yet we joined ourſelves to his ſociety for the honour of the croſs, for we carried the croſs advanced through all the tents, ſinging, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, &c. Whereupon the Mohammedans were much dejected.

44. From the time we came to the court of Mangu-Khan, he rode but two journies towards the ſouth, and from that time he began to return towards the north, which was towards Caracarum; whereon I noted all the way a thing of which Maſter Baldwin of Hannonia had ſpoken to me at Conſtantinople, that he had ſeen this only wonderful, that he always aſcended in going, and never deſcended; for all rivers came from the Eaſt to the Weſt, either directly or indirectly, bending towards the South or the North, and I enquired of the prieſts which came from Cathaya, who teſtified the ſame. From the place where I found Mangu-Khan to Cathaya were twenty days' journey: going towards the ſouth and eaſt to Oman Kerule, which is the proper country of Moali, where the court of Zingis is, were ten days' journey right eaſt; and in thoſe parts of the eaſt there was no city, yet there were people which are called Su-Moali, that is to ſay, Moal of the waters, for Su is water. Theſe people live upon fiſh and hunting, having neither flocks or herds. Towards the north likewiſe there is no city, but a poor people feeding cattle, who are called Kerkis; the Orangin are alſo there, who bind ſmooth filed bones under their feet, and thruſt themſelves forward upon the congealed ſnow and ice with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that they take birds and beaſts; and many other poor people there are on the north ſide, ſo far as they may ſpread themſelves for the cold; and they join on the weſt with the country of Paſcatir, which is Hungary the Greater,

whereof I have ſpoken before. The bound or ſummit of the north corner is not known for the extremity of the cold; for in that place there are continual mountains of ſnow.

I was inquiſitive of the monſters, or monſtrous men, whereof Iſidorus and Solinus make report: they told me they never ſaw any ſuch, and I therefore doubt whether it be true or no. All theſe nations are poor, yet they muſt ſerve in ſome trade, for it was the commandment of Zingis, that none ſhould be free from ſervice, till he were ſo old, that he could labour no longer by any means. Once I remember a certain prieſt of Cathaya ſat with me clothed in a red-coloured cloth, and I demanded of him whence he had ſuch a colour, and he told me, that in the eaſt parts of Cathaya there were high craggy rocks, wherein certain creatures dwell, having in all parts the ſhape of men; but that they bow not the knees, but leap inſtead of walking, which are not above one cubit long, and their whole body is covered with hair, who have their abode in caves, which no man can come unto; and they who hunt them, go to them, and carry ſtrong drink with them, and make pits in the rocks like wells, which they fill with that ſtrong drink; for Cathaya hitherto has had no wine, though now they begin to plant vineyards; but the ſtrong liquor before mentioned is made of rice. The hunters hide themſelves, and then theſe creatures come out of their holes and taſte the drink, and cry, chin-chin; on this they come together in great multitudes, and drink till they are made drunk, ſo that they ſleep there. Then the hunters come and bind them hand and feet, while they are ſleeping, and afterwards open the veins in their neck, and draw forth three or four drops of blood from every one, and let them go free; and that blood, as he told me, is the moſt precious purple.

He told us alſo a truth, (which, however, I do not believe,) that there is a province beyond Cathaya, into which, at whatever age a man enters, he continueth in the ſame age wherein he entered. Cathaya is on the ocean, and the goldſmith ſo often mentioned told me, that there arrived meſſengers from a certain people which are called Tante and Manſe, who inhabit iſlands, the ſea of which is frozen in the winter, ſo that the Tartars may invade them, who offered two thouſand Tuemen or Jaſcots yearly, ſo they would let them live in peace. Tuemen is a piece of money containing ten marks. The common money of Cathaya is paper made like paſteboard, the breadth and length of an hand, upon which they imprint lines like the ſeal of Mangu; they write with a pencil, like that with which painters paint, and in one figure they make many letters comprehending one word. The people of Thibet write as we do, and they have characters very like ours. They of Tangut write from the right hand to the left, as the Arabians do, and multiply the line aſcending upwards; the Jugures, as I ſaid before, from above to the bottom of the line. The common money of the Rutenians are little ſpotted and griſled ſkins. When we came with the monk, he charitably admoniſhed us to abſtain from fleſh, and that our ſervants ſhould eat fleſh with his ſervants; but he would promiſe us meal, and oil, or butter, which we did, though it much grieved my companion by reaſon of his weakneſs; wherefore our food was millet and butter, or paſte boiled in water, with butter, or ſour milk, and unleavened bread baked on ox-dung, or horſe-dung.

45. When our *Quinquageſima* came, which is the Lent time of all the people of the eaſt, the great lady Cota, with all her company, faſted that week, who came every day to our Oratory, and gave meat to the prieſts and other Chriſtians, of whom a great multitude flocked thither the firſt week to hear their duty, and ſhe gave me and my companion each a coat and breeches of grey Samito, furred with coarſe hair, becauſe my companion complained much of the weight of his ſkins, which I received for his ſake,

ſake, excuſing myſelf, nevertheleſs, that I would not wear ſuch clothes; I gave to my interpreter what belonged to me. Then the porters of the court, ſeeing that ſuch a multitude came daily to the church, which was within the bounds of the keepers of the court, they ſent one of their attendants to the monk, to let him know, that they would not have ſuch a multitude come within the precincts of the court; to this the monk roughly anſwered, that he would know whether they commanded this from Mangu-Khan, and he added certain ſpeeches, as if he would accuſe them to Mangu-Khan; but they preventing him, accuſed him before Mangu, that he was too full of words, and that he gathered together too great a multitude to hear him ſpeak.

Afterwards being called to the court, we came in before the Khan himſelf, who having the burnt ſhoulder-blade of a ram in his hand, looked upon it, as it were reading it, began to reprove the monk ſeverely, telling him, that ſeeing he was a holy man, he ſhould pray unto God, and aſked why he ſpoke ſo much with men? But I ſtood behind with my head bare. Then the Khan ſaid to him, Why doſt thou not put off thy cap when thou comeſt before me, as that Frank doth? and commanded me to be called nearer; then the monk being much abaſed, put off his cap contrary to the cuſtom of the Greeks and Armenians, and when Khan himſelf had ſpoken ſharply to him, we went out; the monk then delivered me the croſs to bear to the Oratory, becauſe he could not carry it for ſhame. After a few days he was reconciled to him, promiſing that he would go to the Pope, and that he would bring all the nations of the weſt to his obedience. Whereupon he returning to the Oratory, after that conference had with the Khan, began to enquire of me touching the Pope, if I believed he would ſee him, if he came unto him in the behalf of Mangu, and if he would furniſh him with horſes unto St. James in Gallicia. He demanded alſo of Your Majeſty, if I thought you would ſend your ſon unto Mangu? Then I counſelled him, that he ſhould take heed that he did not promiſe falſehoods to Mangu, becauſe the laſt error would be worſe than the firſt, and that God needeth not our lies, or that we ſhould ſpeak deceitfully for him.

At that time there aroſe a certain queſtion between the monk and a prieſt, a learned man, whoſe father was an archdeacon, and the other prieſts accounted him an archdeacon. For the monk ſaid, that man was created before Paradiſe, and that the Scripture ſaid ſo; then was I called to be an arbitrator of the queſtion, but I being ignorant that they contended about this, anſwered, that Paradiſe was made upon Tueſday, when the other trees were made, and that man was made the ſixth day. Then the monk began to ſay, did not the devil bring earth the firſt day from the four parts of the world, and making clay, made the body of man therewith, and God inſpired his ſoul? Then hearing this hereſy of the monk, and that he ſo publicly and ſhamefully recited it, I reproved him ſharply, ſaying, he ſhould put his finger upon his mouth, becauſe he knew not the Scriptures, and that he ſhould take heed what he ſaid; and he began to ſcorn me, becauſe I was ignorant of the language.

I departed therefore from him, going to our houſe; it fell out afterwards, that he and the prieſts went in proceſſion to the court without calling me, becauſe the monk would no longer ſpeak to me as he was wont; when, therefore, they came before Mangu, he earneſtly demanded where I was, and why I came not with them? The prieſts being afraid, excuſed themſelves, but returning, they told me the words of Mangu, and murmured at the monk. After this the monk was reconciled to me, and I to him, entreating him, that he would help me with his language, and I would help him in the Holy Scripture: "For a brother that is holpen of a brother, is as a ſtrong city." After the firſt week of faſting, the lady ceaſed to come unto the Oratory, and to give

give meat and drink, which we were wont to have; for the monk ſuffered it not to be brought, ſaying, that mutton fat or ſuet was put in the ſauce; and ſhe gave no oil, but very ſeldom; ſo that we had nothing but brown bread and paſte, boiled in water, though we had no water but of diſſolved ſnow or ice, which was exceeding bad. My companion began to be much grieved; ſo I acquainted David, the ſchoolmaſter of the Khan's eldeſt ſon, with our neceſſity, who made report thereof to the Khan, and he commanded to give us wine, flour, and oil.

Neither the Neſtorians or Armenians eat fiſh by any means in lent; but the monk had a cheſt by him under the altar, with almonds and raiſins, and dried prunes, and many other fruits, which he eat all day, whenever he was alone. We eat once a day, and that in great affliction; for as ſoon as they knew that Mangu had given us wine, moſt impudently they came in upon us like dogs, both the Neſtorian prieſts, who were drunk all the day in the court, and the Moals alſo, and the ſervants of the monk. The monk alſo, when any came unto him to whom he would give drink, he ſent to us for wine, ſo that the wine cauſed us more trouble than comfort, becauſe we could not deny it without offence. If we gave, we wanted ourſelves; nor durſt we, that being ſpent, deſire any more from the court.

46. About the middle of lent the French goldſmith's ſon came, bringing with him a ſilver croſs made after the French faſhion, having the image of Chriſt all of ſilver faſtened upon it at the top, which the monks and prieſts ſeeing, put it away. This croſs he was to preſent in the behalf of his maſter to Bulgai, who was the chief ſecretary of the court, which when I heard I was offended. The ſame young man alſo declared to Mangu-Khan, that the work which he had commanded to be made, was finiſhed, which work I deſcribed unto you. Mangu hath at Caracarum a great court hard by the walls of the city, incloſed with a brick wall, as the priories of monks are incloſed with us. In that court there is a great palace, wherein he held his feaſts twice a year, once in Eaſter, when he paſſeth that way, and once in ſummer, when he returneth; but the latter is the greater, becauſe then all the nobles meet together at his court, and then he gives unto them garments, and ſhews all his magnificence. There are many other houſes there as large as our farms, wherein his victuals and treaſures are ſtored. In the entrance of that great place, becauſe it was indecent to have flaggons going about, as in a tavern, William the goldſmith made him a great ſilver tree, at the root whereof were four ſilver lions, having one pipe ſending forth pure cows' milk; and the four pipes were conveyed within the tree unto the top thereof, whoſe top ſpread back again downward, and upon every one of them was a golden ſerpent, whoſe tails twined about the tree; and one of theſe pipes run with wine, another with caracoſmos, that is, clarified whey, another with ball, that is, drink made of honey, another with drink made of rice, called teracina; and every drink had a veſſel prepared of ſilver at the foot of the tree to receive it. Between theſe four pipes, at the top, he made an angel holding a trumpet, and under the tree he made an hollow vault, wherein a man might be hid, and a pipe aſcending up the heart of the tree unto the angel. He firſt made bellows, but they gave not wind enough. Without the palace there is a chamber, wherein the liquors were laid, and there were ſervants ready to pour it out when they heard the angel ſounding the trumpet; and the boughs of the tree are of ſilver, and ſo are the leaves and pears that are on it; when, therefore, they want drink, the butler commands the angel to ſound the trumpet; he who is hid in the vault hearing, blows the pipe ſtrongly, which aſcending to the angel, he ſets his trumpet to his mouth, and the trumpet ſoundeth very ſhrill; then the ſervants hearing, which are in the chamber, pour liquor into the proper pipe, and the pipes pour it from above, and they are received below

below into veſſels prepared for that purpoſe. Then the butlers draw them, and carry them through the palace to men and women.

The palace is like a church, having the middle aiſle and the two ſides beyond two rows of pillars, and three gates on the ſouth; before the middle gate ſtands the tree, and the Khan himſelf ſits in the north front on an high place, that he may be ſeen of all; and there are two flights of ſteps aſcending to him; by one he that carries the cup goes unto him; and by the other he comes down. The ſpace which is in the middle, between the tree and the ſteps by which they aſcend, is void; for there ſtands he that waits on his cup, and the meſſengers which bring preſents, the Khan ſitting there above like a god. On the right ſide, towards the weſt, are the men; on the left, women; for the palace ſtretched out in length from north to ſouth: on the right ſide are places full of ſeats, on which his ſons and brethren ſit; on the left ſide are the like, where his wives and daughters ſit; one woman only ſits above by him, but not ſo high as he. When, therefore, he had heard that the work was finiſhed, he commanded the chief workman to ſet it up in its place, and make it fit.

About Paſſion Sunday he went before with his ſmall houſes, leaving his greater houſes behind; and the monk and we followed him; and he ſent us another bottle of wine. The Khan, in his march, paſſed between the hilly countries, where there was great wind, and extreme cold, and there fell a great ſnow; whereupon he ſent about midnight to the monk and us, entreating us to pray unto God, that he would mitigate the wind and cold, becauſe all the beaſts which were in the train were in jeopardy; eſpecially becauſe all that time they were with young, and ready to bring forth. Then the monk ſent him incenſe, requiring him to put it upon the coals, and offer it to God; which whether he did I know not; but the tempeſt ceaſed, which had continued two days.

On Palm Sunday we were near Caracarum in the dawning of the day; we bleſſed the willow-boughs, whereon as yet there appeared no bud; and about nine we entered the city, carrying the croſs aloft, with the banner, paſſing through the middle of the ſtreet of the Saracens, where the market and fair are, to the church, and the Neſtorians met us in proceſſion; and entering into the church, we found them prepared to celebrate the maſs; which being celebrated, they all communicated; and they aſked me whether I would communicate? I anſwered, that I had drank before, and the ſacrament ſhould not be received but faſting. Maſs being ſaid, it was evening, and Maſter William the goldſmith brought us with joy to his inn to ſup with him. He had a wife who was the daughter of Mohammedan parents, though born in Hungary herſelf, who could ſpeak French, and the language of Comania. We found alſo there one other man, called Baſſilius, the ſon of an Engliſhman, born in Hungary, who alſo was ſkilful in the ſame languages. Supper being ended, they brought us to our cottage, which the Tartars had appointed in a certain plat of ground near the church, with the Oratory of the monk.

On the next morning the Khan himſelf entered into his palace, and the monk and I and the prieſts went to him; they ſuffered not my companion to go becauſe he ſtumbled on the threſhold. I much deliberated with myſelf what I ſhould do, whether I ſhould go or no; and, fearing offence, if I ſhould depart from other Chriſtians, and becauſe it pleaſed him, and fearing leſt that good might be hindered which I hoped to obtain, I choſe rather to go, though I ſaw their actions full of idolatry and ſorcery, nor did I any other thing there but pray for the whole church with a loud voice, and alſo for the Khan himſelf, that God would direct him to the way of eternal Salvation. We therefore went into the court, which was very neat, for in the ſummer

rivers

rivers are conveyed into every place whereby it is watered. After this we entered into the palace full of men and women, and ſtood before the Khan, having the aforeſaid tree at our backs, which with the veſſels thereof took up a great part of the palace. The prieſts brought two little loaves and fruit in an earthern diſh, which they preſented unto him, bleſſing them; and the butler brought them unto him, ſitting above on a very high place, and he preſently began to eat one of the loaves, and ſent the other to his ſon and a younger brother of his, who was brought up by a Neſtorian, and knew the goſpel, who alſo ſent for my bible, that he might ſee it. After the prieſts, the monk ſaid his prayer, and I after the monk; then he promiſed that the next day he would come unto the church, which is great enough and fair, and all the ceiling above was covered with ſilk wrought with gold; the next day he departed, deſiring the prieſts to excuſe him, that he durſt not come to the church, becauſe he underſtood the dead were carried thither: but we and the monk remained at Caracarum with the other prieſts of the court, that we might celebrate Eaſter there.

47. The feaſt of Eaſter was now drawing near, and we had not our veſtments; and I likewiſe conſidered the manner how the Neſtorians made the ſacramental bread, and was much troubled what I ſhould do, whether I ſhould receive the ſacrament from them or ſhould celebrate in their veſtments and chalice, and upon their altar, or ſhould altogether abſtain from the ſacrament. There was a great multitude of Chriſtians; Hungarians, Allans, Rutenians, Georgians, and Armenians, all which had not ſeen the ſacrament ſince they were taken priſoners, becauſe the Neſtorians would not admit them into their church, unleſs they were baptized by them, as they ſaid; yet they made no mention of that to us, and they offered their ſacrament freely to us, and made me ſtand in the door of the choir, that I might ſee their manner of conſecration. On the vigil of Eaſter I ſtood by the fount that I might ſee their manner of baptizing. They ſay they have of the ointment wherewith Mary Magdalen anointed the feet of our Lord; and they pour in as much as they think fit of that oil, with which they knead their bread; for all the people of the Eaſt put fat in their bread inſtead of leaven, which fat is butter, or ſuet out of a ſheep's tail, or oil.

They ſay alſo, they have of the flour of which the bread was made which the Lord conſecrated, and always add as much freſh as the quantity of the flour they lay aſide; and they have a chamber, hard by their choir, and an oven where they bake their bread, which they next conſecrate with great reverence. They therefore make one loaf of an hand's breadth, with the before-mentioned oil, which they firſt break into twelve pieces, according to the number of the apoſtles, and after divide thoſe pieces according to the multitude of the people, and the prieſts give the body of Chriſt to every one in his hand; and then every one taketh it out of the palm of his hand with reverence, and ſtretcheth his hand to the top of his head. The Chriſtians I mentioned before, and the monks, very earneſtly intreated us, for God's ſake, that we would celebrate. Then I made them be confeſſed by an interpreter as I could, reckoning the ten commandments, and the ſeven deadly ſins, and other things, for which every man ought to be penitent and confeſſed; all of them publicly excuſed themſelves concerning theft, ſaying, that without theft they could not live, becauſe their maſters provided them neither food nor raiment. Then conſidering that they had taken away their perſons and their ſubſtance without juſt cauſe, I ſaid unto them, that they might lawfully take neceſſaries of the goods of their maſters, and I was ready to maintain it to the face of Mangu-Khan.

Some of them alſo were ſoldiers, who excuſed themſelves, that they muſt go to the wars or elſe they ſhould be ſlain: I forbad them to go againſt the Chriſtians, and that they ſhould not hurt them, and that they ſhould rather ſuffer themſelves to be ſlain, for ſo they ſhould become martyrs. And I ſaid, that if any would accuſe me of this doctrine

before Mangu-Khan, I would be ready to preach the ſame in his hearing: for the Neſtorians themſelves of the court were preſent when I taught this, of whom I was ſuſpicious they might report ill of us. Then maſter William the goldſmith cauſed an iron to be made for us to make hoſts; and he had certain veſtments which he had made for himſelf, for he had ſome knowledge in learning and officiated as a clerk. He cauſed the image of the bleſſed Virgin Mary to be graven after the French faſhion, and engraved the hiſtory of the goſpel very fair; and made a ſilver box to lay up the body of Chriſt, and the relicks in certain little holes, curiouſly wrought in the ſide of the box.

He made alſo a certain oratory upon a chariot, very fairly painted with ſcripture hiſtories; I therefore took his veſtments and bleſſed them; and we made hoſts after our manner, very fair: and the Neſtorians aſſigned me their fount for baptiſm. And their patriarch ſent them from Baldach a ſquare hide like a portable altar, made with chriſm, which they uſe inſtead of conſecrated ſtone, therefore I celebrated on the day of the Lord's ſupper, in their ſilver chalice and diſh, which were very great veſſels. I did the like alſo on Eaſter-day, and we communicated the people with the bleſſing of God, as I hope; but they baptiſed in the vigil of Eaſter more than threeſcore perſons very orderly. There was great joy for this generally among all Chriſtians.

48. After this, it happened that maſter William the goldſmith was grievouſly ſick, and when he was upon the recovery, the monk viſiting him, gave him rhubarb to drink, ſo that he had almoſt killed him. Then viſiting him when I found him ſo ill, I aſked him what he had eat or drank? and he told me the monk had given him the potion, and he drunk two little diſhes full, thinking it had been holy water. Then I went to the monk, and ſaid to him, either go as an apoſtle, doing miracles indeed by virtue of prayer and the Holy Ghoſt, or as a phyſician according to the art of medicine; you give a ſtrong potion of phyſick to drink to men not prepared, as if it were an innocent thing; for which you will incur a foul ſcandal, if it come to the knowledge of men. From that time he began to fear and to be weary of him.

It happened at that time, that the prieſt too was ſick, who was as it were the archdeacon of the reſt, and his friends ſent for a certain Saracen, who was a ſoothſayer, who ſaid unto them, a certain lean man, who neither eateth or drinketh, nor ſleeps in a bed, is angry with him; if he can obtain his bleſſing, he may recover; then they underſtood it was the monk, and about midnight the prieſt's wife, his ſiſter, and his ſon came, intreating that he would come and bleſs him; they alſo raiſed us up to intercede with the monk, who anſwered us upon this occaſion, let him alone, becauſe he, with three others, who likewiſe took evil courſes, conſulted to go to the court, to procure Mangu-Khan, that I and you ſhould be expelled from theſe parts; for there aroſe a contention among them, becauſe Mangu and his wives ſent four Jaſcots, and pieces of ſilk, upon Eaſter eve, to the monk and prieſts, to diſtribute among them; and the monk had kept unto himſelf one Jaſcot for his part and of the other three one was counterfeit, for it was copper. The prieſts thought therefore that the monk had kept too great a ſhare to himſelf, whence (it might be) that they had ſome words among themſelves, which were reported to the monk.

When day came, I went to the prieſt, who had extreme pain in his ſide, and ſpit blood, whence I thought it was an impoſtume; then I adviſed him, that if he had any thing that was another's to reſtore it; he ſaid he had nothing. I ſpoke unto him alſo of the ſacrament of extreme unction; who anſwered, we have no ſuch cuſtom, neither do our prieſts know how to do it; I intreat you that you would do it for me, as you know beſt. I adviſed him alſo, concerning confeſſion, which they frequent not; and he ſpake a little in the ear of a certain prieſt, one of his companions. After this, he grew better, and intreated

intreated me to go for the monk; ſo I went, but the monk would not come at firſt; but when he heard he was ſomewhat better, he went with his croſs, and I alſo went, and carried the body of Chriſt, which I had reſerved upon Eaſter-day, at the intreaty of maſter William; then the monk began to kick him with his feet, and he moſt humbly embraced his feet; then I ſaid unto him, it is the cuſtom of the church of Rome, that the ſick ſhould receive the body of Chriſt, as it is the beſt proviſion for their journey, and a defence againſt all the deceits of the enemy; turning next to the ſick man, I ſaid, "Behold the body of Chriſt, which I conſecrated on Eaſter day, you muſt be confeſſed and deſire it." Then ſaid he, with great faith, "I deſire it with all my heart;" which when I had offered to him, he with great affection ſaid, "I believe that this is my Creator, and my Saviour, who gave me life, and will reſtore it again unto me after death in the general reſurrection;" and ſo took the body of Chriſt (from my hand), made after the manner of the church of Rome; the monk then ſtayed with him, and gave him, in my abſence, I know not what potions.

The next day he began to have the pangs of death upon him; then taking their oil, which they ſaid was holy, I annointed him according to the church of Rome, as they entreated me. I had none of our oil, becauſe the prieſts of Sartach kept it all. When we ſhould have ſung a dirge, and I would have been preſent at his end, the monk ſent to me, bidding me depart, becauſe if I were preſent, I could not come into the houſe of Mangu-Khan for one whole year; which, when I had told his friends, they ſaid it was true, and deſired me to depart, leſt I might be hindered in that good which I might promote. As ſoon as he was dead, the monk ſaid unto me, "Never mind it, I have killed him with my prayers; this man only was learned, and oppoſed himſelf againſt us, the reſt know nothing: henceforth Mangu-Khan himſelf, and they all will couch at our feet." Then he declared unto me the before-mentioned anſwer of the ſoothſayer; which not believing it, I enquired of the prieſts who were friends of the deceaſed, whether it were true or no, who ſaid it was; but whether he was pre-inſtructed or not, that they knew not.

Afterwards I found that the monk called the ſoothſayer and his wife into his chapel, and cauſed duſt to be ſifted for him to divine to him, for he had a certain Rutenian deacon who divined to him; which, when I underſtood, I was amazed at his fooliſhneſs, and ſaid to him, Brother, a man full of the Holy Ghoſt, which teacheth all things, ſhould not demand anſwers or counſels from ſoothſayers, ſeeing all ſuch things are forbidden, and they are excommunicated who follow ſuch things. Then he began to excuſe himſelf, that it was not true that he ſought after ſuch things; but I would not depart from him, becauſe I was placed there by the commandment of the Khan himſelf, nor could I remove without his ſpecial command.

49. As to the city of Caracarum, Your Highneſs may be pleaſed to know this; that, excluding the palace of the Khan himſelf, it is not ſo good as the caſtle of St. Dennis, and the monaſtery of St. Dennis is worth ten times that palace and more too. There are two ſtreets there, one of the Saracens or Mohammedans, where the fairs are kept, and many merchants reſort thither, by reaſon of the court which is always near, and for the number of embaſſadors. There is another of the Cathayans, who are all artificers. Without thoſe ſtreets there are great palaces, which are the courts of the ſecretaries; there are there twelve kinds of idolators of divers nations, two moſques, where the law of Mohammed is proclaimed, and one church of the Chriſtians at the end of the town. The town is encloſed with a mud wall, and hath four gates; on the eaſt part millet and other grain is ſold, which, as yet, is ſeldom brought thither; on the weſt ſheep and goats, on the ſouth oxen and waggons are ſold; and on the north horſes.

Following the court, we came thither on the Sunday before the Aſcenſion; the next day after we were called before Bulgai, who is their juſtice and chief ſecretary; both the monk and all his family, and we and all the meſſengers and ſtrangers likewiſe who frequented the houſe of the monk, were called before Bulgai ſeverally, firſt the monk, and after us, and they began diligently to enquire whence we were, and for what purpoſe we came, and what our errand was? and this enquiry was made becauſe it was told Mangu-Khan, that four hundred aſſaſſins or ſecret murderers were gone forth in divers habits to kill him. About that time the Khan's lady was reſtored to health, and ſhe ſent for the monk, and he, not willing to go, anſwered, ſhe hath ſent for idolators about her, let them cure her if they can, I will go no more.

Upon Aſcenſion eve, we were all in the houſe of Mangu-Khan: and I ſaw as often as he was to drink, they caſt Cofmos to their idols of felt; then I ſaid to the monk, "What fellowſhip hath Chriſt with Belial? what part hath our croſs with thoſe idols?" Mangu-Khan hath eight brethren, three by the mother, and five by the father. One of them of his mother's ſide he ſent into the cóuntry of Aſſaſſines, who are called by them Mulibet, and he commanded him to kill them all. Another went to Perſia, and is now entered therein to go, as is thought, into Turkey, from thence to ſend armies to Baldach and Vaſſacius. One of the others he ſent into Cathaia againſt ſome that rebelled: his youngeſt brother of the ſame venter, he kept himſelf, whoſe name was Arabucha, who holds his mother's court, who was a Chriſtian, whoſe ſervant maſter William is: for one of the brothers on the father's ſide took him in a certain city called Belgrade, where there was a Norman biſhop, of Belle Ville near Roan with a nephew of the biſhop's, whom I ſaw there at Caracarum, and he gave maſter William to Mangu's mother, becauſe ſhe was deſirous to have him. But when ſhe was dead, maſter William came back again to Arabucha, with all things elſe pertaining to the court of his mother; and from him he came to the knowledge of Mangu-Khan, who, on finiſhing of the aforeſaid work, gave unto maſter William one hundred Jaſcots, that is, a thouſand marks.

On the Eve of the Aſcenſion, Mangu-Khan ſaid, he would go to his mother's court and viſit her, and the monk ſaid he would go with him, and give his bleſſing to his mother, with which Khan was well contented. In the evening of the day of the aſcenſion, the aforeſaid lady was very ill and the chief of the ſoothſayers ſent to the monk, commanding him that the table ſhould not be ſmitten. On the morrow, when the whole court removed, the court of the lady remained ſtill: and when we came to the place where the court ſhould ſtay, the monk was commanded to depart farther from the court than he was wont, which he did: then Arabucha met his brother the Khan: ſo the monk and we, ſeeing that he was to paſs by us, met him with the croſs; and he calling us to mind, becauſe ſometimes he had been at our Oratory, ſtretching forth his hand made a croſs unto us like a biſhop; then the monk taking horſe followed him, bearing certain fruits; but he alighted before his brother's court, waiting while he came from hunting: the monk alighted there alſo, and offered him the fruit, which he received; and hard by him ſat two Saracens of the nobility of the court of Khan; but Arabucha underſtanding of the contention between the Chriſtians and the Saracens, enquired of the monk if he knew theſe Saracens, and he anſwered, I know they are dogs, why have you them ſo near you? But they replied, why, ſay they, do you wrong to us, when we do none to you? To whom the monk ſaid, I ſpeak the truth, and ye and your Mohammed are vile dogs: then they began to blaſpheme Chriſt, but Arabucha forbad them, ſaying, Speak not ſo blaſphemouſly, for we know that the Meſſiah is God.

God. That very hour there arose a great wind over all the street, and after a while there came a rumour that the lady was dead.

The next morning the Khan returned towards the court another way; for this is a rule amongst them, that they never return the same way they come. While the court remained here none dare pass that way (neither horse-man nor foot-man,) where the court stayed, so long as any shew of the fire made there remaineth. That day certain Saracens kept company with the monk, upon the way, provoking him, and disputing with him; and when he could not defend himself with argument, and they made light of him, he would have lashed them with the whip which he held in his hand, and he went so far that his words were reported at the court, and we were commanded to depart to the same place with other messengers, and not to abide before the court as we were wont. I hitherto always hoped the King of Armenia would come. There came some about Easter from Bolac, where those Germans are, for whose sake chiefly I went thither, who told me, that the Dutch priest should come to court; therefore I moved no questions to Mangu concerning our stay or departure; for at the beginning he gave us leave to stay two months, and now five months were past. This was done about the end of May, and we had continued there all February, March, April and May; but hearing no news of the King or the said priest, and fearing lest we should return in the winter, the sharpness of which we had experienced, I caused it to be demanded of Mangu-Khan, what his pleasure was concerning us, because we would stay there, if so he pleased, or if we must return, it were easier for us to return in summer, than in the winter.

He presently sent to me, commanding that I should not go far off, because his pleasure was to speak with me the next day: to which I answered, if he would speak with me, he should send for master William's son, for my interpreter was not sufficient, and he that brought this message to me was a Saracen, who had been a messenger to Vastacius, and, blinded with rewards, counselled Vastacius to send ambassadors to Mangu-Khan, and the mean while the time passed, for Vastacius thought he would presently enter their country, so he sent, and after he knew them, he little regarded them, nor made a peace with them; neither did they yet enter his country, nor will they be able so long as they dare defend themselves; nor did they ever take any country by force, but by deceit; and because men make peace with them, under colour of that peace they circumvent them and overthrow them. Then he began to be very inquisitive of the Pope, and of the King of the Franks, and of the way to go to them; but the monks hearing this, advised me secretly not to answer him, because he would procure that an ambassador should be sent. I therefore held my peace, not willing to answer him; and he spake to me I know not what injurious words, for which the Nestorian priests would have accused him, so that he had either been slain or beaten, but I would not agree to it.

50. The very next day they brought me to the court, and the chief secretaries of the court came to me, one of them a Moal, who waiteth upon the Khan's cup, and the rest Saracens, enquiring on the behalf of the Khan, wherefore I came? Then I told him in the very same words I did before, how I came to Sartach, and from Sartach to Baatu, and how Baatu sent me thither. Whereupon I said unto him, I have nothing to speak on the behalf of any man, unless I should speak the words of God unto him, if he would hear them, for the Khan should best know what Baatu hath written unto him. They stuck upon this, demanding what words of God I would speak unto him; thinking I would prophesy unto him some prosperous thing, as many use to do.

To whom I anſwered, if ye will that I ſpeak the words of God unto him, get me an interpreter, who ſaid, we have ſent for him, yet ſpeak by this interpreter as you may, we ſhall underſtand you well, and they urged me much to ſpeak. Then I ſaid, "This is the word of God. To whom more is committed, more is required at his hands. Another alſo, to whom more is forgiven, he ought to love more. Out of theſe true words of God, I ſaid to the Mangu himſelf, that God hath given him much: for the power and riches which he hath, the idols of the Tuinians hath not given him, but the omnipotent God, who hath made heaven and earth, in whoſe hands all kingdoms are, and he tranſlateth them from nation to nation for the ſins of men, wherefore if he love him, it ſhall go well with him; if otherwiſe, let him know that God will require all theſe things at his hands, even to the uttermoſt farthing." Then ſaid one of the Saracens, is there any man that loveth not God? I anſwered, "God ſaith, if any man love me, he will keep my commandments; therefore he that keepeth not the commandments of God, loveth not God." Then ſaid he, Have ye been in heaven, that ye might know the commandments of God? "No, ſaid I, but he hath given them from heaven to holy men, and at the laſt himſelf deſcended from heaven, teaching us, and we have theſe things in the ſcriptures, and we ſee by the works of men whether they keep them or no."

Whereupon he replied, Will ye then ſay that Mangu Khan keeps not the commandments of God? To whom I ſaid your interpreter will come as ye ſay. Then before Mangu-Khan, if it pleaſe him, I will recite the commandments of God, and he ſhall be his own judge, whether he keep them or not; ſo they departed and told him that I ſaid he was an idolater, or a Tuinian, and kept not the commandments of God. The next day he ſent his ſecretaries unto me, ſaying, Our Lord ſends us unto you, ſaying, ye are here, Chriſtians, Saracens, and Tuinians, and every of you ſaith, his law is better, and his books are true: wherefore he would that ye all come together, and make compariſon that every one write his words, that he may know the truth. Then I ſaid, "Bleſſed be God, that hath put this in the heart of Khan; but our ſcripture ſaith, the ſervant of God muſt not be contentious, but meek unto all. Wherefore I am ready without ſtrife and contention to render an account of the faith and hope of Chriſtians to every one that ſhall require it." Then they wrote my words, and brought them unto him.

Then the Neſtorians were commanded to provide themſelves, and write what they would ſpeak, and the Saracens likewiſe, and the Tuinians alſo. On the next morning he ſent the ſecretaries again, ſaying, Mangu-Khan would know wherefore ye came to theſe parts? To whom I ſaid, he may know by the letters of Baatu: to this they anſwered, Baatu's letters are loſt, and he hath forgotten what Baatu hath wrote to him. Wherefore he would know of you.

At this ſomewhat embolden, I ſaid, "The duty or office of our religion is to preach the goſpel unto all. Whereupon when I heard of the fame of the people of Moal, I had a deſire to come unto them, and while I was thus minded we heard of Sartach that he was a Chriſtian; then I directed my journey unto him, and my Sovereign Lord the King of the Franks ſent him letters containing good words, and other words beſides which teſtify of us unto him what men we are, when he made requeſt that he would ſuffer us to remain with the people of Moal; then he ſent us to Baatu, and Baatu to Mangu-Khan; whereupon we intreated, and yet intreat him to ſuffer us to ſtay." They wrote all, and made relation thereof unto him. On the morrow he ſent to me again, ſaying, the Khan knows well enough that ye have no meſſage unto him, but ye came to pray for him as many other prieſts do; but he demandeth whether ever any of your

ambaſſadors

ambaſſadors were with him, or ours with you. Then I declared all unto them concerning David and friar Andrew, ſo they putting all in writing, reported the ſame to him.

Then he ſent again unto me ſaying, Our Lord Khan ſaith ye have ſtaid long here; his pleaſure is, that ye return unto your own country, and he further demands, whether ye would conduct his ambaſſadors with you? To whom I made anſwer, that I durſt not carry his ambaſſadors beyond his own country, becauſe there is a warlike nation between us and you, and the ſea and mountains, and I am a poor monk, and therefore dare not take upon me to be their guide; ſo they having ſet down all in writing, returned and reported it to the Khan. When Whitſun-Eve came, the Neſtorians wrote chronicles from the creation of the world to the paſſion of Chriſt, and paſſing over the paſſion, they ſpake of the reſurrection of the dead, and of the aſcenſion, and of the coming of judgment, wherein many things were to be reprehended, which I told them; and we likewiſe wrote the ſymbol or creed, *Credo unum Deum.* Then I demanded of them how they would proceed? They ſaid they would firſt diſpute with the Saracens; I ſhewed them this was not the proper method, for the Saracens in this agree with us, that they affirm there is but one God, and therefore you may have them to help you againſt the Tuinians, ſo they were contented. Then I aſked them, if they knew how idolatry had its firſt original in the world, and they could not tell? I told them, and they ſaid you ſhall clear theſe things to them, and then let us ſpeak, for it is hard to ſpeak by an interpreter; to whom I ſaid, try how you can behave yourſelves againſt them, I will take the Tuinians part, and you the Chriſtians.

Suppoſe I am of that ſect that ſay there is no God, prove ye there is a God, for there is a ſect there which ſaith, that every virtue in what thing ſoever, is the God thereof, and that otherwiſe there is no God. Then the Neſtorians knew not how to prove any thing, but only that which their writing declareth: I ſaid, they believe not the ſcriptures, if ye ſhew one, they will ſhew another. Then I directed them to let me firſt talk with them, becauſe if I ſhould be overcome, they might ſtill have liberty of ſpeech; whereas if they ſhould be overcome, I ſhould have no hearing: they agreed unto it.

We therefore gathered together at our Oratory, and Mangu-Khan ſent three writers to be judges, one Chriſtian, one Saracen, and one Tuinian, and it was firſt proclaimed, "This is the commandment of Mangu-Khan, and none dare ſay that the commandment of God is otherwiſe. He commandeth that none ſpeak contentious or injurious words to another, or make any tumult, whereby this buſineſs may be hindered, upon pain of his head." Then all were ſilent, and there was a great aſſembly there, for every party invited the wiſeſt of their nation, and many others came flocking thither. Then the Chriſtians ſet me in the middle of them, willing the Tuinians to ſpeak with me. Then they began to murmur againſt Mangu-Khan, becauſe never any Khan attempted thus to ſearch into their ſecrets. Then they oppoſed one to me, who came from Cathaya, having his interpreter, and I had Maſter William's ſon. And he firſt ſaid to me, "Friend, if thou be brought to a nonplus, who muſt ſeek a wiſer than yourſelf?" But I held my peace.

Then he demanded whereof I would diſpute, either How the world was made, or what becomes of the ſouls after death? To whom I anſwered, "Friend, this ſhould not be the beginning of our ſpeech. All things are of God, and he is the fountain and head of all, and therefore we ought to ſpeak firſt of God, of whom ye think otherwiſe than ye ought to do, and Mangu deſires to know who believes better?" Then the arbitrators allowed this to be reaſonable, they would willingly have begun with the

following queſtions; becauſe they hold them for the ſtrongeſt, for they are all of the hereſy of the Manichees, believing two principles, the one bad, and the other good; and concerning ſouls they all think they paſs from body to body, inſomuch that one of the wiſeſt of the Neſtorian prieſts demanded of me concerning the ſouls of brute beaſts, whether they could fly to any place where they ſhould not be compelled to labour after death? For confirmation alſo thereof, as the goldſmith told me, a certain child was brought from Cathaya, who by the ſize of his body appeared to be three years old, yet was capable of any reaſon, who affirmed of himſelf, that he had been three times in ſeveral bodies, and knew letters, and how to write.

I ſaid to the aforeſaid Tuinian, "We firmly believe with the heart, and confeſs with the mouth, that there is a God, and there is but one God, and one in perfect unity, what believe you?" He ſaid, fools ſay there is but one God, but wiſe men ſay there are many. Are not there great Lords in your country, and here is a greater Lord, Mangu-Khan? ſo it is of the Gods, becauſe in divers countries there are divers. To whom I ſaid, you make a bad compariſon of men with God; for ſo every mighty man in his own country may be called a God. And when I would have ſolved the ſimilitude, he prevented me, enquiring what manner of God is yours, whereof you ſpeak, that he is but one? I anſwered, "Our God, beſide whom there is no other, is omnipotent, and therefore needeth not the help of another. Nay, all we have need of his help, it is not ſo with men; no man can do all things, and therefore there muſt be many Lords in the earth, becauſe no one can ſupport all. Again, he knows all things, therefore he needs not a counſellor; nay, all wiſdom is from him; moreover he is perfectly good, and needeth not our good. Nay, in him we live, move, and have our being: ſuch is our God, and therefore you muſt not hold that there is any other." It is not ſo, ſaith he. Nay, there is one higheſt in the heavens, whoſe generation we know not yet, and ten are under him, and under them there is one inferior, and in the earth there are infinite. Then he would have added other fables: ſo I aſked him of that higheſt God, whether he thought him omnipotent, or of any other God? and fearing to anſwer, he demanded, if your God be ſuch as you ſay, why made he the half of things evil? It is falſe, ſaid I, whoſo maketh any evil is no God, and all things whatſoever are good. At this word all the Tuinians marvelled, and ſet it down in writing, as falſe and impoſſible. Then he began to aſk, whence therefore cometh evil? You aſk amiſs, ſaid I; for firſt you ſhould demand what evil is before you aſk whence it is. But to return unto the firſt queſtion, whether do you believe that any God is omnipotent? and after I will anſwer you to whatſoever you demand. Then he ſat a long time and would not anſwer, inſomuch that the writers on the behalf of the Khan were forced to command him to anſwer. At length he anſwered, that no God was omnipotent. Then all the Saracens broke out into a great laughter. Silence being made, I ſaid therefore none of your Gods can ſave you in all dangers, becauſe ſuch a chance may happen wherein he hath no power. Again, no man can ſerve two maſters. How then can you ſerve ſo many Lords in heaven and in earth? The auditory decreed him to anſwer, but he held his peace.

Then when I was about to alledge reaſons to prove the truth of divine eſſence, and the Trinity, in every man's hearing, the Neſtorians of the country ſaid, that it was enough, becauſe they meant to ſpeak; ſo I gave them place; and when they would have diſputed with the Saracens, they anſwered, we grant that your law is true, and whatſoever is in the goſpel is truth, wherefore we will not diſpute with you in any thing, and they confeſſed, that they beg at the hands of God in their prayers, that they may die the death of the Chriſtians. There was there a certain old peace of the ſect of Jugures, who

who confeſs one God, yet they make idols, with whom they talked much, ſhewing all till the coming of Chriſt to judgment, declaring the Trinity to him, and the Saracens by ſimilitudes; all of them hearkened without any contradiction, yet none of them ſaid, I believe and will become a Chriſtian. The conference ended, the Neſtorians and Saracens ſang together with a loud voice, the Tuinians holding their peace, and after that, they all drank moſt plentifully.

51. On Whitſunday, Mangu-Khan called me before him, and the Tuinian with whom I diſputed; and before I went in, Maſter William's ſon, my interpreter, ſaid to me, that we muſt return to our country, and that I ſhould ſpeak nothing againſt it, becauſe he underſtood it for a thing determined. When I came before him, I kneeled, and the Tuinian by me, with his interpreter. Then he ſaid unto me, "Tell me the truth, whether you ſaid, when I ſent my writers unto you, that I was a Tuinian?" Then I anſwered, "My Lord, I ſaid not ſo; but if it pleaſe Your Highneſs, I will tell you the words I ſpake;" then I recited what I had ſpoken, and he anſwered, "I thought well you ſaid not ſo; for it was a word which you ſhould not ſpeak, but your interpreter hath ill interpreted it." So he reached forth his ſtaff towards me whereon he leaned, ſaying, "Fear not." I ſmiling, ſaid ſoftly, "If I had feared, I had not come hither; then he demanded of the interpreter what I ſaid? So he repeated my words unto him: afterwards he began to confeſs his faith unto me.

"We Moalians," ſaid he, "believe that there is but one God, through whom we live and die, and we have an upright heart towards him;"—"Then," ſaid I, "God grant you this, for without his gift it cannot be;" and he demanded what I ſaid, ſo the interpreter told him; then he added further, "That God who hath given to the hand divers fingers, ſo he hath given many ways to men: God hath given the Scriptures to you, and the Chriſtians keep them not: ye find it not in the Scriptures, that one of you ſhall diſpraiſe another: do you find it?" ſaid he. "No," ſaid I; "but I ſignified unto you from the beginning, that I would not contend with any;"—"I ſpeak it not," ſaid he, "touching you. In like manner ye find it not that for money a man ought to decline from juſtice."—"No, Sir," ſaid I, "and truly neither came I into theſe parts to get money, nay, I refuſed that which was given me;" and there was a ſcribe preſent there, who gave teſtimony that I had refuſed a jaſeot, and certain pieces of ſilk. "I ſpeak it not," ſaid he, "for that God hath given you the Scriptures, and ye keep them not; but he hath given us ſoothſayers, and we do that which they bid us, and we live in peace." He drank four times, as I think, before he diſcloſed theſe things; and while I hearkened attentively, whether he would confeſs any thing elſe concerning this faith, he began to ſpeak of my return, ſaying, "You have ſtaid a long time here, my pleaſure is therefore that you return: you ſaid, you durſt not carry my ambaſſadors with you, will you carry my meſſenger, or my letters?" And from that time I could neither have place nor time to ſhew him the Catholic faith; for a man cannot ſpeak before him ſave what he pleaſeth, unleſs he were an ambaſſador, but an ambaſſador may ſpeak what he will, and they always demand, whether he have any thing elſe to ſay.

But he ſuffered me to ſpeak no more; but I muſt hear him, and anſwer as to interrogatories. Then I anſwered, that if he would make me underſtand his words, and that they were ſet down in writing, I would willingly carry them to my power. Then he aſked me if I would have gold or ſilver, or coſtly garments? I anſwered, "We receive no ſuch things; but we have not wherewith to bear our expences, and without your help, we cannot get out of your country." Then ſaid he, "I will provide you all neceſſaries throughout my country, will you have any thing more?" I anſwered, "It ſufficeth

me. Then he demanded, "How far will you be brought?" I ſaid, "Let our paſs bring me to the Armenian country; if I were there, it were enough." He anſwered, "I will cauſe you to be conveyed thither, and after look to yourſelf;" and he added, "there are two eyes in one head, and though they be two, yet there is one object to both: and whither the one directeth the ſight the other doth. You came from Baatu, and therefore you muſt return by him." When he had thus ſaid, I craved leave to ſpeak; "Speak on," ſaid he; then ſaid I, "Sir, we are not men of war; we deſire that they have dominion of the world, who would moſt juſtly govern it according to the will of God; our office is to teach men to live according to the will of God; for this purpoſe came we into theſe parts, and would willingly have remained here, if it had pleaſed you; but ſeeing it is your pleaſure that we return, it muſt be ſo; I will return, and carry your letters according to my power, as ye have commanded. I would requeſt Your Magnificence, that when I have carried your letters, it may be lawful for me to return to you, with your good liking, chiefly becauſe you have poor ſervants of yours at Balac, who are of our language, and they want a prieſt to teach them and their children their law, and I would willingly ſtay with them." To this he anſwered, "Know you whether your Lords would ſend you back to me?" I anſwered, "Sir, I know not the purpoſe of my Lords; but I have licence from them to go whither I will, where it is needful to preach the word of God; and it ſeems to me as if it were neceſſary in thoſe parts: whereupon, whether they ſend ambaſſadors or no, if it pleaſe you, I will return." Then he held his peace, and ſat a long ſpace, as it were in a muſe; and my interpreter deſired me to ſpeak no more, and I carefully expected what he would anſwer.

At length, he ſaid, "You have a long way to go, make yourſelf ſtrong with food, that you may come luſty into your country," and he cauſed them to give me drink; then I departed from his preſence, and returned not again. If I had been endowed with power to do wonders, as Moſes did, peradventure he had humbled himſelf.

52. The ſoothſayers therefore, as he confeſſed, are their prieſts, and whatſoever they command to be done, is performed without delay; whoſe office I ſhall deſcribe unto you, as I could learn of Maſter William, and others, who reported unto me things like to be true. They are many, and they have always one head, or chief prieſt, who always places his houſe before the great houſe of Mangu-Khan, within a ſtone's caſt; under his ſtudy are the chariots which bear their idols, the others are behind the court, in places appointed for them, and they who have any confidence in that art, come unto them from divers parts of the world. Some of them are ſkilful in aſtronomy, and eſpecially the chief of them, and they foretel to them the eclipſes of the ſun and moon. And when they are to come to paſs, all the people prepare them food, ſo that they need not go out of the door of their houſe; and when there is an eclipſe, they play upon their timbrels and organs, and make a great noiſe, and ſet up loud ſhouts. When the eclipſe is paſt, they give themſelves to feaſting and drinking, and make great cheer. They foretel fortunate and unlucky days for all buſineſs; therefore they never levy an army, or undertake war, without their direction: and they had long ſince returned into Hungary, but that their ſoothſayers will not ſuffer them: they make all things that are ſent to the court paſs between fires, and have a due portion of them.

They alſo purify the houſhold ſtuff of the dead, drawing them between theſe fires; for when any one dieth, all things whatſoever which appertain to him are ſeparated, and not mingled with other things of the court till all be purged by the fire; ſo did I ſee it done to the court of the lady who died while we were there; whereupon there was a double reaſon why Friar Andrew and his fellows ſhould go between the fires, both

both becauſe they brought preſents, and alſo for that they belonged to him who was dead, to wit, Khon-Khan; no ſuch thing was required of me, becauſe I brought nothing. If any living creature, or any thing elſe, fall to the ground while they thus make them paſs between the fires, that is theirs; they alſo on the ninth day of the month of May, gather together all white mares of the herd and conſecrate them. The Chriſtian prieſts alſo muſt come together with their cenſors; then they caſt new coſmos upon the ground, and make a great feaſt that day, becauſe then they think they drink coſmos firſt, as it is the faſhion in ſome places with us, as for wine on the feaſt of St. Bartholomew, or Sixtus; and for fruits, on the feaſt of St. James and Chriſtopher.

They alſo are invited when any child is born, to foretel its deſtiny. They are ſent for alſo when any is ſick, to uſe their charms, and they tell whether it be a natural infirmity, or by ſorcery; in regard to which that good woman of Metz I mentioned before, told me a wonderful thing. On a certain time, very coſtly furs were preſented, which were laid down at the court of her lady, who was a Chriſtian, as I ſaid before, and the ſoothſayers drew them through between the fires, and took more of them than was their due, and a certain woman under whoſe cuſtody the treaſure of her lady was, accuſed them thereof unto her lady, whereupon the lady herſelf reproved them. It fell out after this, that this lady herſelf began to be ſick, and to ſuffer certain ſudden pains in divers parts of her body; the ſoothſayers were called, and they ſitting far off, commanded one of thoſe maidens to put her hand upon the place where the grief was, and if ſhe found any thing, ſhe ſhould ſnatch it away; then ſhe ariſing did ſo, and ſhe found a piece of felt in her hand, or of ſome other thing: then they commanded her to put it upon the ground, which being laid down, it began to creep, as if it had been ſome living creature; then they put it into the water, and it was turned as it were into a horſe-leech; and they ſaid ſome witch hath hurt you thus with her ſorceries, and they accuſed her that had accuſed them of the furs, who was brought without the tents into the fields, and received the baſtinado ſeven days together there, and was afterwards tormented with other puniſhments to make her confeſs; and in the mean time her lady died, which ſhe underſtanding, ſaid unto them, "I know my lady is dead, kill me that I may go after her, for I never did her hurt;" and when ſhe confeſſed nothing, Mangu-Khan commanded ſhe ſhould live.

Then the ſocerers accuſed the lady's daughter's nurſe, of whom I ſpake before, who was a Chriſtian, and her huſband was the chief among all the Neſtorian prieſts; ſo ſhe was brought to puniſhment, with a maid of her's, to make her confeſs, and the maid confeſſed, that her miſtreſs ſent her to ſpeak with a certain horſe to demand anſwers. The woman alſo herſelf confeſſed ſomething ſhe did to be beloved by her lady, that ſhe might do her good, but ſhe did nothing that might hurt her. She was demanded alſo whether her huſband were privy to it; ſhe excuſed him, for that he had burnt the characters and letters which ſhe had made. Then ſhe was put to death, and Mangu-Khan ſent the prieſt her huſband to the Biſhop, who was in Cathaya, to be judged, although he was not found culpable.

In the mean time it fell out, that the principal wife of Mangu-Khan brought forth a ſon, and the ſoothſayers were called to foretel the deſtiny of the child, who all propheſied proſperity, and ſaid he ſhould live long, and be a great Lord. After a few days it happened that the child died; then the mother enraged called the ſoothſayers, ſaying, "You ſaid my ſon ſhould live, and he is dead." Then they ſaid, "Madam, behold, we ſee that ſorcereſs, the nurſe of Chrinia, who the other day was put to death, ſhe hath killed your ſon, and behold we ſee ſhe carries him away." Now there remained one ſon and a daughter of that woman, grown to full age, in the tents; and the lady ſent

preſently for them in a rage, and cauſed the young man to be ſlain by a man, and the maid by a woman, in revenge of her ſon, whom the ſoothſayers affirmed to be killed by their mother. Not long after Mangu-Khan dreamed of theſe children, and demanded in the morning what was become of them? His ſervant was afraid to tell him, and he being troubled, the more demanded where they were, becauſe they had appeared to him in a viſion by night: then they told him; after which, he, preſently ſending for his wife, demanded whence ſhe learned that a woman ſhould give ſentence of death, without the privity of her huſband? And he cauſed her to be ſhut up ſeven days, commanding to give her no meat; but the man (who ſlew the young man) he cauſed to be beheaded, and the head to be hung about the woman's neck who had killed the maid, and ordered her to be cudgelled with burning firebrands through all the tents, and after to be put to death; he had alſo put his wife to death, but for the children he had by her; and he went out of his court, and returned not till after one moon.

The ſorcerers alſo trouble the air with their charms; and when the cold is ſo great naturally, that they cannot apply any remedy, then they ſearch out ſome in the camp, whom they accuſe that the cold comes through their means; ſo they are put to death without inquiry or delay. A little before I departed from thence, one of the concubines was ſick, and languiſhed long, and they mumbled their charms over a certain German ſlave of hers, who ſlept three days, who, when ſhe came to herſelf, they demanded what ſhe had ſeen, and ſhe had ſeen many perſons, of all which ſhe judged they ſhould ſhortly die; and becauſe ſhe ſaw not her miſtreſs there, they judged ſhe ſhould not die of that ſickneſs. I ſaw the maid, while her head was yet aching by reaſon of that ſleep. Some of them alſo call upon devils, and gather them together (who will have anſwers from the devil) in the night, unto their houſe; and they put boiled fleſh in the midſt; and that Knan who invoketh, beginneth to ſay his charms, and having a timbrel, ſmites it ſtrongly againſt the ground; at length he begins to rave, and cauſeth himſelf to be bound; then the devil comes in the dark and gives him fleſh to eat, and makes him anſwer. Once at ſuch a time, (as Maſter William told me) a certain Hungarian hid himſelf with them, and the devil being upon the houſe, cried that he could not come in, becauſe a certain Chriſtian was with them; he hearing this, fled with haſte, becauſe they began to ſearch for him. Theſe things, and many other they do, which are too long for me to repeat.

53. After the feaſt of Pentecoſt, they began to prepare their letters, which they intend to ſend unto Your Majeſty; in the mean time, the Khan returned to Caracarum, and held a great feaſt about the 15th of June, and he deſired that all the ambaſſadors ſhould be preſent. The laſt day he ſent for us, but I went to church to baptize three children of a certain poor German whom we found there. Maſter William was chief butler at that feaſt, becauſe he made the tree which poured the drink, and all the poor and rich ſung and danced, and clapped their hands before the Khan. Then he began to make an oration unto them, ſaying, "I have ſent my brethren far off, and have ſent them into danger, into foreign nations: now it ſhall appear what you will do when I ſhall ſend you, that our commonwealth may be enlarged." Every day in thoſe four days he changed garments, which he gave them, all of one colour, every day, from the ſhoes to the ornament of the head. At that time I ſaw the ambaſſador of the Khans of Bagdad who cauſed himſelf to be carried upon a horſe litter between two mules, to the court, of whom ſome ſaid that he made peace with them, on condition that they ſhould give him ten thouſand horſes for his army; others ſaid, that Mangu declared he would not make peace with them, unleſs they would deſtroy all their ammunition;

munition; and the ambaſſador anſwered, when you will pluck off your horſe's hoofs, we will deſtroy our ammunition.

I ſaw alſo there the ambaſſadors of a Soldan of India, who brought with him eight leopards, and ten hare-hounds, taught to ſit upon the horſe's buttocks, as leopards do. When I enquired of India which way it lay from that place, they ſhewed me towards the weſt, and theſe ambaſſadors travelled with me almoſt three weeks together, always weſtward. I ſaw alſo the ambaſſador of the Soldan of Turky, who brought him rich preſents; and he anſwered, as I heard, he needed neither gold nor ſilver, but men, wherefore he required of him an army. On the feaſt of St. John, he held a great feaſt, and I cauſed one hundred and five carts, and ninety horſes to be numbered, all laden with cow's milk; and on the feaſts of the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, in like manner. At length, the letters being diſpatched which he ſent to you, they called me, and interpreted them, the ſubſtance whereof I wrote, as I could underſtand them by my interpreter, which is this: "The commandment of the eternal God is this: there is but one eternal God in heaven, upon earth let there be but one Lord, Zengis-Khan, Son of God, and Mangu-Tingij, that is to ſay, the ſound of iron. This is the word which is ſpoken to you; whatſoever Moals we are, whatſoever Namans, whatſoever markets, whatſoever Muſſulmen, whereſoever ears may hear, whereſoever horſe may go, cauſe it to be heard and underſtood; that ſuch as have heard my commandment, and would not believe it, and would levy an army againſt us, ſhall be as having eyes and not ſeeing; and when they would hold any thing they ſhall be without hands; and when they would walk they ſhall be without feet. This is the commandment of the eternal God, by the virtue of the eternal God, by the great Monarch of the Moals, the commandment of Mangu-Khan is given to the French King, King Lodowick, and all other Lords and Prieſts, and to the great world of the Franks, that they underſtand my words, and the commanments of the eternal God, made to Zengis-Khan; neither but from Zengis-Khan ever came this commandment unto you. A certain man, called David, came unto you as an ambaſſador of the Moals, he was a liar; and with him you ſent your ambaſſador to Khen-Khan. After Khen-Khan was dead, your ambaſſador came to his court; Charmis, his wife, ſent you cloth, called Naſſick. But to know matters appertaining to war and peace, and to ſettle the great world in quiet, and to ſee to do good, that wicked woman, more vile than a dog, how could ſhe know how to do it? Thoſe two monks which came from you unto Sartach, Sartach ſent them to Baatu; but Baatu, becauſe Mangu-Khan is the greateſt over the world of the Moals, ſent them unto us. But now, that the great world, and the prieſts, and the monks might live in peace and enjoy their goods, that the commandment of God might be heard among you, we would have ſent our ambaſſadors of Moal with your prieſts; but they anſwered, that betwixt us and you there was a warlike nation, and many bad men and troubleſome ways, ſo as they were afraid they could not bring our ambaſſadors ſafe unto you. But if we would deliver unto them our letters, containing our commandments to their King Lodowick, they would carry them. For this cauſe we ſent not our ambaſſadors with them; but we have ſent the commandments of the eternal God by your ſaid prieſts. It is the commandment of the eternal God which we have given you to underſtand; and when you ſhall hear and believe it, if you will obey us, ſend your ambaſſadors unto us, ſo ſhall we be ſatisfied whether you will have peace with us or war. When, by the power of the eternal God, the whole world ſhall be in unity, joy, and peace, from the riſing of the ſun unto the going down of the ſame, then ſhall it appear what we will do. But if ye ſhall ſee and hear the commandment of the eternal God, and will not hearken to it, or believe it, ſaying, Our country is far off, our hills are ſtrong,

ſtrong, our ſea is great; and in this confidence ſhall lead an army againſt us to know what we can do; He that made that which was hard eaſy, and that which was far off near, the eternal God himſelf knows that alone." And as they called us your ambaſſadors in the letters, I ſaid unto them, call us not ambaſſadors, for I ſaid to the Khan that we were not the ambaſſadors of the King Louis: then they went unto him and told him; but when they returned, they ſaid unto me that he held it much for our good, and that he commanded them to write as I ſhould direct them: then I told them they ſhould leave out the name of ambaſſadors, and call us monks and prieſts. In the mean time, while thoſe things were doing, my companion hearing that we muſt return by the wilderneſs to Baatu, and that a man of Moal ſhould be our guide, he ran, without my knowledge, to Bulgai, the chief ſcribe, ſignifying to him by ſigns, that he ſhould die if he went that way; and when the day came wherein we ſhould have our paſs, viz. a fortnight after the feaſt of St. John, when we were called to the court, the ſcribe ſaid unto my companion, Mangu's pleaſure is, that your companion return by Baatu; and you ſay you are ſick, and it appeareth ſo: Mangu therefore grants, if you will go with your companion, go, but let it be your own fault, becauſe it is poſſible you may remain with ſome Jani that will not provide for you, and it will be a hindrance to your companion; but if you will ſtay here, we will provide neceſſaries for you, till ſome ambaſſadors come, with whom you may return more eaſily, and by a way where there are villages.

The friar anſwered, God grant the Khan a proſperous life; I will ſtay: then I ſaid to my companion, Brother, be adviſed what you do, I will not leave you. You leave not me, ſaid he, but I leave you, becauſe, if I go with you, I ſee the death of my body and ſoul, becauſe I have no patience under intolerable labour. Then they brought us three garments, or coats, and ſaid unto us, Ye will not receive gold or ſilver, and yet ye have ſtayed long here, and prayed for the Khan; he entreats you, that, at the leaſt, every one of you will receive a ſingle garment, that ye depart not empty from him. Then we were forced to receive them for reverence of him, for they account it a very evil thing when their gifts are contemned. Firſt he cauſed us to be aſked what we would have? and we always anſwered the ſame thing; ſo that the Chriſtians inſulted over the idolaters, who ſeek nothing but gifts; and they anſwered that we were fools, becauſe, if he would give them his whole court they would willingly take it, and would do wiſely too; receiving therefore the garments, they entreated us to make our prayers for the Khan, which we did, and afterwards we went to Caracarum.

But it happened, while we were with the monks, far from the court with other ambaſſadors, that the monks cauſed the table to be ſtruck ſo hard that Mangu-Khan heard it, and demanded what it was; they told him. Upon which he aſked why he was removed ſo far from the court; they told him, becauſe it was troubleſome to bring him horſes and oxen every day to the court; and ſaid further, that it were better that he ſhould ſtay at Caracarum. Then the Khan ſent unto him, ſaying, if he would go to Caracarum, and ſtay there near about the church, he would give him all things neceſſary: but the monk anſwered, I came from the holy land of Jeruſalem hither by the command of God, and left that city, wherein are a thouſand better churches than that of Caracarum; if he pleaſe that I ſtay here, and pray for him as God commanded me, I will ſtay; if not I will return to the place from whence I came. So that every evening oxen were brought him yoked to the carts, and in the morning he was brought to the place where he uſed to be before the court; and a little before we departed thence, a certain Neſtorian came, who ſeemed to be a wiſe man; Bulgai, the

chief ſecretary, placed him before the court, to whom the Khan ſet his children that he ſhould bleſs them.

54. We came therefore to Caracarum, and while we were in Maſter William the goldſmith's houſe, my guide came to me and brought me ten jaſcots, five of which he left in Maſter William's hands, commanding him to ſpend them on the behalf of the Khan, for the friar's uſe, while he remained there; he alſo left the other five in the hands of my interpreter, commanding him to ſpend them in the way, for my ſubſiſtence; for Maſter William had given them ſuch inſtructions without our knowledge. I preſently changed one into ſmall money, and diſtributed it to the poor Chriſtians which were there, for all their eyes were fixed upon us. We ſpent another in buying things neceſſary for us, as garments and other things, which we wanted. With the third my interpreter himſelf bought ſome things, by which he gained ſomewhat. We ſpent the reſt, becauſe after we came into Perſia ſufficient neceſſaries were no where given us, nor yet among the Tartars, amongſt whom we ſeldom found any thing to be ſold.

Maſter William, Your Majeſty's citizen and ſubject, ſends you a certain girdle ſet with a precious ſtone, which they uſed to wear againſt thunder and lightning and moſt humbly ſalutes you, always commending you to God in his prayers. We baptized there in all ſix ſouls. When we departed from each other, it was with tears, my companion remaining with Maſter William, and I returning with my interpreter, my guide, and one ſervant, who had directions to take one mutton in four days for us four. We came, therefore, in two months and ten days from Caracarum to Baatu, and never ſaw a town, nor ſo much as the appearance of any houſe, but graves, except one village, wherein we did not ſo much as eat bread, nor did we ever reſt in theſe two months and ten days, ſave one day, becauſe we could not get horſes. We returned for the moſt part by the ſame kind of people, and yet through other countries, for we went in the winter, and returned in the ſummer, and by the higher parts of the north, except that fifteen days journey we were obliged to go and return by a certain river between the mountains, where there is no lodging but by the river ſide. We went two days, and ſometimes three, without taking any other food but coſmos. Once we were in great danger, not being able to find any people, our proviſion failing us, and our horſes tired.

When I had travelled twenty days, I heard that the King of Armenia had paſſed by. In the end of Auguſt I met with Sartach, who went to Mangu-Khan with flocks and herds, and with his wives and children, yet the bulk of his families remained between Tanais and Etilia. I ſent my duty to him, ſaying, I would willingly ſtay in his country, but Mangu-Khan would have me return and carry his letters. He anſwered, that I muſt perform the will of Mangu-Khan. Then I aſked Coiac for the children? He anſwered they were in the court of Baatu, carefully provided for. I alſo aſked him for our cloaths and books again? He anſwered, did ye not bring them to Sartach? I ſaid I brought them unto Sartach, but I did not give them unto him, as you know; and I put him in mind what anſwer I made when he demanded whether I would give them to Sartach? Then he anſwered, you ſay truth, and none can reſiſt truth. I left your goods with my father, who remaineth near Sarai, which is a new town Baatu hath made upon Etilia on the eaſt ſhore; but our prieſts have ſome of the veſtments. If any thing pleaſe you, ſaid I, keep it, ſo my books be reſtored.

Then he told me he would report my words to Sartach. I muſt have letters, ſaid I, to your father, to reſtore me all. But he was ready to be gone, and ſaid unto me, the train of the ladies followeth us near at hand, ye ſhall alight there, and I will ſend Sartach's

tach's anſwer by this man. I was very careful he ſhould not deceive me, yet I dare not contend with him: late in the evening the man came unto me, and brought two coats with him, which I thought had been all of ſilk, and he ſaith unto me, behold two garments, the one Sartach hath ſent unto you, and the other, if ſo it pleaſe you, you ſhall preſent to the King on his behalf; to whom I anſwered, I wear no ſuch garments, I will preſent them both to my King, in honour of your Lord. Then ſaid he, do with them what you pleaſe; now it pleaſed me to ſend them both unto you, and I ſend them to you by the bearer of theſe preſents. He delivered me letters alſo to the father of Coiac to reſtore me all which appertained unto me, becauſe he had no need of any thing which was mine; ſo we came to the court of Baatu, the ſame day I departed thence a year before, viz. the ſecond day after the exaltation of the bleſſed croſs, and I found our young men in health, yet much afflicted with poverty, as Goſſet told me; and if the King of Armenia had not comforted them, and recommended them to Sartach, they had periſhed, for they thought I had been dead. The Tartars alſo demanded of them, if they could keep oxen, or milk mares: for if I had not returned, they had been brought into ſervitude by thoſe people.

After this Baatu ordered me to come to him, and made the letters which Mangu-Khan ſends unto you to be interpreted unto me; for ſo Mangu wrote unto him, that if it pleaſed him to add any thing, or leave out, or change, he ſhould do it. Then ſaid he, Ye ſhall carry theſe letters, and cauſe them to be underſtood. He demanded alſo what way I would go, whether by ſea or land? I ſaid, the ſea was froze, becauſe it was winter, and I muſt go by land, for I thought you had been ſtill in Syria, ſo I directed my journey towards Perſia, for if I had thought you had paſſed into France, I would have gone into Hungary; for I ſhould ſooner have come into France, and by a more eaſy way than through Syria; then we travelled a month with him before we could obtain a guide; at length they appointed me a certain Jugure, who underſtanding I would give him nothing, and that I would go forthwith into Armenia, cauſed letters to be made to conduct me to the Soldan of Turkey, hoping he ſhould receive gifts of the Soldan, and that he ſhould gain more that way; then we took our journey ſpeedily fifteen days before the feaſt of All Saints, towards Sarai, going directly ſouthward, deſcending near to Etilia, which is there divided into three arms, every one whereof is almoſt twice as big as the branch of the river of Nile at Damieta.

It divides afterwards into four leſſer arms, ſo that we paſſed the river in ſeven places by boats. Upon the middle branch is the village called Sumerkant, without a wall, but when the river overflows, it is compaſſed with water. The Tartars were eight years about it before they could take it, and the Alani and the Saracens were nine. There we found one German with his wife, a very good man, with whom Goſſet ſtayed in the winter; for Sartach ſent him thither to eaſe his court. About theſe parts was Baatu on the one ſide of the river and Sartach on the other about Chriſtmas, and they go no farther down; and when it happens that all the river is frozen they paſs over. Here is great ſtore of graſs; and there among the caves, thieves hide themſelves till the ice melt. Coiac's father receiving Sartach's letters, reſtored my veſtments unto me, except my albs, and an almic trimmed with fine ſilk, a ſtole, a girdle, and a tualia, adorned with golden embroidery, and a ſurplice. He reſtored alſo to me all the ſilver plate, except the cenſer, and the little box where the chriſm was, all which the prieſt which was with Sartach had. He returned my books, except our lady's pſalter, which he kept with my leave, becauſe I could not deny him; for he ſaid Sartach took much delight in it. He alſo requeſted me, that if it happen that I return unto thoſe parts again, I would bring them a man that knew how to make parchment, for he had built a great

a great church by the command of Sartach upon the weſt ſide of the river, as he ſaid, and a new town; yet I knew that Sartach meant no ſuch matter. Sarai and the palace of Baatu are upon the eaſt ſide of the river, and the valley through which the arms of the river are ſpread abroad containeth more than ſeven leagues in breadth. There is great ſtore of fiſh there, a bible alſo in verſe, and a certain book in the Arabian language worth thirty Sultalines, and many other things I never recovered.

55. After our departure from him on the feaſt of All Saints, going towards the ſouth until the feaſt of Saint Martin, we came to the mountains of the Alani, between Baatu and Sarai. In fifteen days, we found no people but one of his ſons, who went before him with falcons and his falconers, who were many, at one little village; from the feaſt of All Saints for five days we met not with ſo much as a man, and we were in great danger by reaſon of thirſt, one whole day and a night, finding no water till about three of the clock the next day. The Alani in ſome mountains yet hold out, ſo that of ten of the ſubjects of Sartach two muſt come and guard the narrow paſſages of the hills, leſt they come forth of the mountains, and carry away the cattle in the plain. Between the Alani and Porta Ferrea, which is two days journey from thence, where the plain of the Alani beginneth, between the Caſpian ſea and the mountains, there are certain Saracens, called Leſgi, inhabiting the mountains, who likewiſe are free; ſo that thoſe Tartars who dwell at the foot of the mountains of the Alani were obliged to give us twenty men to bring us beyond the Iron Gate, or Porta Ferrea; and I was glad, becauſe I hoped to ſee them armed, for I could never ſee their armour, though I had been very deſirous of ſeeing it; and when we came to this dangerous paſſage, of the whole twenty there were but two who had harbergions, and I demanded of whom they had them? They ſaid they had them of the Alani, who were able workmen in ſuch things, and excellent ſmiths. I think they have ſmall ſtore of armour, but quivers and bows, and leather jackets; I ſaw them preſented with iron plates, and iron ſkull-caps out of Perſia, and ſaw two alſo who preſented themſelves to Mangu, armed with coats made of hogs' ſkins, bent inward, of rough leather, which were very clumſy and unweildy.

Before we came to Porta Ferrea, we found one caſtle of the Alans, which was Mangu-Khan's, for he had ſubdued that country. There we firſt found vineyards and drunk wine; the day following we came to Porta Ferrea, or the Iron Gate, which Alexander the Macedonian King made, and it is a city whoſe eaſt end is upon the ſea ſhore; and there is a little plain between the ſea and the mountains, through which the city extends in length to the top of the mountain, which bordereth upon it on the weſt, ſo that there is no way above for the ruggedneſs of the mountains, nor below for the ſea, but immediately through the midſt of the city, where there is an iron gate, from whence the city hath its name. This city is more than a mile long, and on the top of a hill is a ſtrong caſtle; and it is as much in breadth as a ſtone's caſt. It hath very ſtrong walls, without trenches and turrets, of large poliſhed ſtones. But the Tartars have deſtroyed the tops of the turrets and the bulwarks of the walls, laying the turrets even with the wall. Below that city, the country was formerly like a paradiſe. Two days journey from hence we found another city called Samaron, wherein there were many Jews, and when we paſſed it, we ſaw walls deſcending from the mountains to the ſea; and leaving the way by the ſea by thoſe walls, becauſe it turns towards the eaſt, we went up into the high countries towards the ſouth.

The next day we paſſed through a certain valley, wherein the foundations of walls appeared from one mountain to another, and there was no way through the tops of the mountains. Theſe were in times paſt the incloſures, or walls erected by Alexander for reſtraining the fierce nations, the ſhepherds of the wilderneſs, that they could not invade

the inhabited countries and cities. There are alſo other walls and incloſures where Jews are. The next day we came to a certain great city called Samach, and after this we entered into a great plain called Moan, through which the river Cur or Cyrus runs, from which the Curgi or Curdi have their names, whom we call Georgians; and it runneth through the middle of Tefflis, which is the metropolis of the Curgines, and comes directly from the weſt, running to the eaſt into the Caſpian ſea, and in it are excellent ſalmon. In that plain we found Tartars again. Alſo by that plain runs the river Araxes, which cometh from the Greater Armenia, from betwixt the ſouth and weſt, from which it is called the land of Ararat. Whereupon in the book of the Kings it is ſaid of the ſons of Senacherib, that having ſlain their father, they fled into the land of the Armenians. And in Iſaiah it is ſaid that they fled into the land of Ararat. To the weſt then of that moſt beautiful plain is Curgia. In that plain the Croſmini were ſettled formerly. And there is a great city in the entrance of the mountains called Ganges, which was their metropolis, ſtopping the Georgians that they could not come down into the plain. Then we came to the bridge of boats, which was faſtened together with a great iron chain, ſtretched forth croſs the river, wherein Cur and the Araxes met together, but the Cur loſeth its name there.

56. We proceeded thence, till travelling up the Araxes, of which it is ſaid, *Pontem indignatus Araxes*, Araxes diſdains a bridge, leaving Perſia and the Caſpian mountains on the left hand towards the ſouth, having on the right hand Curgia and the Great Sea towards the weſt; going all the way ſouthward, we paſſed through the meadows of Bacchu, who is General of that army which is there within the river Araxes; he has likewiſe made the Curgi, and Turks, and Perſians, ſubject to him. There is likewiſe another governor in Perſia, at Tauris, over the tribute called Argon, both which Mangu-Khan hath called home to give place to his brother, who is going into thoſe countries. The country which I have deſcribed to you is not properly Perſia, but was ſometimes called Hyrcania. I was in Bacchu's houſe, and he gave us wine to drink, and he himſelf drank coſmos, which I would willingly have drank if he had given it me; yet it was the beſt new wine, but coſmos is more wholeſome for a half-ſtarved man as I was. We went up therefore by the river Araxes from the eve of St. Clement until the ſecond Sunday in Lent, till we came to the head of the river, and beyond the mountains where it riſeth, there is a good city called Arſorum, which belongs to the Soldan of Turkey, and near thereabouts Euphrates riſes towards the north, at the foot of the mountains of Curgia, to whoſe ſpring I had gone, but the ſnow was ſo great that no man could go out of the common path, and on the other ſide of the mountains of Caucaſus towards the ſouth riſeth the Tigris.

When we departed from Bacchu, my guide went to Tauris to ſpeak with Argon, carrying my interpreter with him; but Bacchu cauſed me to be brought to a certain city called Naxuam, which heretofore was the head or capital of a great kingdom, and the greateſt and faireſt city in thoſe parts, but the Tartars have made it a wilderneſs; and there were anciently eight hundred churches of the Armenians there; now there are but two little ones, for the Saracens have deſtroyed them; in one of which I held the feaſt of Chriſtmas as I could with our clerk, and the next day following the prieſt of the church died, to whoſe burial came a certain biſhop with twelve monks from the high countries; for all the biſhops of the Armenians are monks, and of the Greeks likewiſe for the moſt part. The biſhop told me that there was a church near this place where St. Bartholomew, and likewiſe St. Judas Thaddeus were martyred, but there was no way open for ſnow. He told me alſo that they had two prophets, the firſt or chief Methodius the martyr, who was of their country, and plainly propheſied of the Iſmaelites, which prophecy is fulfilled in the Saracens. The other prophet is called Acacron,

who, when he died, propheſied of a nation of archers that ſhould come from the north, ſaying, "That they ſhould conquer all the countries of the eaſt, and ſhould ſpare the kingdoms of the eaſt, to aſſiſt them in obtaining the kingdoms of the weſt; and they ſhall poſſeſs the countries from the north to the ſouth, and ſhall come to Conſtantinople, and ſhall take the gate of Conſtantinople, and one of them who ſhall be called a wife man, ſhall enter the city, and ſeeing the churches and rites of the Franks, ſhall cauſe himſelf to be baptized, and ſhall counſel the Franks how they may kill the Emperor of the Tartars, and there they ſhall be confounded. Hearing this, the Franks which ſhall be in the middle of the land, viz. at Jeruſalem, ſhall ſet upon the Tartars who ſhall border upon them, and with the help of our nation, that is, the Armenians, ſhall purſue them; ſo that the French King ſhall place his royal throne at Taurinum in Perſia, and then all the eaſt countries and all the unbelieving nations ſhall be converted to the faith of Chriſt; and there ſhall be ſo great peace in the world, that the living ſhall ſay to the dead, Woe be unto you wretches! that lived not until theſe times." And I read this prophecy brought to Conſtantinople by the Armenians which remain there, but I made light of it. Yet when I ſpake with the Biſhop, calling it to mind, I regarded it ſomewhat the more. But throughout all Armenia they as firmly believe this prophecy as they do the Goſpel.

He ſaid to us alſo, even as the ſouls in Limbo expect the coming of Chriſt for their delivery, ſo do we look for your coming, that we may be freed from this ſlavery wherein we have ſo long lived. Near the city Naxuam there are mountains on which they ſay the ark of Noah reſted; and there are two, one greater than the other, and Araxes running at the foot of them; and there is a little town there called Comanium, which is in their language Eight; for they ſay it was ſo called of the eight perſons which came forth of the ark and built it. Many have attempted to climb the great hills, and could not; and the Biſhop told me that a certain monk being very much troubled thereat, an angel appeared to him and brought him a piece of the wood of the ark, bidding him to trouble himſelf no more. That piece of wood they had in their church as he told me, neither is the hill ſo high in appearance but the men might well get up it. A certain old man gave me however this worthy reaſon why no one ſhould climb it. They call that mountain Maſſis; and as this word is of the feminine gender in their tongue, no man, ſaid he, muſt climb up Maſſis, becauſe it is the mother of the world.

In the city of Naxuam, Friar Barnard, a Catalan, of the order of the preaching friars, found me, who lives in Georgia, with a certain friar of the ſepulchre, who poſſeſſeth great lands there, and he had learned ſomewhat of the Tartar language; he formerly went with a certain Hungarian friar, who returned with me to Teſſlis, with one ſervant; but Friar Barnard remained at Tauris with a certain lay friar, whoſe language he underſtood not. We went out of the city of Naxuam, about the Epiphany, for we had ſtayed long there, by reaſon of the ſnow; we came therefore in four days to the country of Sabenſa, a Curdiſh Prince, heretofore mighty, but now tributary to the Tartars, who deſtroyed all his ammunition, whoſe father Zacharias poſſeſſed himſelf of the country of the Armenians, having delivered them from the hands of the Saracens; and there are many fair villages of true Chriſtians, having churches like the Franks; and every Armenian hath in his houſe, in an honourable place, a wooden hand, holding a croſs, and ſets a burning lamp before it; and that which we do with holy water, ſprinkling it to drive away wicked ſpirits, they do with frankincenſe; for every evening they burn frankincenſe, carrying it through all the corners of the houſe, to rid them of all kinds of enemies. I eat with Sabenſa, and he did me great reverence, both he and his wife, and his ſon Zachary, a very comely and wiſe young man, who demanded of me, whether if

he ſhould come to you, you would entertain him; for he is ſo uneaſy under the dominion of the Tartars, that though he hath a plenty of all things, he had rather travel into a ſtrange country, than endure their violent exactions. They ſaid further, that they were true ſons of the church of Rome, and if the pope would ſend them any aid, they would bring all the bordering nations unto the ſubjection of the church of Rome.

From that town of his, in fifteen days, we entered the country of the Soldan of Turkey, on the firſt Sunday in Lent: and the firſt caſtle we found is called Marſeugen; all in the caſtle were Chriſtians, Armenians, Curgines, and Greeks: the Saracens only have the dominion. There the captain of the caſtle ſaid, he had received commandment, that no victuals could be given to any Franks, or to the ambaſſador of the King of Armenia, or of Veſtacius; ſo that from the place where we were the firſt Sunday in Lent, quite to Cyprus, whither I came, eight days before the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt, we were forced to buy our own proviſion. He who was my guide procured me horſes, and took money for the victuals, and put it in his purſe. When he came into the fields, ſeeing a flock, away he went, and without more to do, took one ſheep, and gave it to his family to eat, and wondered I would not take part of his robbery. In the purification, I was in a certain city called Ayni, which was Sabenſa's whoſe ſituation is ſtrong; and there are an hundred Armenian churches, and two moſques, of the Saracens: the Tartars place an officer there.

At this place five preaching friars met me, whereof four came from Provence in France, and the fifth joined himſelf to them in Syria, they had but one ſick boy who could ſpeak the Turkiſh language and a little French, and they had the pope's letter to Sartach, and to Mangu-Khan, and to Buri, ſuch as Your Highneſs gave me letters of requeſt, that they would ſuffer them to continue in their country, and preach the word of God, &c. But when I told them what I had ſeen, and how they ſent me back again, they directed their journey to Tefflis, where there are friars of their order, to conſult what they ſhould do; I anſwered them, they might well paſs by thoſe letters if they would; but they ſhould be well aſſured, to endure much labour, and render an account of their coming; for ſeeing they had no other meſſage but the office of preaching, they would care but little for them, and chiefly becauſe they had no interpreter; what they did after, I know not, and cannot therefore report.

58. On the ſecond Sunday in Lent we came to the head of Araxes, and paſſing beyond the top of the mountain, we came to Euphrates, by which we deſcended eight days going to the weſt a certain caſtle called Camath; where Euphrates bends to the ſouth towards Halapia. But we paſſing the river went through very high mountainous countries, and through the deepeſt ſnow to the weſt. There was ſo great an earthquake there that year, that in one city called Arſengan, ten thouſand perſons, according to their regiſter, periſhed, beſide poor men of whom there was no notice taken. Riding three days together, we ſaw the gaping of the earth, as it was cleft by the earthquake, and the heaps of earth that came from the mountains, and filled the vallies, ſo that if but a little more of the earth had been moved, that which Iſaiah ſpeaketh had been literally fulfilled, "Every valley ſhall be filled, and every mountain and little hill ſhall be humbled." We paſſed through the valley where the Soldan of Turkey was vanquiſhed by the Tartars. It were too long to write how he was overcome; but a ſervant of my guide's who was with the Tartars ſaid, that the Tartars were not above ten thouſand in the whole; and a certain Curd of the Soldan's ſaid that there were two hundred thouſand with the Soldans all horſe-men. In that plain where the battle was, there broke out a great lake at the time of the earthquake; and it came into my mind, that all the earth opened her mouth to receive yet more blood of the Saracens. We were in Se-

baſta a town of the Leſſer Armenia in Eaſter week; here we viſited the tombs of forty martyrs; there the church of St. Blaſe ſtandeth, but I cold not go thither, becauſe it was above in the caſtle.

On the ſucceeding Sunday we came to Cæſaria of Cappadocia, where there is a church of St. Baſil the Great. About fifteen days after, we came to Iconium, making ſmall journies, and reſting in many places, becauſe we could not readily procure horſes, and my guide did this on purpoſe, taking upon him to ſolicit his own buſineſs three days in every town, at which I was much diſſatisfied, but durſt not ſpeak becauſe he might have ſold or ſlain me and our ſervants, and there was none to hinder it. I found many Franks at Inconium, and a certain merchant called Nicholas de Sancto Syrio, who with a companion of his, a Venetian, called Boniface de Molandino, carried all the allum out of Turkey, ſo that the Soldan could not ſell any but to thoſe two; and they made it ſo dear, that what was worth but fifteen Bizantines, is now ſold for forty. My guide preſented me to Soldan; the Soldan ſaid he would willingly cauſe me to be conveyed to the ſea of Armenia, or Cicilia, though the above-mentioned merchant knowing that the Saracens made little account of me and that I was much burthened with the company of my guide, cauſed me to be conveyed to Curuma, a port belonging to the King of Armenia. I came thither before the Aſcenſion, and ſtayed till the day after Pentecoſt; then I heard that ambaſſadors came from the King to his father; then I went ſpeedily to the King's father to demand whether he had heard any news from his ſon, and I found him ſet with all his ſons, one excepted, called Barum Uſin, who reſided in a certain caſtle, and he received news from his ſon that he was returned, and that Mangu-Khan had much eaſed his tribute, and had given him a privilege that no ambaſſador ſhould come into his country; whereupon the old man himſelf, with all his ſons, made a banquet, and he cauſed me to be conveyed to the ſea, to the haven called Aijax; and thence I paſſed over into Cyprus; and at Nicoſia I found our provincial, who the ſame day carried me with him to Antiocha, which is in a very weak ſtate. We were there on the feaſt of St. Peter and Paul, and from thence we came to Tripolis, where our chapter was held on the aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin.

59. Our provincial being determined that I ſhould have my reſidence in our convent at Acon, would not ſuffer me to come to you; but commanding me to write unto you what I would by the bearer of theſe preſents; and not daring to reſiſt contrary to my obedience, I did, according to my power and underſtanding, craving pardon of your clemency for my ſuperfluities or wants, or for any thing that ſhall be indiſcreetly or fooliſhly ſpoken, as for a man of little underſtanding, not accuſtomed to write long hiſtories. The peace of God which paſſeth all underſtanding preſerve your heart and fortify your mind. I would willingly ſee Your Highneſs, and certain ſpiritual friends, which I have in your kingdom. Wherefore if it ſhould not be contrary to Your Majeſty's liking, I would beſeech you to write to our Provincial, that he would let me come unto you and return ſhortly again into the Holy Land. Concerning Turkey, Your Majeſty ſhall underſtand, that the tenth man there is not a Mohammedan, nay, they are all Armenians and Greeks, and children rule over them; for the Soldan, who was conquered by the Tartars, had a lawful wife of Iberia, by whom he had one feeble ſon, concerning whom he charged that he ſhould be the Soldan. He had another of a Greek concubine, whom he committed to a certain great admiral. The third he had by a Turk, to whom many Turks and Turcomans being gathered together, they propoſed to have ſlain all the ſons of the Chriſtians. They had determined alſo, as I underſtood, that after they had got the victory, they would deſtroy all the churches, and kill as many as would not become Mohammedans; but he was overcome in battle, and

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many of his men ſlain. He recruited his army however, a ſecond time, and then was taken, and is ſtill in priſon. Paceſter the ſon of the Greek concubine, procured ſoon after that he might be Soldan, becauſe the other was weak whom they ſent to the Tartars; whereupon his kindred on the mother's ſide, ſuch as the Iberians and the Curds, were angry; ſo that, at preſent, a child ruleth in Turkey, having no treaſure, few ſoldiers, and many enemies. The ſon of Veſtacius is weak, and at war with the ſon of Aſſau, who likewiſe was a child, and worn out with the ſervitude of the Tartars. If therefore an army of the church ſhould come to the Holy Land, it were a very eaſy thing to ſubdue all theſe countries, or to paſs through them.

The King of Hungary hath not above thirty thouſand ſoldiers. From Cologna to Conſtantinople, are not above threeſcore days journey by waggons; from Conſtantinople are not ſo many days journey to the country of the King of Armenia. In old time, valiant men paſſed through thoſe countries and proſpered; yet they had moſt valiant opponents, whom God hath now deſtroyed out of the earth, and we need not be in danger of the ſea, or the mercy of ſailors; and the price which we ſhould give for freight were ſufficient for expences by land. I ſpeak it confidently, if our countrymen would go as the Kings of the Tartars go, and be contented with ſuch victuals, they might win the whole world. It ſeemeth not expedient, as I think, that any friar ſhould go to the Tartars any more, as I did, or as the preaching friars do; but if our lord the pope would ſend a biſhop in an honourable manner and anſwer their follies, about which they have thrice writ to the Franks, once to Pope Innocent the Fourth, of ſacred memory, and twice to Your Majeſty, once by David, who deceived you, and now by me, he might ſpeak unto them what he would, and alſo cauſe them to put theſe things in writing, for they hear whatſoever an ambaſſador will ſpeak, and always demand if he will ſay any more; but he muſt have a good interpreter; nay, many interpreters, and be at large expences.

60. Such is the relation of the monk Rubruquis, who had the beſt opportunity that any man had to that time, of looking into the affairs of the Tartars, of examining their force, of enquiring into the form of their government, and making himſelf perfectly acquainted with their manners and cuſtoms, of which he has given ſo large, ſo curious, and ſo accurate an account. Before we proceed to our remarks thereon, it may not be amiſs to clear up a few difficulties that occur in this relation, and which, for want of being clearly reſolved, may occaſion ſome doubts in the mind of our inquiſitive reader; and this is the more neceſſary, becauſe hitherto nothing of this kind has been done, at leaſt in our language; but the relation has been left naked and unſupported to the cenſure of the peruſer, without the leaſt notice taken of thoſe facts that muſt neceſſarily embarraſs him, and in a great meaſure affect the credit of the author. I am very ſenſible, that many of my readers may be of opinion, that I might ſpare myſelf ſome part of the trouble I take in illuſtrating thoſe old writers; but I beg leave to obſerve once for all, that it is not either for their intereſt or mine, that I ſhould do ſo. If I had not been thoroughly ſatisfied that theſe travels were the beſt in their kind, I ſhould not have inſerted them: but with reſpect to the world, this is not enough; for though I have it in my power to give them what ſeems to be moſt proper for ſuch a collection, yet I owe it to them, and to myſelf, to make it as evident as it is poſſible, that I diſcharge this truſt as I ought, and that I give them nothing which is not truly worthy of their peruſal; and this can no otherwiſe be done, than by obviating every difficulty that may poſſibly incline them to differ from me in ſentiment, and therefore I hope this will juſtify me in the pains I am ſtill to take with regard to this author, who, as he was a writer of great candour and ſincerity, ſo he has mentioned many particulars,

lars, which, though they were well known in his time, and more eſpecially to the Prince, to whom this work was addreſſed, yet are ſo imperfectly known to us, that without a ſtrict ſearch into the hiſtories of thoſe times, it is not eaſy to conceive, how they can be reconciled to the reſt of his narration.

We will ſtate theſe plainly, and then the truth of my obſervation will be manifeſt. In the firſt place, it ſeems extraordinary that the King of France ſhould be ſo much deceived with reſpect to the embaſſy that was ſent him from the Tartars, which occaſioned the whole of this tranſaction; but with reſpect to this, it appears clearly from the hiſtorians that have written the reign of St. Louis, that theſe ambaſſadors came from a Tartar prince called Ercalthay, and brought with them letters which are ſtill extant, and which poſitively aſſert, that it was the deſign of the Khan to co-operate with the Chriſtians in order to reduce the power of the Mohammedans. At the head of this embaſſy was one David, who is named in the letters as one to whom the King of France might give entire credit, to which His Majeſty might be more inclined, becauſe he had in his company Friar Andrew de Lontumal, whom the pope had formerly ſent into Tartary, and who aſſured the King, that he had known David in a poſt of diſtinction. This ambaſſador it was, that poſitively aſſerted, that the Khan was become a Chriſtian, and that there was no difficulty in procuring a cloſe alliance between him and the Chriſtians. Upon this the King firſt ſent Friar Andrew with a conſiderable number of perſons in his train, back with the Tartar ambaſſadors, in the beginning of the year 1250, but as to the ſucceſs of this negociation, we have no account. There is another thing a little dark in our author's account, and that is with reſpect to his character, for though it appears plainly, that he was ſent by the King his maſter with letters to Sartach, yet he frequently tells us, that he did not affect to be thought an ambaſſador, but deſired rather to be conſidered as a monk, who viſited Tartary from his zeal for the Chriſtian Religion.

His reaſon for acting thus, was to preſerve the honour of the King, from ſuffering through any ill treatment that he might meet with, to which he was induced by many reaſons, but particularly by theſe two. In the firſt place, he was perfectly ſatisfied, that what had been reported as to the converſion of Sartach was falſe; and next becauſe he was aware the Tartars were informed, that the King his maſter had been beat in Egypt, and taken priſoner there by the infidels; whence he concluded, that he ſhould not meet with a very good reception. He therefore takes great care to inform the King that whatever uſage he received, could reflect no diſhonour upon His Majeſty, becauſe of the precaution he had taken to aſſume no higher character than that of a monk, who came to preach the Chriſtian religion to the Tartars. But the readers may very probably wonder why the Tartar prince Ercalthay, ſhould take ſuch a ſtep as this in order to miſlead ſo great a monarch, and yet, if he adverts to the account our author has given of the genius and diſpoſitions of the Tartars, he will eaſily perceive, that this was a ſtroke of their policy, and no very bad one. They had a mind to be perfectly acquainted with the deſign of the Franks, their forces, and the manner in which they intended to carry on the war againſt the Saracens; nor could they fall upon a way more proper than this for accompliſhing their ends. The character afforded, by our author of the Tartars, is juſtified by all writers, both antient and modern; for their policy with reſpect to foreign countries conſiſts entirely in cunning and ſubtilty; for not having the advantages that other nations have of free commerce and conſtant intercourſe with the inhabitants of diſtant countries, they ſupply themſelves with intelligence by ſuch artifices as theſe. Some petty Tartar prince takes upon him to ſend miniſters to foreign courts, whoſe buſineſs it is, under colour of a negotiation, to get the

the beſt accounts they can of the regions in which they reſide, in order to ſerve their countrymen whenever occaſion offers as harbingers or guides; and as they depend on theſe arts in time of peace, ſo they place all their confidence in war in the quickneſs of their motion, and in that rapidity with which they over-run even great countries, befor the inhabitants have time to take proper meaſures for their defence.

It was for theſe reaſons, and to ſave the honour of the King his maſter, that our author denied that any ambaſſadors had been ſent to Mangu-Khan, for he conſidered Friar Andrew as ſent only to the Prince, who wrote to the King his maſter, and not to the great Khan, of whom it does not appear that the French had any juſt ideas, till they were derived to them by this relation. We may add to all this, that our author was ſomething diffident as to the character which David aſſumed, by his giving us to underſtand, that in thoſe days there were a certain bad ſort of people, who in theſe remote parts of the world, made a practice of giving themſelves out for the miniſters of Princes they ſcarce knew, and made a livelihood by ſuch ſtrange exploits. He likewiſe ſeems to be fully ſatisfied that the eaſtern Chriſtians in general were men of great vivacity, and ſo fertile in their imaginations, that every thing they ſaw or heard appeared to them in the light of a wonder, and as ſuch they reported it wherever they came, to ſerve their own purpoſes.

Upon theſe principles he grounds the political part of his work, in which he ſeems to labour with all his force to eſtabliſh theſe two maxims. The firſt, that it was not either ſafe or honourable to aim at making alliances with the Tartars, who were in his ſentiments a fierce intractable ſort of people, very proud of their extraordinary ſucceſſes and who underſtood all applications made to them as proceeding from fear. The ſecond, that their power was nothing near ſo great as it had been repreſented, ſo that there was far leſs danger like to accrue from the regarding them as enemies, than from treating with them as friends, into which notion he was led by obſerving, that their diſcipline was not exact, that they were utterly unacquainted with the regular art of war, and no way capable of carrying it on againſt ſuch as ſtood upon their guard, and were prepared to meet them in the field with well diſciplined armies. That which ſeems to be the leaſt defenceable part of his work, is his ſtrong attachment to the pope, and his high notions of his power, both of which, however, are in ſome meaſure excuſable, conſidering the age in which he lived, and the conduct of the popes in thoſe times, who took upon them to excommunicate and depoſe the greateſt princes in Chriſtendom, as the caſe then was with the Emperor, or to ſend them into the moſt diſtant parts of the world, under pretences of religion, as appears from the expeditions undertaken by his maſter King Louis, which were as unfortunate in their event, as ill founded in their principles.

But it is now time to add a few obſervations with reſpect to the uſefulneſs of this work, as it ſtands in this collection, and to ſhew how far the travels of Rubruquis contributed to make the weſtern parts of the world acquainted with the paſſages into the eaſt, as well as with what was doing there, and the force of the ſeveral monarchs that were in poſſeſſion of thoſe countries at the time he viſited them.

61. The travels of Rubruquis are equally aſtoniſhing in whatever light they are conſidered. Take them with reſpect to length, and they extend to upwards of five thouſand miles one way, and to near ſix thouſand another. I mean from Conſtantinople in his going out, and to Acon or Ptolemais in his return, which is ſuch a ſpace of ground as it will not be eaſy to find any man that has traverſed, and left us ſo diſtinct an account of what he has ſeen. But if travels are not ſo conſiderable from their length as from the nature of the countries that are travelled through, then here again

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is a new proof of the value of this performance, ſince it is certain no European, except John Carpin, ever travelled ſo far before, neither have we any accounts of travels of the ſame kind ſince, that only excepted, which follows in the next ſection, and from which we have received here in Europe the firſt certain accounts of China, and the firſt notice we had of there being in the world ſuch a country as Japan. We ſhall apprehend this matter better, if we take a ſhort view of the countries through which our monk paſſed, by the names they are known to us at preſent. It is plain, that from Conſtantinople he ſailed croſs the Black ſea to the port of Caffa; from thence he travelled by land all the reſt of the way, this is to ſay, firſt through Crim Tartary, then croſſing the great rivers Tanais and Volga, he came in the country of Bolgar, and to the camp of Baatu, thence through the vaſt country of the Calmukes, and ſo northeaſtward to the court of Mangu-Khan, which according to his deſcription, muſt have lain in the latitude of fifty degrees north, or ſomewhat more, and conſiderably higher than what is now called the Chineſe Tartary. In his return he paſſed through all the vaſt deſarts of Great Tartary, through the country of the Moguls, and ſo by the head of the Caſpian ſea, and then along the weſt ſide of it through the countries of Georgia, Armenia, Curdiſtan, Diarbeck, and ſo into Syria; all which countries then were, and moſt of them are ſtill, in the hands of the Tartars, of whom he has given us ſuch an account as is not only very conſiſtent with itſelf, and carries therein the ſtrongeſt marks of veracity, but is very agreeable alſo to the beſt accounts we have ſince received of thoſe countries.

As our author was not acquainted with the language of the Tartars, and did not remain long enough amongſt them to acquire it in that degree of perfection which was neceſſary to read and to underſtand their hiſtories, we need not at all wonder at ſome ſmall errors that have eſcaped him in points of no great conſequence. As for inſtance, in what he tells us of Zingis-Khan, whom he makes a farrier, as other writers have done a blackſmith. I ſhall not trouble the reader with remarks of the right ſpelling of this word Zingis, which I have already given them as it ought to be ſpelt, and have ſince conformed to our author's manner of writing it, that the reader might find leſs difficulty in comparing this with other books of the ſame kind. I ſay, I ſhall not inſiſt on ſuch trifles, but ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that Zingis, however ſpelt, is an adjective, and ſignifies properly the glittering or ſhining of ſteel; whence ſprung the notion, that this Prince was originally of ſome trade in which iron or ſteel was employed, becauſe all the Tartars repreſented him as a man who from low beginnings had raiſed himſelf to univerſal empire, and aſperſed him at the ſame time, from the conſideration of his having deprived them of their freedom and independency; but among the Tartars themſelves, this appellation was taken in an honorable ſenſe, Zingis ſignifying with them illuſtrious, and Zingis-Khan ſignifies literally the moſt illuſtrious monarch.

As to the religion of this Prince, it was undoubtedly that of his country, concerning which we have a great deal in Rubruquis agreeable to what he ſaw or heard, but not ſo clearly expreſſed, as that we ſhould be able to ſay preciſely what is the faith of the Tartars. Our author is certainly in the wrong as to Preſbyter John, of whom ſuch a noiſe has been made in the world, and about whom ſo little can ſtill be ſaid with any certainty. What led him into the miſtake was this; Tujan was the Khan of the Naymans, defeated and killed by Zingis-Khan, and it was from the likeneſs of his name to John, that our author took it for granted he was that John the prieſt ſo well known to the world. But after all, the Preſbyter John is ſtill in being, and is no other than the Grand Lama, or ſupreme pontiff of the Tartars, who reſides, as we have before ob-

ſerved, in the kingdom of Tangut, and is, in the opinion of the whole Tartar nation, immortal. The truth of the matter is, that he is an eccleſiaſtical Prince, whoſe fame and credit is very extenſive, though his power be very reſtrained. He reſides in a monaſtery ſurrounded by his monks, who, whenever he dies, ſupply his place from among themſelves, and keep this ſecret ſo religiouſly, that all the Tartars are as firmly perſuaded that their Grand Lama lives for ever, as that the ſun always ſhines. This ſerves to explain another circumſtance, that at firſt ſight might ſeem very idle and ridiculous to the reader, I mean the queſtion put to Rubruquis, whether the Pope was not four or five hundred years old. It is very plain from hence, that they conſidered the Pope as the Grand Lama of the Weſt, and having heard the Romiſh prieſts inſiſt much on the perpetuity of the church, they referred all this to the perſon of the Pope, and ſuppoſed this ſpiritual monarch to be immortal like their own.

If I durſt avow my own ſentiments plainly, I ſhould ſay, that there is no better evidence of the idolatry of the Tartars than of the Papiſts; and this without intending any high reflection on the members of the Romiſh church; for both have images or idols, both ſeem to worſhip them, and yet both, when charged with it, abſolutely deny the fact. Our author plainly owns, that Mangu-Khan told him expreſsly he worſhipped but one God, and that the Tartar prieſts, whom he charges very freely with idolatry, diſowned it themſelves, and affirmed that they reverence their images only, and did not worſhip them. But after all, it plainly appears, that they kept the ſecret of their religion ſo well, that our author never ſo much as heard of the Grand Lama, and conſequently could know nothing at all of the grounds of their religion, which, to deal plainly with the reader, remains full as great a myſtery to this day.

It is a point that the Tartars will never be brought to explain in any manner whatever; and after all the pains that I have been able to take in order to obtain ſome ſort of certainty on this head, I am able to ſay no more of it than this, that what doctrines the lamas or prieſts teach publicly, are reſtrained to theſe three points: 1. That there is one God the fountain of being, the Creator of all things, the Ruler of all things, and the ſole object of Divine worſhip. 2. That all men in general are his creatures, and therefore ought to conſider each other as brethren deſcended from one common parent, and alike entitled to all the bleſſings he beſtows, and that therefore it is great impiety to abuſe thoſe bleſſings, or to injure each other. 3. That inaſmuch as the common reaſon of mankind hath taught them to eſtabliſh property, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be preſerved, and that it is therefore the duty of every man to be content with his own, and to be juſt to his neighbours. This religion theſe prieſts not only teach, but practiſe with irreproachable exactneſs; and therefore Rubruquis very fairly owns, that the regularity of their manners hindered the progreſs of the Chriſtian religion, not becauſe the doctrines of the latter were at all inferior in ſanctity to thoſe of the former, but becauſe in point of purity of manners the Neſtorians and other Chriſtians were very deficient.

After ſetting this ſubject in the beſt light we are able, the reader will not find it at all difficult to apprehend a thing that extremely puzzled, not only our author, but all who have wrote of the affairs of the Tartars, and it is this; that they are abſolutely indifferent as to other religions, entertaining all with equal reſpect, whether Chriſtians, Mohammedans, or Jews, which proceeds from their finding the fundamental principles of their own religion taught by them all, and practiſed by none that come amongſt them better than by themſelves, or by their prieſts.

We find in Rubruquis ſome mention made of a nation called Alhaſiſin, of whom it will be requiſite to give the reader ſome account; they are the ſame that are mentioned by our

our ancient hiſtorians, under ſeveral names of Haſſeſſins, Aſſeſſins, Aſſaſſins, Aſſanites, and Chaſians, and were in truth as odd a ſort of people as ever exiſted. They poſſeſſed a tract of country which contained twelve caſtles and villages in the neighbourhood of Tyre, were a mixed race of men, and for a long time made no profeſſion of any religion, but practiſed a looſe kind of Mohammediſm, and were tributaries, firſt to the Knights Templars, and then to the Chriſtian Earls of Tripoly. In the eleventh century they would have declared themſelves Chriſtians, if they might have been releaſed from that tribute; but this was refuſed, and they grew thenceforward the moſt bitter enemies the Chriſtians had.

Theſe people were governed by a Prince ſtyled by our old hiſtorians, the old Man of the Mountain, who finding himſelf ſurrounded by ſtates much more powerful than his own, deviſed a new and ſtrange way of making himſelf equally dreadful to his neighbours and to ſtrangers. He gave out, that he only was the true vicar of Mohammed, and that he had the keys of Paradiſe in his hands; to ſupport which notion, he cauſed a fine garden to be laid out in a valley near his palace, adorned in every reſpect, ſo as to reſemble the Paradiſe of that prophet; he likewiſe provided a ſort of opiate, and whenever he ſaw a young man of a daring and reſolute temper, he ſent for him, and promiſed him the perpetual enjoyment of all ſenſual delights, if he would execute boldly whatever he commanded; and by way of earneſt, having given him the opiate to drink, cauſed him to be carried while aſleep into his garden, where, when he awoke, he found every thing he could wiſh for, and many beautiful women to attend him; when he had remained there a certain time, the opiate was again adminiſtered, and he was conveyed back, when aſleep, to the palace, where the Old Man of the Mountain promiſed him, that provided he fulfilled all his commands during life, he ſhould dwell after death perpetually in that garden.

By this artifice, he eſtabliſhed an order of men ready to venture on whatever he commanded, and when any Prince made war upon him, he diſpatched three or four of theſe young villains to his court, or camp, with inſtructions to murder him, which they never failed to perform. It was by their hands that Louis of Bavaria was killed in the year 1231, and in 1251 he diſpatched four of them with the like commiſſion to the court of Louis IX.; but ſuddenly altering his mind, he diſpatched four more with counter orders, who made ſuch haſte, that they arrived at the French court before the former, and diſcovering themſelves to King Louis, remained always near his perſon, to preſerve him from their companions, whom they likewiſe diſcovered at their arrival, and for this ſervice the French monarch ſent them back to their maſter loaded with preſents. By this means the Old Man of the Mountain became terrible, even to the moſt powerful monarchs; and from the practice of his deſperate bravos, we have the word aſſaſſins, and the phraſe of aſſaſſination, for murders of this nature. This practice was continued to the time of which our author ſpeaks, a little after which the whole nation was extirpated by the Tartars.

Theſe are all the facts mentioned in his writings, that ſeem to ſtand in need of explanation, unleſs we except what he has delivered concerning the witchcraft and ſorceries of the Tartars. As to theſe we can only ſay, that they are ſtill much addicted to ſuch ſuperſtitions, and are thereby expoſed, as he has ſhewn us, to many impoſtures, and abundance of miſchiefs that attend them. But in one particular he is miſtaken, which is in confounding the ſorcerers with the lamas, or Tartar prieſts, whereas they are quite different perſons. What he relates of the divination by the blade-bones, is confirmed by all other travellers, and is a ſort of folly practiſed by the Laplanders and other northern nations. A folly ridiculous and abſurd indeed, but not more ſo than the

other arts of divination, which have prevailed in politer countries, and which are not perhaps wholly extinguiſhed at this day. What he ſays in relation to the ſprinkling of aſhes on the floor, relates to another ſuperſtitious cuſtom of the ſame kind, which gave birth to that kind of fortune-telling called geomancy, which was transferred to Europe; and about which ſeveral treatiſes have been written, and one particularly in our tongue, not many years ago, which I mention to ſhew not only the probability of what Rubruquis has related, but likewiſe to demonſtrate, that the giving into ſuch fooliſh practices is not peculiar to ſuch nations as we eſteem barbarous; though I ſhall readily allow, that it is a mark of ſtupidity and barbarity wherever it appears.

We have no certain account how this relation of Rubruquis was received by the King his maſter, but in all probability it was very agreeable to him, ſince, though that Prince, after his return to France, took all imaginable pains to ſet the affairs of his kingdom in order, and to reform the abuſes that had crept into it during his abſence, yet he ſtill retained a ſtrong deſire of repairing alſo the diſgrace he had ſuſtained in his former expedition, by renewing the war againſt the Infidels, which determined him to make another expedition againſt them, and this, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition that could be made to it, he undertook in the ſpring of the year 1270. He tranſported on this occaſion a numerous army into Africa, reſolving to begin the operations of the war with reducing the kingdom and city of Tunis, to which he laid ſiege. But before he had made any great progreſs towards taking the place, the plague broke out in his army, and the King being infected therewith, died on the 25th of Auguſt the ſame year.

The beſt French hiſtorians, as well as thoſe of other nations, condemn theſe kinds of expeditions as idle and romantic; and yet it cannot be denied, that if this ſpirit of making war againſt the Infidels had not been raiſed at that time, it is more than probable, that the Mohammedans would have over-run the beſt part of Europe; whereas in conſequence of this ſpirit, they were driven out of Portugal and Spain, to which I muſt crave leave to add, that the travels of Rubruquis and others into different parts of the Eaſt, firſt inſpired that paſſion for diſcoveries, which has ſince produced ſuch mighty effects. Before that time, we knew little or nothing in this part of the world of the ſituation of diſtant countries; and thoſe who affected to be thought great wits, laboured to diſcredit whatever was delivered in relations of this kind, which prevailed in ſome places; and if it had prevailed in all, we had been at this day as ignorant, as poor, and as much ſlaves as our anceſtors were before that ſpirit of commerce aroſe, that has not only diſcovered both the Indies, but has taught men of courage, that the whole world is their country; and that he who improves uſeful knowledge, if not properly encouraged at home, will be a welcome gueſt wherever he goes.

THE

THE

CURIOUS AND REMARKABLE VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

OF

MARCO POLO, *A GENTLEMAN OF VENICE*,

Who in the Middle of the thirteenth Century paſſed through a great part of Aſia, all the Dominions of the Tartars, and returned Home by Sea through the Iſlands of the Eaſt Indies.

[Taken chiefly from the accurate Edition of Ramuſio, compared with an original Manuſcript in His Pruſſian Majeſty's Library, and with moſt of the Tranſlations hitherto publiſhed.]

1. *A ſuccinct Introduction to this Work.*— 2. *An Account of the Author from Ramuſio and other Writers.*— 3. *The ſeveral Editions and principal Tranſlations that have been publiſhed of theſe Travels.*— 4. *An Account of the Objections that have been raiſed againſt them.*— 5. *The Characters given of this Performance by ſeveral eminent Critics.* — 6. *The Author's introductory Account, containing an Abridgment of his Travels to the Time of his Return to Venice.*— 7. *A Deſcription of Armenia the Leſſer, of the Country of the Turks, of Armenia the Greater, of the Province of Zorzania, the Kingdom of Moſul, of the City of Baldach, or Bagdat, of the City of Tauris, with an Account of a remarkable Earthquake.*—8. *Of the Country of Perſia, the City of Jaſdi, the City of Cerman, of the Town of Camandu, and of the Country where Rhubarb grows.*— 9. *Of ſeveral other Countries, and the principal Curioſities in them.*— 10. *The Hiſtory of the Aſſaſſins, and of the Manner in which their Prince was killed, together with the Deſcription of many other Countries.*— 11. *Of the City of Samarcand, the Town of Lop, and of the great Deſart in its Neighbourhood, with other remarkable Paſſages.*— 12. *Of the Province of Camul, and ſeveral other Countries to the City of Ezina, and another great Deſart.*— 13. *Of the City of Caracarum, and of the Tartars, with a complete Hiſtory of that Nation, and of their Monarchs.*— 14. *Of the vaſt Countries to the Northward of Tartary, and many other curious Particulars.*— 15. *Of the great Power of Cublai-Khan, of his Government, Family, Dominions, &c.*— 16. *Of his Palace in the City of Cambalu, a particular Deſcription of that City, and other remarkable Obſervations.*— 17. *Of the Magnificence of the Court of the Grand Khan, and of the Manners and Cuſtoms of his Subjects.*— 18. *A copious Account of the Countries between the Place of his Reſidence, and the Country of Thibet.*— 19. *A large Deſcription of the laſt mentioned Province, and of many others, with an Account of the Obſervations made by the Author in his Progreſs through them.*— 20. *Of the Province of Mangi, and of the Manner in which it was reduced under the Power of the Tartars, together with an Account of the Provinces and Cities afterwards reduced under their Dominion.*— 21. *Of the noble City of Quinſai, and of the vaſt Revenues drawn from thence by the Emperor of the Tartars.*— 22. *Of the Iſland of Zipangri, and of the Attempt made by the Tartars to conquer it, and their Miſcarriage in them.* — 23. *A large Account of various Countries, Provinces, Cities, and Iſlands in the Eaſt Indies.*— 24. *Of the great Iſland of Ceylon, of the Kingdom of Malabar, and the State of other Countries viſited by the Author.*— 25. *Of the Kingdom of Murfili, the Diamond Mines there, and other Countries adjacent.*— 26. *Of the Iſland of Madagaſcar*

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car, the Country of Ethiopia, and other Parts of Africa. — 27. *Of the Province of Aden, and of ſeveral Countries reputed to be inacceſſible.* — 28. *Many obſcure Paſſages in this Performance explained.* — 29. *Remarks and Obſervations.*

1. IT is with ancient writers as with ancient coins, ſuch as underſtand them value them above meaſure, while ſuch as will not be at ſufficient pains to examine them, not only deſpiſe them, but alſo ſuch as admire them. Thus none are more governed by prejudice than thoſe who declaim againſt it, and none greater bigots than ſuch as are attached to their own opinions, from a notion that they think freely. Yet this zeal for freedom of thought ought to be amended rather than diſcouraged, as being in itſelf commendable, though ſometimes dangerous, by being miſapplied. It may, and to ſay the truth, to many it does ſeem a tedious and diſagreeable labour to look ſo far back as the firſt ſprings and dawnings of knowledge; yet, however, they may colour this with pretences to refined taſte, it is in fact no better than an excuſe for idleneſs, and a diſlike to the taking thoſe pains which are requiſite to ſucceed in ſuch enquiries.

The travels of Marco Polo are indeed very old, and are come into our hands with conſiderable defects, but they are very valuable for all that, and very well worthy of our attention. He was the Columbus of the Eaſt Indies, the firſt that gave a certain and diſtinct account of the ſea beyond China, and of the free paſſage thereby through all the iſlands of the Eaſt Indies, back into thoſe countries that are very well known. It is true, that a great part of what he related, though delivered with much ſolemnity, and confirmed by the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations, was much called in queſtion, and thought in ſome meaſure beyond all belief. But ſubſequent diſcoveries have baniſhed this incredulity, and what were once eſteemed fables have been ſince found true relations; and the diſcourſes of Marco Polo, that were rejected by the ſupercilious wits of his own time, have been raked out of the duſt of old libraries, decyphered in a manner from the barbarous Latin of monkiſh tranſlators, and brought into the form we now have them by the indefatigable pains of the learned Ramuſio; a man whoſe countenance alone might be ſufficient to give credit to this, or any other work; though from the notes we have added, it will appear that there are intrinſic marks of its value in the performance itſelf: yet we owe to Ramuſio the being able to diſcover theſe, and therefore to him we willingly aſcribe all the glory that reſults from the vindication of this curious piece, and the honour of its illuſtrious author. To the ſame excellent perſon is due the account we have received of ſeveral particulars relating to the perſonal hiſtory of Marco Polo and his family, of which in as few words as poſſible we ſhall give the reader a relation; which, though not abſolutely neceſſary to the underſtanding of the book, will be found uſeful and entertaining.

2. Signior Nicolo Polo, the father of our author, and his brother Signior Maffio, began their travels from Conſtantinople in the year 1250, and having proceeded to the court of the Grand Khan of Tartary, reſided there for many years, and returned, as the reader will ſee, to Venice about the year 1269, where they found the wife of Signior Nicolo deceaſed, and her ſon, of whom ſhe was left big at the time of their departure, a well accompliſhed youth, of nineteen years of age. Him they carried back with them to the court of the Khan, and after having ſpent twenty-ſix years more without any news being heard of them by their friends at Venice, returned ſafely thither in the year 1295. On their arrival at their own houſe in St. John Chryſoſtom's ſtreet, they found themſelves in a ſtrange ſituation, being not only worn entirely out

of the memory of their family and acquaintance, but having loſt in a manner the very tokens of their country, being become Tartars in their ſpeech as well as their habit, and therefore under a neceſſity of taking ſome extraordinary ſteps to recover the reſpect and reverence due to them, by convincing the world that they were really noble Venetians, and the individual perſons who had been ſo long loſt to their country and friends.

It was with this view that they gave a magnificent entertainment to their relations, at which they all three came forth in rich ſuits of crimſon ſatin; of which, when the gueſts were ſeated, they ſtripped themſelves, and gave them to the ſervants; appearing next in crimſon damaſk, theſe alſo they put off at the laſt ſervice, and beſtowed likewiſe on the ſervants, being then dreſſed in crimſon velvet. When dinner was over, and all who waited withdrawn, Marco Polo brought out their coats of Tartarian cloth or felt, and out of their foldings produced an incredible quantity of rich jewels, among which there were ſome well known to thoſe preſent, and which indiſputably proved theſe ſtrangers of the Polo family. Signior Mathio Polo became a worthy magiſtrate of Venice, and lived and died in peace.

As for our author Signior Marco, a few months after his return, the Genoeſe Admiral Lampa Doria coming with a fleet of ſeventy gallies to the iſland of Curzola, they fitted out from Venice, under the command of Andrea Dondalo, a great naval force, in which he had the command of a galley, and was ſo unlucky as to be taken priſoner and carried to Genoa, where he remained in ſpite of all the offers that were made for his ranſom ſeveral years; ſo that his father, deſpairing of his return, and deſirous that his own offſpring might inherit his riches, married a ſecond time, and had three children. In the time of this impriſonment all the young nobility of Genoa reſorted to our Marco to hear the recital of his voyages and adventures, which gave them ſo great ſatisfaction, that one of them prevailed upon him to ſend for his notes from Venice; and when thus aſſiſted, wrote from his own mouth the following hiſtory in Latin; from whence it was tranſlated into Italian; and this Italian was again tranſlated into Latin, and abridged; whence grew that prodigious corruption ſo juſtly complained of in the firſt printed copies. This work of Marco's was ſupported by the teſtimony of his father, and by that of his uncle on his death bed. At laſt Marco himſelf obtained his liberty, returned to Venice, married, and had two daughters, Moretta and Fantina, but had no male iſſue. He died as he lived, beloved and admired by all who knew or converſed with him; for with the advantages of birth and fortune he was humble, and made no other uſe of his great intereſt in the ſtate than to do good.

3. We have already ſhewn, that this work was originally written in Latin, and if not by the author's hand, at leaſt from his mouth; but after the Italian verſion that was made of it, the copies of the Latin manuſcript became extremely rare, inſomuch that the Italian tranſlation was taken for the original. One Francis Pepin, a monk, tranſlated it into Latin, and abridged it at the command of his ſuperiors; and it is a copy of this manuſcript that is in the library of the King of Pruſſia. It was printed at Baſil by the care of the celebrated Reinecius, and afterwards in other places. It was from one of theſe copies that it was tranſlated by Hakluit, of which Purchas ſo heavily, and at the ſame time ſo juſtly complains. Ramuſio took a great deal of pains, as well in reſtoring the ſenſe of the text of our author, as in juſtifying his character, and ſupporting the credit of his work by his learned diſcourſes. He was aſſiſted therein by a copy of the original Latin manuſcript, which was lent him by his friend Signior Chiſi, without which it had been impoſſible for him to have brought it into ſo good order as we now ſee it.

There

There has been, beſides the tranſlations already mentioned, at leaſt two in the German language. It was printed in Portugueſe at Liſbon in 1502, and it has been ſeveral times tranſlated into Dutch. I have been the more particular in the account of theſe additions and tranſlations, becauſe they differ very much from each other; ſo that the only way to come at a complete view of the author, is by collecting and comparing theſe; a work of infinite pains and labour, in which however we have the aſſiſtance of Andrew Muller, a learned German critic, and of Peter Bergeron, a Frenchman, who, next to Ramuſio, was, of all others, the moſt capable of ſuch an undertaking, and has ſucceeded in it the beſt.

There was, however, one thing wanting, which was the juſtifying the dates, verifying the facts, and explaining the obſcure names of places which occur in theſe travels; and this we have done to the beſt of our ability in this tranſlation, ſo that the reader may be ſatisfied that he has the work of this ancient writer as intire, and in as good condition as it was in our power to give it him.

4. There have been abundance of objections raiſed againſt the credit and authority of this writer, many of which, as they were founded on the errors of tranſcribers and tranſlators, are taken away by reſtoring our author's genuine ſenſe, and therefore we need not mention them particularly; but there are others which deſerve more regard. It is ſaid, that our author mentioned ſome countries and many places that were never heard of before or ſince. A ſhrewd objection this, inaſmuch as it ſeems to repreſent all the pains that has been taken about his writings, as entirely thrown away. In anſwer to this we muſt obſerve, that he wrote according to the lights he received, and thoſe lights were chiefly from the Tartars; whence it might very well happen that the names of places mentioned by him ſhould appear ſtrange and uncouth in this part of the world. But it ſo happens, that we have ſince received ſuch helps as enable us to get pretty well clear of this difficulty; for though we have retained in the text the names uſed by our author, yet we have afforded, from the aſſiſtance given us by oriental writers, ſuch explanations as remove, in every reſpect, theſe geographical obſcurities, ſo as to leave no ſort of doubt either as to the capacity, or the veracity of Marco Polo.

Another charge againſt him is, that he does not agree with other writers, or rather other writers do not agree with him: but when examined to the bottom, this charge will not be found to have any great weight, as having chiefly ariſen from the miſtakes made as to the true ſenſe of what this writer delivered; ſo that very often, what was imputed as ignorance to him, was, in fact, no more than temerity in thoſe who pretended to find fault with them. The laſt, and indeed the greateſt objection is, that he has related many things that are abſurd, ſome that are incredible, and not a few that are impoſſible. Againſt this charge we cannot pretend to vindicate him, though much may be ſaid to excuſe him. The facts he tells us of his own knowlede are ſurpriſingly verified by authentic and indiſputable evidence; and grant that he might be impoſed upon in what he gives us on the authority of others, we muſt be content, the rather becauſe it is our happineſs to live in an age when men are leſs liable to be cheated and miſled; therefore this ought to make us the more ready to bear with failings in one who wanted this advantage, who lived in a time of darkneſs and obſcurity, when credulity paſſeth for faith, and when conſequently errors of this ſort were rather a man's misfortune than his fault.

5. In ſpite however of all theſe charges, there have been ſome great men in all ages who have done juſtice to our author's merit. Among theſe we may reckon the famous Voſſius, in his account of the Latin hiſtorian, the great geographer Sebaſtian

Munſter, the learned naturaliſt Conrad Gefner, the accurate hiſtorian Leunclavius, the celebrated Joſeph Scaliger, and many others. The learned German critic William Schickard, in his hiſtory of the Kings of Perſia, gives our author this character: "Marco Polo, the Venetian, ſays he, is a very good writer, and thoſe things which he reports, and were heretofore thought incredible, are now verified daily by later diſcoveries." But of all who have undertaken the cauſe of our author, none has done it with greater capacity, with more good will, or better ſucceſs, than Father Martini, to whom we owe the beſt deſcription of China, and who was conſequently a better judge than any other of the merit or demerit of this work. He aſſures us, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt the truth of our author's relations on account of the obſcurity of the names of places; for, ſays he, he wrote them after the Tartar pronunciation, whereas later writers ſtudy to imitate as well as they are able the pronunciation of the Chineſe.

I will add to theſe but one teſtimony more, which is that of an author very able to have detected him, if he had caught him in untruths, and who was far enough from being tender of men's reputations if he thought them to blame. The author I mean is Athanaſius Kircher, who in his account of China confeſſes, that none of the old authors have more fully or more accurately deſcribed the remoteſt countries of the eaſt than Marco Polo has done; yet he readily admits, that there are many things in him ſo very dark, that they may be in a manner ſtiled inexplicable; but then, with great good ſenſe and candour, he attributes this to the author's want of ſkill in geography and aſtronomy; and if we conſider how young he was when his father carried him into Tartary, and how little opportunity he had of acquiring that ſort of knowledge that was moſt neceſſary for preventing thoſe miſtakes, we may eaſily concur in opinion with ſo many eminent and learned writers, that in conſideration of the many curious and uſeful paſſages in his writings, theſe blemiſhes, eſpecially as they were in a manner unavoidable, may very well be forgiven. After having thus cleared the way, we will no longer detain the reader from the peruſal of theſe travels, which their author has thus digeſted. He firſt gives a ſuccinct account of his father's and uncle's peregrinations, and then of his own; after which, he enters into a more particular deſcription of the countries and places through which they paſſed, and relates alſo ſuch remarkable things as he was informed of in the courſe of his voyages.

6. At the time that Baldwin was Emperor of Conſtantinople, in the year of our Lord 1250, two gentlemen of the moſt illuſtrious family of Paolo or Polo, at Venice, embarked on board a veſſel freighted with various kinds of merchandize on their own account; and having traverſed the Mediterranean and the Boſphorus, they came with a fair wind, and the bleſſing of God, to Conſtantinople. There they continued for ſome time to repoſe themſelves, and then croſſing the Pontus Euxinus, arrived at a certain port called Soldadia, from whence they went to the court of a great Tartar prince, called Barha, to whom they ſhewed the fine jewels they had brought, and preſented him with ſome of the moſt valuable. That monarch was far from being ungrateful; he kindly accepted their preſents, and in return gave them others of greater value. They remained a full year at his court, and then diſpoſed all things for their return to Venice. But before they had an opportunity of departing, there broke out a war between this Prince Barha and another Tartar king, whoſe name was Alan; and this diſpute being decided by a battle, the army of Barha was defeated. This unlucky accident exceedingly embarraſſed the Venetians, who knew not what meaſures to take, or how to get ſafely back into their own country. At length, however, they took a reſolution of eſcaping, as well as they could, out of the

country where they were, and by ſeveral by-roads eſcaped to a city called Gutbacam, ſeated on the river Tygris. They continued their journey from hence through a great deſart, where there were neither inhabitants nor villages, till at laſt they arrived at Bochara, a conſiderable city on the confines of Perſia. It was, at the time of their arrival, the reſidence of a Prince called Barach, in whoſe court, meeting with a good reception, and not knowing how otherwiſe to diſpoſe of themſelves, they remained three years. At that time a certain perſon of diſtinction was ſent ambaſſador from the ſaid Prince Alan to the Great Khan, who is the ſuperior monarch of all the Tartars, reſiding in the remoteſt countries of the earth, betwixt the north-eaſt and the eaſt, called Cublai Khan; who coming to Bochara, and finding there theſe two brethren, who were now well verſed in the Tartarian language, he rejoiced exceedingly, and perſuaded theſe men to go with him to the great Emperor of the Tartars, knowing that he ſhould gratify him in this, and that they alſo ſhould be entertained with great honour, and rewarded with large gifts, eſpecially ſeeing, through the conference had with them, he perceived their pleaſing behaviour. Theſe men therefore, conſidering that they could not eaſily return home without danger, conſulting together, agreed to go with the ſaid ambaſſador, and accompany him to the Emperor of the Tartars, having certain other Chriſtians in their company, whom they brought with them from Venice; and departing towards the north-eaſt and the north, were a whole year in going to the ſaid court of the ſaid King.

The cauſe of their long time ſpent in this journey, was the ſnows and waters being much increaſed, ſo that they were forced in their travel to ſtay the waſting of the ſnow, and decreaſing of the floods. Being therefore brought before the preſence of the Great Khan, they were moſt courteouſly received by him. He queſtioned them concerning many things; as of the countries of the weſt, the Roman Emperor, and other kings and princes, how they carried themſelves in government, and in warlike affairs; how peace, juſtice, and concord continued among them; alſo what manner of life and cuſtoms were obſerved among the Latins, and eſpecially of the Pope, of the Chriſtians, of the church, and of the religion of the Chriſtian faith; and M. Nicholo and M. Maffio, as wiſe men, told him the truth, always ſpeaking well to him, and orderly, in the Tartarian tongue; inſomuch that he often commanded they ſhould be brought to his preſence, and they were very acceptable in his ſight; having well underſtood the affairs of the Latins, and reſting ſatisfied with their anſwers.

The Great Khan intending to ſend them his ambaſſadors to the Pope, firſt conſulted with his great lords, and then calling to him the two brethren, deſired them to go to the Pope of the Romans, with one of his barons called Chogatal, to pray him to ſend an hundred men learned in the Chriſtian religion unto him, who might ſhew his wiſe men that the faith of the Chriſtians was to be preferred before all other ſects, and was the only way of ſalvation, and that the gods of the Tartars were devils, and that they, and others, the people of the eaſt, were deceived in the worſhip of their gods. He gave them alſo in charge, to bring, in their return from Jeruſalem, of the oil of the lamp which burneth before the ſepulchre of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, towards whom he had great devotion, and held him to be the true God; they therefore yielded due reverence to the Great Khan, promiſed that they would faithfully execute the charge committed unto them, and preſent the letters which they received from him, written in the Tartarian tongue, according to his command, unto the Biſhop of Rome.

He, according to the cuſtom of the kingdom, commanded a golden tablet to be given them, engraven and ſigned with the King's mark; carrying which with them, throughout his whole empire, inſtead of a paſſport, they might be every where ſafely conveyed

conveyed through dangerous places, by the governors of provinces and cities, and receive their expences from them; and laſtly, how long ſoever they would ſtay in any place, whatſoever they needed, for them or theirs, ſhould be furniſhed them. Taking their leave therefore of the Emperor, they took their journey, carrying the letters and golden tablet with them; and when they had rid twenty days journey, the lord who was aſſociated with them, began to fall grievouſly ſick; whereupon conſulting, and leaving him there, they proſecuted their intended journey, being every where courteouſly received, by reaſon of the Emperor's tablet; yet in many places they were compelled to ſtay, occaſioned by the overflowings of the rivers, ſo that they ſpent three years before they came unto the port of the country of the Armenians, named Giazza; from Giazza they went to Acre, about the year of our Lord 1269, in the month of April.

But having entered into the city of Acre, they heard that Pope Clement the Fourth was lately dead, and that no other was ſubſtituted in his place, for which they were not a little grieved. At that time there was a certain legate of the apoſtolic ſee at Acre, viz. Maſter Tibaldo Niſconti di Piacenza, to whom they declared all they had in commiſſion from the Great Khan, and he adviſed them to expect the creation of a new Pope. In the mean ſpace therefore departing to Venice to viſit their friends, Maſter Nicolo found that his wife was dead, whom at his departure he had left with child, but had left a ſon named Marco, who was now nineteen years of age. This is that Marco who compoſed this book, who will manifeſt therein all thoſe things that he hath ſeen. The election of the Pope of Rome was deferred two years. They fearing the diſcontent of the Emperor of the Tartars, who expected their return, went back again to Acre to the legate, carrying with them Marco aforeſaid, and having gone to Jeruſalem, and fetched the oil with the legate's letter, teſtifying their fidelity to the Great Khan, and that a Pope was not yet choſen, they went again towards Giazza.

In the mean time meſſengers came from the cardinals to the legate, declaring to him that he was choſen Pope, and he called himſelf Gregory. Hearing this, he preſently ſent meſſengers to call back the Venetians, and admoniſhing them not to depart, prepared other letters for them, which they ſhould preſent to the Great Khan of the Tartars, with whom he alſo joined two preaching friars, men famous for their honeſt converſation and learning. The one was called Friar Nicholo Davicenza, the other Friar Gulielmo de Tripoli; to theſe he gave letters and privileges, and authority to ordain prieſts and biſhops, and of abſolution in all caſes, as if himſelf were preſent, with preſents alſo of great value, to preſent to the Great Khan, together with his benediction. They came to Giazza, a ſea-port in Armenia, and becauſe Bentiochdas and the Sultan of Babylon, leading a great army, then invaded the Armenians, the two friars above mentioned began to be afraid of themſelves, and delivering the letters and preſents to Signiors Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco, deſiring to avoid the danger of the ways and peril of wars, remained with the maſter of the temple, and returned with him.

But the three Venetians expoſing themſelves to all danger, with many labours and much difficulty, travelled many days always towards the north-eaſt and north, till they, after three years and a half, came to the Emperor of the Tartar's great city of Clemeniſu; for in the winter time their journey had often long hindrances by reaſon of the ſnow and extreme cold, with inundations of waters. However, King Cublai hearing of their coming, though they were yet very far off, ſent meſſengers forty days' journey to meet them, who ſhould conduct them, and furniſh all neceſſaries for their journey.

Going therefore to the King's court, and being brought to his preſence, they fell down before him on their faces, yielding the accuſtomed reverence; of whom being courteouſly received, they were ordered to riſe, and he commanded them to declare how they paſſed the many dangers of the ways, and what they had treated with the Biſhop of Rome; then they related it diſtinctly and at large, and gave the Emperor the Pope's letters and preſents, which they brought; at which the Khan wonderfully rejoicing, commended their faithful cares. The oil alſo brought from the Lord's ſepulchre, and offered unto him, he reverently received, commanded it ſhould be honourably preſerved, and aſking of Marco, who he was? Maſter Nicolo anſwered, that he was His Majeſty's ſervant, and his ſon; he entertained him with a friendly countenance, and taught him to write among other of his honourable courtiers; whereupon he was much eſteemed of all the court, and in a little ſpace learned the cuſtoms of all the Tartars, and four different languages, being able to write and read them all.

The great Khan, to make his wiſdom more apparent, committed an ambaſſage unto him to be performed in a city called Carachan, unto which he could ſcarcely travel in ſix months' ſpace; but he carrying himſelf wiſely in all things, diſcharged what he had in commiſſion with the commendation and favour of the Prince, and knowing the Emperor would be delighted with novelties, in the places which he paſſed through, he diligently ſearched the cuſtoms and manners of men, and the conditions of the countries, making a memorial of all that he knew and ſaw to divert the Great Khan; and in ſix-and-twenty years which he continued one of his court, he was ſo acceptable to him, that he was continually ſent through all his realms and ſigniories for the affairs of the Great Khan, and ſometimes for his own, but by the Khan's order; and this is the true reaſon that the ſaid Maſter Marco learned and ſaw ſo many particulars relating to the Eaſt, which follow in order in theſe memoirs; but theſe Venetians, having ſtayed in that court many years, and grown very rich in jewels of great value, were inſpired with deſire to viſit their country, fearing that if the Khan (now old) ſhould die, they ſhould not be able to return. One day Maſter Nicolo, ſeeing the Khan merry, craved licence to depart in the name of all the three: whereat he was moved, and aſked why they would put themſelves on ſo dangerous a journey, and if they wanted riches, he would give them twice as much as they had, and out of pure affection would not permit their departure.

Yet not long after it happened, that a King of the Indians, named Argon, ſent three of his counſellors unto the court of the great Cublai, whoſe names were Ullatai, Apuſea, and Coza, to treat with him, that he would deliver him a wife; for his wife, named Bolgana, being lately dead, begged this favour of the King at the point of death, and left in her will, that he ſhould not marry a wife of another family than her own, which was of Catha. King Cublai, therefore, yielding to his requeſt, cauſed to be ſought out for them a fair young maiden of ſeventeen years of age, named Cogalin, deſcended of the former Queen's family, to be the wife of Argon. Thoſe ambaſſadors departing, rode eight months the ſame way they came, but found bloody wars among the Tartars, ſo that they were conſtrained to return, and acquaint the Great Khan with their proceedings. In the mean time Maſter Marco had returned from thoſe parts of India, where he had been employed with certain ſhips, and declared to the Khan the ſingularities of the places, and the ſecurity of thoſe ſeas; which reaching the ears of the ambaſſadors, they conferred with the Venetians, and agreed, that they with the Queen ſhould go to the Great Khan, and deſire leave to return by ſea, and to have the three Latins, men ſkilled in ſea affairs, with them, to the country of King Argon. The Great Khan was much diſpleaſed with their requeſt, yet upon their petition granted it,

and cauſed Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco to come into his preſence, and after much demonſtration of his love, would have them promiſe to return to him after they had ſpent ſome time in Chriſtendom, and in their own houſe; and he cauſed to be given them a tablet of gold, in which was written his command for their liberty and ſecurity through all his dominions, and that expences ſhould be given them and theirs, and a guide or convoy for ſafe paſſage, ordering alſo that they ſhould be his ambaſſadors to the Pope, the Kings of France and Spain, and other Chriſtian Princes.

He cauſed fourteen ſhips to be prepared, each having four maſts, and able to bear nine ſails in ſailing, the form of which is too long here to be related; four or five of them had from two hundred and fifty to two hundred and ſixty mariners in each of them. In theſe ſhips the ambaſſadors, the Queen, with Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco, ſet ſail, having firſt taken leave of the Great Khan, who gave them many rubies, and other precious ſtones, and their expences for two years. After three months they came unto a certain iſland called Java, and from thence ſailing through the Indian ſea, after eighteen months they came into the country of King Argon; ſix hundred men of the mariners, and others, and but one of the women, died in the paſſage; but only Coza of the three ambaſſadors ſurvived. When they came to the country of King Argon, they found that he was dead, and that one Chiacato governed the kingdom for his ſon, who was under age; they ſent to acquaint him with their buſineſs, who anſwered, that they ſhould give her to Caſan the King's ſon, then in the parts of Arbor Secco, in the confines of Perſia, with ſixty thouſand perſons for the guard of certain paſſages againſt the enemy. Having done ſo, Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco returned to Chiacato, and ſtaid there nine months.

After this taking leave, Chiacato gave them four tables of gold, each a cubit long, and five fingers broad, of the weight of three or four marks, in which were written, that in the power of the eternal God the name of the Great Khan ſhould be honoured and praiſed many years, and every one who ſhould not obey ſhould be put to death, and his goods confiſcated. In them were further contained, that theſe three ambaſſadors ſhould be honoured, and ſervice done them in all lands and countries as to his own perſon, and that horſes, convoys, expences, and neceſſaries ſhould be given them; all which was ſo duly put in execution, that ſometimes they had two hundred horſes for their ſafeguard. In this their travel, they heard that the Great Khan was dead, which took from them all deſire of returning thither.

They rode till they came to Trebizond, and from thence to Conſtantinople, and after to Negropont, and at laſt came with great riches ſafe to Venice, A. D. 1295.

Here ends the hiſtorical introduction of our author, which ſhews us how he came to be qualified for writing the following deſcription of the remoteſt countries in the Eaſt. The reader will naturally obſerve, that our author wrote under very particular circumſtances, as having no other knowledge than what he acquired amongſt the Tartars; and therefore, though the harſh and uncouth names that occur in the ſubſequent relation of his travels, may both diſfigure and perplex them, yet they very plainly prove the ſincerity and authority of our author's writings, ſince taking things as he has ſtated them, it was ſimply impoſſible that he ſhould have written them any otherwiſe than as they ſtand; for it was his hard lot to travel with the Tartars, and to pen the hiſtory of his travels in a priſon, ſo that their imperfections ought not to be aſcribed to the man, but to his circumſtances.

7. There are two Armenias, the Greater and the Leſs. In the Leſſer Armenia the King reſides, in a city called Sebaſte, and in all his country is obſerved juſtice and good government. The kingdom itſelf hath many cities, fortreſſes, and caſtles; the

ſoil alſo is fertile, and the country abounds with every thing neceſſary, nor is there any want of game or wild-fowl; the air indeed is not very good. The gentlemen of Armenia, in times paſt, were ſtout men, and good ſoldiers, but are become now effeminate and nice, giving themſelves up to drunkenneſs and riot. There is a certain city in this kingdom ſeated near the ſea, which is called Giazza, having an excellent haven, whither merchants reſort from divers countries, and even from Venice and Genoa, on account of ſeveral ſorts of merchandize brought thither, eſpecially ſpices of ſundry kinds, and abundance of other valuable goods brought thither out of the eaſt countries; for this place is, as it were, the ſettled mart of all the eaſt *.

In Turcomania are three ſorts of nations, viz. the Turcomans or Turkmen, who obſerve the law of Mohammed: they are men illiterate, rude, and ſavage, inhabiting the mountains, and inacceſſible places, where they can find paſtures; for they live only by their cattle. There are good horſes in this country, which are called Turkiſh horſes: mules are alſo in that country of great eſtimation. The other nations are Grecians and Armenians, who poſſeſs the cities and towns, and beſtow their labour on merchandize and arts. They make the beſt carpets in the world, and they have many cities the chief whereof are Cogno, Iconium, Cæſarea, and Sebaſte, where St. Baſil ſuffered martyrdom for Chriſt, and they acknowledged one of the Khans, Kings of the Tartars, for their lord.

Armenia the Greater is a very large province, tributary to the Tartars, and hath many cities and towns, the chief city whereof is called Arzugia, and the beſt buckram in the world is made there. Moſt wholeſome hot waters alſo ſpring there for the waſhing and curing of mens' bodies; and the other more famous cities next to the metropolis are Argiron and Darziz. In the ſummer time many Tartars reſort there with their flocks and herds, drawn thither by the fatneſs of their paſtures; and again in the winter depart for a certain time, by reaſon of the abundance of ſnow. The Ark of Noah remained in the mountains of this Armenia.

This country hath the province of Moxul and Meridin bordering on the eaſt; but on the north is Zorzania, in the confines of which a fountain is found, from which a liquor like oil flows, and though unprofitable for the ſeaſoning of meat, yet is very fit for the ſupplying of lamps, and to anoint other things; and this natural oil flows conſtantly, and that in plenty enough to lade camels. In Zorzania is a King called David Melic, or King David; one part of the province is ſubject unto him, the other pays tribute to a Khan of the Tartars; the woods there are of box-trees. The country extends to the two ſeas, Marmaggiore, or the Euxine, and that of Baccu, or the Caſpian, which containeth in circuit two thouſand eight hundred miles, and is like a lake having no communication with other ſeas. In it are many iſlands, cities, and caſtles, ſome of which are inhabited by thoſe that fled from the Tartars out of Perſia †.

The people of Zorzania are Chriſtians, obſerving the ſame rites with other Chriſtians. They keep their hair ſhort like the weſtern clergy; the inhabitants have many cities, and their country abounds with ſilk, of which they make very fine manufactures. Moxul is a province in which there are many ſorts of people, ſome called Arabians, are Mohammedans, others are Chriſtians, ſome Neſtorians, others Jacobites, and others Armenians; and they have a patriarch called Jacolet, who ordains arch-

* There is nothing obſcure in this deſcription of Armenia the Leſs; and I added this note only to put the reader in mind, that our author ſhews that a great part of the trade from Europe to the Indies was carried on this way by the Venetians and Genoeſe.

† Zorzania is indeed a name not to be met with in any other author; but the account given us by Marco is ſo clear and exact, that there can be no doubt about it.

biſhops, biſhops, and abbots, and ſends them through all parts of India, and to Cairo and Baldach, or Bagdat, and wherever Chriſtians dwell, as is done by the Pope of Rome; and all the ſtuffs of gold and ſilk called muſleims are wrought in Moxul.

But in the mountains of this kingdom dwell the people called Curdi, of whom ſome are Neſtorians, others Jacobites, and ſome followers of Mohammed; they are wicked men, and rob merchants. Near to them is another province called Mus or Meridin, wherein grow great quantities of cotton, whereof they make buckrams, and other works; they are ſubject to the Tartars. Baldach, or Bagdat, is a great city, in which reſided the great Khaliff, that is the Pope of all the Saracens; a river runs through it, from whence to the ſea is accounted ſeventeen days journey. They ſail by a city called Chiſi; but before they reach the ſea they come to Baſſora, about which grow the beſt dates in the world. In Baldach, or Bagdat, are many manufactures of gold and ſilk. There are wrought damaſks and velvets, with figures of various creatures: all the pearls in Chriſtendom come from thence. In that city is an univerſity, where is ſtudied the law of Mohammed, phyſic, aſtronomy, and geomancy. It is the chief city in thoſe parts.

When the Tartars began to extend their conqueſts, there were four brethren, the eldeſt of which, Mangu, reigned in Sedia. Theſe purpoſing to ſubdue the world, went one to the eaſt; another to the north; to the ſouth a third, which was Ulan; and the other to the weſt. In the year of our Lord 1250, Ulan having a great army of one hundred thouſand horſe, beſides foot, uſed policy, and having hid a great part of his men, brought, by pretending flight, the Khaliff into his ambuſcade, and took him and the city, in which he found infinite ſtore of treaſure, inſomuch that he was amazed. He ſent for the Khaliff, and reproved him, that in that war he had not provided himſelf with ſoldiers for defence, and commanded that he ſhould be incloſed in that tower where his treaſure was, without other ſuſtenance*.

This ſeemed a juſt judgment from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt on him; for in the year 1225, ſeeking to convert the Chriſtians to the Mohammedan religion, and taking advantage from that place of the Goſpel, "That he which hath faith, as the grain of muſtard-ſeed, ſhall be able to remove mountains." He ſummoned all the Chriſtians, Neſtorians, and Jacobites, and propounded to them in ten days to remove a certain mountain or turn Mohammedans, or be ſlain, as not having one man amongſt them which had the leaſt faith. They therefore continued eight days in prayer: after which a certain ſhoemaker, in conſequence of a revelation made to a certain biſhop, was fixed upon to perform it. This ſhoemaker, once tempted to luſt by ſight of a young woman, in putting on her ſhoe, zealouſly had fulfilled that of the goſpel, and literally had put out his right eye. He now on the day appointed with other Chriſtians followed the croſs, and lifting his hands to heaven, prayed to God to have mercy on his people, and then with a loud voice commanded the mountain in the name of the Holy Trinity to remove; which preſently, with great terror to the Khaliff and all his people was effected, and that day is ſince kept holy by faſting alſo on the evening before it.

8. Tauris is a great city in the province of Hircania, and is a moſt populous place. The inhabitants live by the exercife of arts and merchandize, they make ſtuffs of gold and ſilk; foreign merchants reſiding there make very great gain, but the inhabitants

* There is nothing gives ſo much credit to our author's relation as theſe hiſtorical facts, which are capable of being verified by other authors. The prince he mentions was Halaku Khan, who was brother to Mangu-Khan; he entered theſe countries A. D. 1255, with an army of Tartars, and in 1251, put an end to the empire of the Abyſſinian Khaliffs, by taking Bagdat, as our author relates it.

are

are generally poor. They are a mixed people of Neſtorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians, Perſians and Mohammedans: theſe laſt are perfidious and treacherous, thinking all well gotten which they ſteal from men of other religions; and this wickedneſs of the Saracens had converted many Tartars thereto. If the Chriſtians kill them in their robbery, they are reputed martyrs. From Tauris into Perſia are twelve days journey. In the confines is the monaſtery of St. Baraſam, the monks whereof are like Carmelites; they make girdles which they lay on the altar, and give to their friends, who devoutly eſteem them. Perſia containeth eight kingdoms, whereof the firſt is called Caſbin, the ſecond Curdiſtan, the third Lor, the fourth Suſiſtan, the fifth Spahan, the ſixth Shiras, the ſeventh Soncara, the eighth Timochaim, which is near Arborcſecco towards the north. They have fine horſes here, whence they are ſold into India; there are alſo very excellent aſſes ſold dearer than the horſes, becauſe they eat little, carry much, and travel far. They have camels, but not ſo ſwift. Theſe are neceſſary in thoſe countries, which ſometimes for a long way yield no graſs *.

The people of thoſe countries are very wicked, covetous, thieves, and murderers, profeſſing the faith of Mohammed. Merchants are every where ſlain by thoſe thieves, unleſs they travel in caravans. There are excellent artificers in the cities, who make wonderful things in gold, ſilk, and embroidery. The countries abound with ſilk-worms, wheat barley, millet, and other kinds of corn, and plenty of wine and fruits; and though their law forbids wine, yet they have a gloſs to correct or corrupt the text, that if they boil it then it changeth the taſte, and therefore the name alſo, of wine, and may be drank. Iaſdi is a great city in the confines of Perſia, where there is great trade; it hath alſo many manufactures in ſilk. Chaiman is a kingdom in the confines of Perſia to the eaſt, ſubject to the Tartars. In veins of the mountains ſtones are found, commonly called Turquoiſes, and other jewels. There alſo are made all ſorts of arms and ammunition for war, and by the women excellent needle-works in ſilks, with all ſorts of creatures very admirably wrought therein. There are the beſt falcons in the world, very ſwift of flight, red-breaſted, and under the train leſs than thoſe of other countries. Proceeding further, you go through a great plain, and having ended eight days journey, you come to a certain deſcent. In the plain are many caſtles and towns, but in that ſteep deſcent are many trees, and thoſe fruitful, but no habitation, except a few ſhepherds huts. This country in winter time is intolerably cold. After this you come into a large open plain, where a certain city is ſeated, which is called Camandu, heretofore large and populous, but now deſtroyed by the Tartars, and the country is called Reobarle. There grow pomegranates, quinces, peaches, and other fruits, which grow not in our cold countries. It hath alſo very great oxen, and all white, thin haired, with thick, ſhort, blunt horns, with a camel's bunch on the back, accuſtomed to bear great burthens; and when the pack-ſaddles are ſet upon the bunch, they bow their knee like camels, and having received the burthen, riſe again, being ſo taught. The ſheep of that country are as big as aſſes, having ſo long and broad tails, that they weigh thirty pounds weight. They are very fair, and fat, and good meat.

Moreover, in the plain of this country are many cities and towns, with high walls of earth to defend them from the Caraons, that is, Meſtizos, that is a mixed ſort of people between Indian women and Tartars, ten thouſand of which are commanded by one

* In the ſeveral copies of this work, there are great variations in the names of theſe eight parts, into which the kingdom of Perſia is divided; but as it is very apparent that they are corruptions only of the cities, and provinces of that kingdom, it is not neceſſary to trouble the reader with a long explanation of them.

Nugodar,

Nugodar, the nephew of Zagathai, who formerly ruled in Turkeſtan. This Nugodar, hearing of the Malabars ſubject to Soldan Aſiden, without his uncle's knowledge, went and took Dely with other cities, erected a new ſeigniory, and mixing with the Indian women, raiſed theſe Caraons, which go up and down to rob and ſpoil in Roobarle, and other countries. The plain whereof I now ſpeak is five days journey, extending towards the ſouth; but at the end thereof the way begins by little and little to deſcend for twenty miles together, and the road itſelf is very bad, and not without danger by reaſon of thieves. At length you come to very good plains, which extend themſelves two days journey in length, and the place itſelf is called Ormus.

That country abounds with rivers and palm-trees; there is alſo plenty of divers fowls, eſpecially poppin jays, which are not like ours. From hence you come unto the ocean wherein an iſland is ſeated called Ormus, to which many merchants reſort, bringing ſpices, pearls, precious ſtones, cloth of gold and ſilver, elephants' teeth, and all other precious things from India. That city is a great mart, having cities and caſtles under it, and is head of the kingdom of Chermain. The King is called Ruchined Ben Achomach, who yields obedience to the King of Chermain. He makes himſelf heir, if any merchant dies there. In ſummer, by reaſon of the heat, they betake themſelves to their ſummer-houſes, built in the waters; and from nine till noon there blows a wind with ſuch extreme heat from the ſands, that it ſwallows a man's breath, and ſtifleth him, which makes them lie in the water. The King of Chermain ſent an army of ſixteen hundred horſe, and five thouſand foot, againſt the Lord of Ormus, for not paying his tribute, which were all ſurprized, and ſtifled with that wind. The inhabitants of the place eat no bread made of corn, or fleſh, but feed upon dates, ſalt fiſh and onions. They have not very ſtout ſhips, for they do not faſten them with iron nails, by reaſon the wood is brittle, and would cleave; but with wooden pins, with certain threads made of the ſhells of Indian nuts. Theſe ſhells are dreſſed after the manner of leather, out of which threads are cut, of which threads exceeding ſtrong cords are made which are able to endure the force and violence of the waters, and are not eaſily corrupted thereby. Thoſe ſhips have one maſt, one ſail, one beam, and are covered but with one deck. They are not calked with pitch, but with the oil and fat of fiſhes; and when they croſs the ſea to India, carrying horſes and other freight with them, they loſe many ſhips, becauſe that ſea is very tempeſtuous, and the ſhips are not ſtrengthened with iron *. The inhabitants of that country are black, and have embraced the law of Mohammed. It is the cuſtom of this country, when any maſter of a family dies, that the wife left behind him ſhould mourn for him four years, once a day. They have women which profeſs the practice of mourning, and are therefore hired to mourn daily for their dead. Returning from Ormus to Chermain, is a fertile plain, but the bread made there cannot be eaten, but by ſuch as are accuſtomed thereto, it is ſo bitter, by reaſon of the water put therein: here are excellent hot baths, which cure many diſeaſes.

9. From Chermain, in three days riding, you come to a deſart, which extends to Cobinham, ſeven days journey from thence. In the firſt three days you have no water, ſave a few ponds, and thoſe ſalt and bitter, of a green colour in ſhew, as if it were the juice of herbs; and whoever taſteth but a little thereof cannot eſcape a looſeneſs; the like alſo happeneth if any taſte the ſalt made of the water: it is therefore

* It is very evident from this account, that our author extends the name of Ormus to the coaſt oppoſite to the iſland ſo called; and as to the other country he ſpeaks of, it is plainly the province of Kherman.

neceſſary that travellers carry ſome water with them, if they would eſcape the inconvenience of thirſt; the beaſts alſo which are compelled to drink that water eſcape not without ſcouring: in the fourth day they find a freſh river under ground; the three laſt days are as the firſt. Cobinham is a great city, inhabited by Mohammedans, where great looking-glaſſes of ſteel are made. Tutia, or tutty alſo, which cureth the eyes, and ſpodio, is prepared after this manner. That country hath mines, out of which they dig earth, which they boil, caſting it into a furnace, an iron gate receiving the aſcending vapour from above, in which the conglutinated and clammy vapour becometh tutia, but the groſſer matter remaining in the fire is called ſpodio. Leaving the city of Cobinham, you meet with another deſart, eight days journey in length, and grievouſly barren; it hath not either trees, or fruits, or water, except what is very bitter, ſo that the very beaſts refuſe to drink it, except they mix meal therewith, and travellers carry water with them.

But having paſſed over this deſart, you come to the kingdom of Timochaim, in the north confines of Perſia, where are many cities and ſtrong caſtles. There is a great plain, in which a great tree grows, called the Tree of the Sun, which the Chriſtians call the Dry Tree. This tree is very thick, and hath leaves which on the one ſide are white, and on the other ſide green. It produceth prickly huſky ſhells, like thoſe of cheſnuts, but nothing in them. The wood is ſolid and ſtrong, in colour yellow, like box. There is no tree within one hundred miles, except on one ſide, on which are trees within ten miles. In this place the inhabitants ſay, that Alexander the Great fought with Darius. The cities are plentifully furniſhed with good things; the air is temperate, the people are handſome, but eſpecially women, the moſt beautiful in my judgment in the world.

10. Mulehet, in the Saracen language, is as much as to ſay, a place of heretics, and of this place they call the men Mulehetici, that is, heretics in their law, as with us Patarines. As I have ſpoken of the country, the Prince of it, who is called the Old Man of the Mountain, ſhall be next ſpoken of, concerning whom Marco heard much from many. His name was Aloadine, and he was a Mohammedan. He had, in a lovely valley, betwixt two mountains, which were very high and inacceſſible, cauſed a pleaſant garden to be laid out, furniſhed with the beſt trees and fruits he could find, adorned with divers palaces and houſes of pleaſure, beautified with gilded bowers, pictures, and tapeſtries of ſilk. Through this place, by pipes to different parts of theſe palaces, run wine, milk, honey and clear water; in them he had placed beautiful damſels, ſkilful in ſongs and inſtruments of muſic and dancing, and to make ſports and delights unto men whatſoever they could imagine. They were alſo richly dreſſed in gold and ſilk, and were ſeen continually ſporting in the garden and palaces. He made this palace, becauſe Mohammed had promiſed ſuch a ſenſual paradiſe to his devout followers. No man could enter it; for at the mouth of the valley was a ſtrong caſtle, and the entrance was by a ſecret paſſage. Aloadine had certain youths, from twelve to twenty years of age, ſuch as ſeemed of a bold and dauntleſs diſpoſition, whom he inſtructed daily as to the delights in Mohammed's paradiſe, and how he could bring men thither; and when he thought proper, he cauſed a certain drink to be given to ten or twelve of them, which caſt them into a dead ſleep, and then he cauſed them to be carried into ſeveral chambers of the ſaid palaces, where they ſaw things as aforeſaid; as ſoon as they awaked, each of them had thoſe damſels to ſupply them with meats and excellent wines, and yield all varieties of pleaſures to them; inſomuch that the fools thought themſelves in paradiſe indeed.

When they had enjoyed theſe pleaſures four or five days, they were caſt into a ſleep, and carried forth again; after which he cauſed them to be brought into his preſence,

and queſtioned them where they had been? who anſwered, By your grace, in paradiſe; and recounted before all what hath been before mentioned. Then the Old Man anſwered, This is the commandment of our Prophet, that whoſoever defends his Lord, he allows him to enter paradiſe; and if thou wilt be obedient unto me, thou ſhalt have this grace; and having thus animated them, he was thought happy whom the Old Man would command, though it coſt him his life; ſo that other lords, and his enemies, were ſlain by theſe aſſaſſins, who expoſed themſelves to all dangers, and contemned their lives. Hereupon he was eſteemed a tyrant, feared in all thoſe parts, and had two vicars, one in the parts of Damaſcus, and another in Curdiſtan, which obſerved the ſame order with the young men. He uſed alſo to rob all which paſſed that way. Ulan, in the year 1262, ſent and beſieged his caſtle, which, after three years ſiege, they took, ſlew him, and undermined his paradiſe, not being able for want of proviſions to hold out longer *.

Departing from the aforeſaid place you come unto a country pleaſant enough, diverſified by hills, plains, and excellent paſture, in which are fruits in great plenty, the ſoil being very fruitful: this continues ſix days, and then you enter a deſart of forty or fifty miles, without water; after this you come to the city of Sapurgan, where plenty of proviſions are found, but eſpecially melons, the beſt in the world, ſweet like honey. Paſſing from hence we came to a certain city called Batach, which formerly was large and famous, having ſumptuous marble palaces, but now overthrown by the Tartars.

In this city they report that Alexander took the daughter of King Darius to wife. To this city on the eaſt and north-eaſt continue the confines of Perſia; but if you go from hence, and proceed between the eaſt and the north-eaſt, you cannot find any habitation for two days journey, becauſe the inhabitants of that place having endured many great grievances by thieves, are compelled to fly unto the mountains, to places of more ſafety. Many rivers are found there, and much game. Lions alſo are found there; and becauſe travellers find no food in that journey, they carry as much victuals with them as is neceſſary for two days. The two days journey ended, we met with a caſtle called Thaican, where is great plenty of corn, and very pleaſant fields; the mountains alſo on the ſouth are high, ſome of which are of white and hard ſalt; and the inhabitants for thirty days journey about fetch it from thence, being the beſt in the world, and ſo hard that they muſt break it with iron inſtruments, ſo much that the whole world might have a ſufficient quantity of ſalt from thence. The other mountains have ſtore of almonds and piſtaches.

Going between the eaſt and north-eaſt from hence, the country is fruitful; but the inhabitants are murderers, perfidious Mohammedans, and drunkards. Their wine is boiled, and truly excellent. They go bare-headed, ſave that the men bind up their heads with a certain ſtring of ten hands-full long; but they make clothing of the ſkins of the wild beaſts, ſuch as breeches and ſhoes, and uſe no other garments. After three days journey is the city Seaſſom, ſeated in a plain, and there are many caſtles in the mountains round about it: a certain great river alſo flows through the middle thereof. There are

* It is neceſſary to obſerve, that thoſe people inhabited ſeveral mountainous countries in the eaſt, and had much the ſame cuſtoms in all the countries where they were ſettled. At the cloſe of the former ſection, I gave ſome account of this nation, and ſhall only add here, that the Prince was called the Old Man of the Mountain, becauſe they generally made choice of the oldeſt man amongſt them for their chief, who had his reſidence on a mountain, the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified in the country. They pretended to be the deſcendents of the royal family of Arſaces, and from thence affected to be called Arſacides, from whence came the word Aſſaſſins. The laſt of their Princes was called Moadin, and he and his ſubjects were entirely deſtroyed by the before-mentioned Halaku-Khan.

many porcupines in that country, which they hunt with dogs, and they, contracting themſelves with great fury, caſt their prickly quills at men and dogs, and wound them. That nation hath a particular language, and the ſhepherds abide in the mountains, having made caves for their habitations. You go hence three days journey, without meeting any inhabitants, to the province of Balaxiam, which is inhabited by Mohammedans, who have a peculiar language. Their Kings, who ſucceed each other hereditarily, are reported to have derived their deſcent from Alexander the Great, and from the daughter of Darius, and are called Dulcarlen, that is to ſay, Alexandrians. There are found the ballaſſas, and other precious ſtones, of great value.

No man, on pain of death, dare either dig ſuch ſtones, or carry them out of the country, but with the licence and conſent of the King; for all thoſe ſtones are the King's, and he only ſends them to whom he pleaſes, either as preſents, or in payment of tribute: he exchanges alſo many for gold and ſilver; and this he doth leſt the ſtone, whereof there is ſo much plenty, ſhould become too common and cheap. Other mountains alſo in this province yield ſtones called Lapis Lazuli, whereof the beſt azure is made, the like is not found in the world. Theſe mines alſo yield ſilver, braſs, and lead. The country itſelf is very cold: there are many horſes, and thoſe excellent, large, ſtrong, and ſwift, which have ſo hard and tough hoofs, that they need no iron ſhoes, although they run over rocks. It is ſaid, that not many years ago, there were horſes of the race of Alexander's Bucephalus, which had the ſame forehead mark as he had, in the poſſeſſion only of the King's uncle, who was killed for refuſing the King to have ſome of them; whereupon his widow, in ſpite, deſtroyed the whole race. There are alſo excellent falcons. The ſoil of this country bears excellent wheat and barley without huſk, and oil made of nuts, and muſtard, which is like flax-ſeed, but more ſavoury than other oil. There are ſtraight paſſages and difficult places. The men are good archers and huntſmen, clothed in beaſts' ſkins. The hills are ſteep and high, large plains, fine rivers; and if any have an ague, by living two or three days on the hills he recovers, which Marco experienced himſelf after a year's ſickneſs. The women in the ſkirts of their garments put ſixty or eighty yards of cotton; the burlier a woman looks, ſhe is in their eyes the handſomer.

The province of Baſcia is ten days journey towards the ſouth from the country of Balexiam. The country itſelf is very hot, which is the reaſon the people are brown. They have a language of their own, and wear gold and ſilver ear-rings, with pearls and other ſtones artificially wrought in them; they eat fiſh and rice, and are idolaters, crafty, and cruel. The province of Cheſmur is ſeven days journey diſtant from Baſcia, the inhabitants whereof have alſo their own language, and are idolaters beyond all others, cunning inchanters, forcing their idols to ſpeak, and darkening the day. From hence you may go to the Indian ſea. The men and women are brown, not wholly black; the heat being ſomewhat tempered. Their food is fleſh and rice, yet are they exceedingly lean: there are many cities and towns in this country; their King is tributary to none. There are certain hermits in this province, who in monaſteries and cells worſhip idols, honouring their gods with great abſtinence of meat and drink, and obſerve great chaſtity, are very cautious not to offend their idols, and live long; of theſe are many reputed ſaints, and the people ſhew them great reverence. The men of this province kill no living creature, and ſhed no blood; and if they eat fleſh, it is neceſſary that the Saracens, who live amongſt them, kill the creature. Coral is here ſold dearer than any where. We will leave the way to India now, and return to Balaxiam, and direct our way towards Cathay, betwixt the eaſt and north-eaſt. Beyond Balaxiam is a certain river, whereon ſtand many caſtles and villages belonging to the King of Balaxiam's brother; and after three days journey is the province Vachan, having in length and

breadth three days journey, the inhabitants whereof have a peculiar language, and worſhip Mohammed. They are however ſtout warriors and good hunters, for the country abounds with wild beaſts.

If you depart thence betwixt the north-eaſt and the eaſt, you muſt aſcend for three whole days together, until you come to an exceeding high mountain, than which there is ſaid to be none higher in the world. There alſo between two mountains is a great lake, and through a plain runs a very fine river, near which are excellent paſtures, ſo that in them a lean horſe or an ox may be fat in ten days. There is alſo plenty of wild beaſts, eſpecially exceeding great wild ſheep, having horns, ſome of them ſix ſpans long, of which they make divers kinds of veſſels. The plain contains twelve days journey in length, and is called Pamer; nor is there any habitation there; and travellers muſt carry victuals with them. No bird alſo appears there, by reaſon of the cold; and it is reported, that if fire be kindled there it is not ſo bright nor ſo effectual to boil any thing as in other places. From hence the way leadeth forty days journey further between the eaſt and north-eaſt, through the mountains, hills, and valleys, in which many rivers are found, but no village or herbs, and the country itſelf is called Palow, and ſome huts and cottages of men are ſeen on the tops of thoſe high mountains, but ſuch as are ſavage and wicked idolaters, who live by hunting, and are clothed by the ſkins of the beaſts they kill. After this you come to the province of Chaſcar, which is tributary to the Great Khan, and the people are Mohammedans. In it are vines, pleaſant gardens, fruitful trees, cotton, flax, and hemp, and a fertile ſoil. The inhabitants have a particular lan uage, and are merchants and artificers, ſo covetous, that they eat that which is bad, and drink worſe. Some Neſtorian Chriſtians are found there, who alſo have their churches. The country extends itſelf five days journey.

11. Samarcand is a great and famous city in that country, where are lovely gardens, and a fertile plain. It is ſubject to the nephew of the Great Khan; in it the Chriſtians dwell with the Saracens, whence little agreement is betwixt them. It is reported, that on this account a miracle happened; the brother of the Great Khan, named Zagatai, who governed that country about an hundred years ago, being perſuaded to become a Chriſtian, the Chriſtians, through his favour, built a church in honour of St. John the Baptiſt, with ſuch cunning, that the whole roof thereof was ſupported by one pillar in the midſt, under which was ſet a ſquare ſtone, which, by favour of their Lord, was taken from a building of the Saracens. Zagatai's ſon ſucceeded after his death in the kingdom, but not in the faith, from whom the Saracens obtained that the Chriſtians ſhould be compelled to reſtore that ſtone; and when they offered a ſufficient price, the Saracens refuſed to receive any other compoſition than the ſtone; whereupon the pillar lifted up, that the Saracens might take away their ſtone, and ſo continued.

Departing again from this city, you come into the province Charahan, about five days journey in length. This province hath plenty of proviſions, being ſubject to the dominion of the nephew of the Great Khan. The inhabitants worſhip Mohammed, yet among them certain Neſtorian Chriſtians dwell. They are great artificers, and have moſt of them ſwelled legs, and a great wen or bunch in their throat, by reaſon of the waters which they drink. The province Cotam follows between the eaſt and the north-eaſt. It is ſubject to the dominion of the nephew of the great Khan, and hath many cities and towns. The chief city thereo is called Cotam. The province extends eight days journey in length. There is no want there of any thing needful to the maintenance of life. It hath plenty of cotton, flax, hemp, corn, and wine; but the people are not warlike, yet good artificers in various manufactures and merchandize. They acknowledge Mohammed for their prophet.

Proceeding

Proceeding farther through the ſame country, you come to the province Peim, extending four days journey in length; it is ſubject to the Great Khan, and hath many cities and caſtles; the chief city thereof is called Piem, near which runs a river wherein precious ſtones are found, ſuch as jaſpers and chalcedons. The inhabitants of the country follow the law of Mohammed, and are artificers and merchants. There is a cuſtom in this province, that when any married man goeth into another place and returneth not home in twenty days, it becomes lawful for the wife to marry another huſband; and the men alſo, whenſoever the women go away for the ſame time, do the like. All thoſe provinces, viz. Caſcha, Cotem, Piem, to the city of Lop, are in the bounds of Turkeſtan.

Ciaſcian is ſubject to the Tartars; the name of the province and chief city is the ſame: it hath many cities and caſtles; many precious ſtones are found there in the rivers, eſpecially jaſpers and chalcedons, which merchants carry quite to Ouchach to ſell and make great gain. From Piem to this province, and quite through it alſo, it is a ſandy ſoil, with many bad waters, and few good. When an army paſſes through this province, all the inhabitants thereof, with their wives, children, cattle, and all their houſhold-ſtuff, fly two days journey into the ſands, where they know that good waters are, and ſtay there, and carry their corn thither alſo to hide it in the ſands, after harveſt, from the like fears. The wind doth ſo deface their ſteps in the ſand, that their enemies cannot find their way. Departing from this province, you are to travel five days journey through the ſands, where no other water almoſt than that which is bitter is any where to be found, until you come to the city called Lop, which is a great city, from whence is the entrance of a great deſart, called alſo the Wilderneſs of Lop, ſeated between the eaſt and north-eaſt. The inhabitants are Mohammedans, ſubject to the Great Khan.

In the city of Lop, merchants who deſire to paſs over the deſart, cauſe all neceſſaries to be provided for them; and when victuals begin to fail in the deſart, they kill their aſſes and camels and eat them. They make it moſtly their choice to uſe camels, becauſe they are ſuſtained with little meat, and bear great burthens. They muſt provide victuals for a month to croſs it only, for to go through it lengthways would require a year's time. They go through the ſands and barren mountains, and daily find water; yet it is ſometimes ſo little that it will hardly ſuffice fifty or a hundred men with their beaſts; and in three or four places the water is ſalt and bitter. The reſt of the road, for eight-and-twenty days, is very good. In it there are not either beaſts or birds; they ſay, that there dwell many ſpirits in this wilderneſs, which cauſe great and marvellous illuſions to travellers, and make them periſh; for if any ſtay behind, and cannot ſee his company, he ſhall be called by his name, and ſo going out of the way is loſt. In night they hear as it were the noiſe of a company; which taking to be theirs, they periſh likewiſe. Concerts of muſical inſtruments are ſometimes heard in the air, likewiſe drums and noiſes of armies. They go therefore cloſe together, hang bells on their beaſts neck, and ſet marks, if any ſtay *.

* This deſart mentioned by our author ſtill retains the ſame name in the moſt modern maps. His deſcriptions of this and other wilderneſſes are very exact; and the hardſhips he mentions in paſſing through them are not at all exaggerated. It is for this reaſon that it is ſo extremely difficult to paſs from any part of the dominions of the Great Mogul to China, without taking a prodigious compaſs to avoid theſe deſarts. It is not above forty years ago ſince a certain Rajah, who had incurred the Mogul's diſpleaſure, attempted, with a train of thirty followers, to paſs through theſe deſarts, in which they all periſhed by hunger and thirſt, except the nobleman himſelf, and four of his attendants, who reached the province of Chienſi, where he and one of his men died of the fatigue a few days after.

Having

Having paſſed over the deſart, you come into the city Sachion, betwixt the eaſt and north-eaſt, ſubject to the Great Khan, in the province of Tangut, where, amongſt the worſhippers of Mchammed, a few Neſtorian Chriſtians are found; many idolaters are alſo there, who have their proper language. The inhabitants of this city live not by merchandize, but on the fruits of the earth. The city hath many monaſteries, conſecrated to divers idols, in which many ſacrifices are offered with great reverence: and when a ſon is born to a man he preſently commendeth him to ſome idol, and in honour thereof nouriſheth a ſheep that year in his houſe, which he preſenteth before it, together with his ſon, the next feſtival day of that idol, with many ceremonies, and great reverence. Afterwards the fleſh of the ſheep is boiled, and left ſo long before the idol till their prayers are finiſhed, which they make for the conſervation of their ſon; and the idol hath, as they ſuppoſe, ſucked the ſavour of the meat; after which, all his kindred being gathered together, eat the fleſh at home with great devotion and joy, but religiouſly keep the bones in certain veſſels. The prieſts have the feet, head, inwards, ſkin, and ſome part of the fleſh for their ſhare.

In celebrating the funerals of ſuch as were men in eſteem, the dead bodies are buried after this manner; the kindred ſend for the aſtrologers, and tell them what year, month, day, and hour he who died was born, who, having conſidered the conſtellation, aſſign the day when he is to be buried; ſo that when the planet ſuits not, they preſerve the dead body ſometimes ſeven days, and ſometimes ſix months, preparing a cheſt for it at home, and joining the ſides together with ſuch art that no noiſome ſmells iſſue forth. They alſo embalm the body itſelf with ſpices, and cover the cheſt, fairly painted, with embroidered cloth; and every day that the dead corpſe is kept at home, at the hour of dinner a table is ſpread near the cheſt, wine and meat ſet thereon, for the ſpace in which one might eat a meal's meat, ſuppoſing that the ſoul of the dead feedeth on the ſavour thereof. The aſtrologers ſometimes forbid to carry it out of the chief gate, pretending ſome diſaſtrous ſtar, and cauſe them to carry it out another way, and ſometimes break the wall which is oppoſite to that place, which the planet makes more lucky; for otherwiſe the ſpirits departed would be offended, and hurt thoſe of the houſe; and if any ſuch evil happen, they aſcribe it to the dead thus wronged. When the body is carried through the city to be buried without, wooden cottages are erected in the way, with a porch covered with ſilk, in which they place the body, and ſet before it bread, fleſh, and delicate meats, ſuppoſing the ſpirit to be refreſhed therewith, which is held to be conſtantly preſent at the burying of the body; and when they come to the place where the body is to be buried, they diligently and curiouſly paint upon papers made of the bark of trees the images of men and women, horſes, camels, money, and garments, all the inſtruments of the city founding, which are burned together with the dead body; for they ſay, that dead men ſhall have ſo many men-ſervants, and maid-ſervants, cattle, and money in another life, as pictures were burned with him, and ſhall perpetually live in that honour and riches.

12. The province of Camul lieth in the wide country of Tangut, ſubject to the Great Khan, having many cities and towns; the chief city is called Camul. This province is bounded by two deſarts, viz. the great deſart, of which we have ſpoken before, and another that is leſs, of three days journey. It abounds with all things for the convenient ſupport of life. The inhabitants are idolaters, have a peculiar language, and ſeem to be born for no other purpoſe but to apply themſelves to ſporting, ſinging, dancing, writing and reading, after their faſhion, playing on inſtruments, and giving themſelves unto pleaſure. When any traveller paſſing by goes into any man's houſe for entertainment, the maſter of the family receives him with great joy, and commands his wife, and all

all the family, that as long as he will abide with them, they obey him in all things. In the mean time he departs, and returns not ſo long as the gueſt remains at his houſe; and during all this ſpace, the ſtranger lies with the wife, daughter, and the reſt, as with his own wives. The women of the country are beautiful, and ready to obey all theſe commandments of their huſbands, who are ſo beſotted with this folly, that they think it a glorious thing for them, and believe it ſo acceptable to their idols, that through their favour thus obtained, they proſper, and enjoy plenty of all things. Mangu-Khan, having heard of this folly, commanded them not to obſerve this deteſtable cuſtom any longer, and accordingly they forbore it for about three years; and then not ſeeing their wonted fertility, and troubled with ſome domeſtic croſſes, they ſent ambaſſadors to the Khan, and earneſtly intreated that he would revoke ſo grievous an edict, and not aboliſh that ancient cuſtom which they had received from their anceſtors. The Khan anſwered, ſince you deſire your reproach and ſhame, let it be granted you; go and do herein after your wont. The meſſengers returning with this anſwer, brought great joy to all the people; and this cuſtom is obſerved by the whole nation to this day.

After the province of Camul, a traveller entered the province of Chinchintalas, which on the north is bounded by the deſart, and is ſixteen days journey in length, ſubject to the Great Khan. It hath large cities, and many caſtles; the people are divided into three ſects; ſome few acknowledge Chriſt, and theſe are Neſtorians; others worſhip Mohammed; and the third ſort adore idols. In this province there is a mountain, wherein are mines of ſteel, and andanicum, and alſo, as was reported, ſalamanders, of the wool of which cloth was made, which if caſt into the fire cannot be burned; but that cloth is in reality made of ſtone in this manner, as one of my companions, a Turk, named Curiſar, a man endued with ſingular induſtry, informed me, who had the charge of the minerals in that province. A certain mineral is found in that mountain, which yields thread not unlike to wool; and theſe being dried in the ſun, are bruiſed in a brazen mortar, and afterwards waſhed, and whatſoever earthy ſubſtance ſticks to them is taken away. Laſtly, theſe threads ſo cleanſed, are ſpun like other wool, and woven into cloth; and when they would whiten thoſe cloths, they caſt them into the fire for an hour, and then take them out unhurt whiter than ſnow; after the ſame manner they cleanſe them when they have taken any ſpots; for no other waſhing is uſed to them, beſides the fire. But with regard to the ſalamander, or the ſerpent, which is reported to live in the fire, I could find nothing of ſuch a creature in the eaſt countries. They ſay there is a certain napkin at Rome woven of ſalamander wool, wherein the handkerchief of the Lord is kept wrapped up, which a certain King of the Tartars ſent to the Biſhop of Rome *.

After you are paſt this province, you travel on betwixt the eaſt and north-eaſt ten days journey, in which few habitations or things remarkable are found, and then you come to the province Succir, in which are many villages and towns; the chief city is called Succir. In this province, among many idolaters, a few Chriſtians are found; they are ſubject to the Great Khan. They do not addict themſelves to merchandize, but live on

* It appears from hence, that our author was not quite ſo credulous as ſome other writers, who have told us very ſtrange ſtories of the ſalamander: but notwithſtanding what is aſſerted of that creature's living in the fire is equally falſe and fabulous; yet as it is a fable generally known in all parts of the world, we need not wonder that in the Eaſt, where the people are ſo fond of figurative expreſſions, they ſhould beſtow the name of ſalamander's wool on cloth capable of reſiſting the fire. This is plainly the ſame kind of manufacture with what the Greeks call aſbeſtos, of which there are ſmall quantities ſtill found in ſeveral countries, and of late years, particularly in the iſland of Angleſey, as I have been informed by a very curious and intelligent gentleman, who has made ſeveral experiments on it.

the

the fruits of the earth. The beſt rhubarb is found in this province in great quantities, which is carried thence by merchants to divers parts of the world. Strangers dare not go to the mountains where it grows, by reaſon of venomous herbs, which if their beaſts ſhould eat, they would loſe their hoofs; but thoſe of that country know and avoid them.

The general name of this province, and of the two following, is Tangut: Campion is a great city, the principal in the country of Tangut. In it are Chriſtians, which have three great and fair churches; Mohammedans, and idolaters. The idolaters have many monaſteries, where they worſhip their idols. Thoſe idols are made either of ſtone, wood, or clay, ſome of which are inlaid with gold, and very artificially wrought. Some are ſo great, that they contain ten paces in length, faſtened to the earth, as if they lay upright, near which little idols are placed, which ſeem to give reverence to the greater, and both are much worſhipped. The religious men ſeem to live more honeſtly than other idolaters, abſtaining from whoredom, and other baſe things; yet wantonneſs is not held there any grievous ſin; for they ſay, if a woman ſues to a man, he may uſe her without ſin, but not if he firſt ſues to her. They reckon the whole compaſs of the year by moons. In the moons they obſerve in ſome five, in others four or three days, wherein they kill no beaſt, or bird, nor eat fleſh. The laymen marry twenty or thirty wives, or as many as they are able to maintain; yet the firſt is accounted more worthy, and more legitimate. The huſband receives no dowry from the wife, but he himſelf aſſigns ſufficient dowry in cattle, ſervants, or money, according to his ability. If the wife becomes hateful to the huſband, it is lawful for him to divorce her from him when he pleaſes. They take for wives, without ſcruple, their kinſwomen or mothers-in-law. Our author, together with his father and uncle, remained a year in this city for the diſpatch of certain affairs. From the city Campion you proceed twelve days journey to the city Ezina, bordering on a ſandy deſart towards the north, being ſtill in the province or kingdom of Tangut. Many camels are there, and many other beaſts and animals of ſeveral kinds. The inhabitants are idolaters, living on the fruits of the earth, neglecting merchandize, or manual labour, other than huſbandry. All the provinces and cities aforeſaid, Sachion, Camul, Chinchintalos, Succair, Camion, and Ezina, are comprehended in Tangut.

13. Having paſſed over the aforeſaid deſart, you come unto the city Careoran, or Caracarum, a large place, which is in compaſs three miles, ſtrongly fortified with earth, for ſtone they have none. Near it is a great caſtle, and in it the Governor's fair palace. This was a place, near which in old times the Tartars aſſembled themſelves, and here therefore we will declare how they began to reign. They dwelt in the north parts, viz. in Curza and Bargu, where are many vaſt plains, without cities and towns, but abounding in paſtures, rivers, and lakes. They had not a prince of their nation, but paid tribute to a certain great King, named, as I have heard in their language, Umcan, which, in ſome men's opinion, in our language ſignifieth preſbyter, or prieſt John. To him the Tartars gave yearly the tenths of all their beaſts. In proceſs of time the Tartars ſo increaſed in multitudes that Umcan was afraid of them, and thought to diſperſe them into ſeveral parts of the world, and therefore when any of them rebelled, he ſent three or four hundred Tartars into thoſe parts, ſo diminiſhing their power: and the like he did on other occaſions, deputing ſome of their nobility for that purpoſe. They ſeeing their ruin intended, and loth to be ſeparated one from another, went from the places where they dwelt to the deſart towards the north, where they might be ſafe, and denied Umcan their accuſtomed tribute.

It happened, that about the year A. D. 1162, the Tartars having continued for ſome time in thoſe parts, choſe a king among themſelves, a wiſe and valiant man, named Zingis-Khan; he began to reign with ſuch juſtice, that he was beloved and feared of all as a God rather than a Prince, inſomuch that his fame brought all the Tartars in all parts to his ſubjection. and he ſeeing himſelf Lord over ſo many valiant men, determined to leave theſe deſarts, and commanding them to provide bows and other weapons, began to ſubdue cities and provinces, in which conqueſts he placed ſuch juſt governors, that the people were not diſpleaſed. The chief of them he carried along with him, beſtowing on them proviſions and gifts. Seeing therefore that he was advanced to ſo great glory and power, he ſent ambaſſadors politicly to Umcan, to entreat that he would beſtow his daughter upon him to be his wife, which he taking in very evil part, anſwered with indignation, and rejecting the ambaſſadors of Zingis, ſaid, "Doth my ſervant demand my daughter? Get ye out of my ſight, and tell your maſter, if he ever make ſuch demand again, I will make him die a miſerable death."

But King Zingis levying a great army, marched boldly, and encamped in a certain great plain named Tanduc, ſending unto the King, and ſignifying unto him that he ſhould defend himſelf; but he commanding a mighty army, deſcended to the plains, and pitched his tent within [illegible] miles of the camp of the Tartars. Then Zingis commanded his aſtrologers to ſhew him what event and ſucceſs the battle ſhould have. They cutting a reed lengthwiſe, in two parts, ſtuck the pieces by themſelves into the ground, and wrote upon the one Zingis, and the other Umcan, and ſaid unto the King. In the mean ſpace while we read, it ſhall come to paſs, by the idol's power, that theſe two parts of the reed ſhall fight together, and whoſe part ſhall fall on the other, the King ſhall obtain victory in the battle. The multitude therefore running together to behold that ſpectacle, the aſtrologers began to mumble their prayers and read their inchantments; when preſently the parts of the reed being moved, fought together, until the part of Zingis aſcended upon the part of Umcan; which being ſeen by the Tartars, aſſured of the future victory, they were encouraged to the battle, and Umcan being ſlain, the victory and kingdom, and Umcan's daughter, remained to Zingis.

Zingis reigned ſix years after this, in which he conquered many provinces; and laſtly, when he endeavoured to win a certain caſtle called Thaigin, and came ſomewhat too near, being ſhot in the knee by an arrow, he died, and was buried in the mountain Altai. The firſt King of the Tartars was called Zingis, the ſecond Khen-Khan, the third Bathyn-Khan, the fourth Eſu-Khan, the fifth Mangu-Khan, the ſixth Kublai-Khan, whoſe power is greater than all his predeceſſors, having inherited theirs, and adding by conqueſt in a manner the reſt of the world; for he lived near ſixty years in his government. The name Khan ſignifieth Emperor. All the great Khans and Princes of the blood of Zingis are carried to the mountain of Altai to be buried, whereſoever they die, although one hundred days journey from it; and they which carry the corpſe to the burial kill all thoſe that they meet in the way, ſaying, Go and ſerve our Lord the King in another life; they kill alſo the beſt horſes. When the body of the Great Khan-Mangu, the predeceſſor of Khan-Kublai, was brought unto the mountain Altai to be buried, the ſoldiers accompanying the funeral are reported to have ſlain above ten thouſand men upon the aforeſaid occaſion *.

The

* Our author has been charged with many miſtakes in this liſt of the Princes who ſucceeded Zingis-Khan, but he has been charged by thoſe who knew much leſs of the matter than he did; and therefore to ſet this matter right, we will [illegible] ſhort account of that ſucceſſion, from the authentic work of Abulgaſi-Bayadur-Khan. Two years after the death of Zingis-Khan, the Tartar Princes, in compliance with the Emperor's

The Tartarian women are moſt faithful to their huſbands. Adultery is the greateſt ſhame amongſt them; yet it is accounted lawful and honeſt that every one may marry as many wives as he is able to maintain, although the firſt be looked upon as principal, and more honourable than the reſt. Theſe live together in one houſe, without one ill word, in admirable concord, make their merchandizes, buy and ſell, and procure all things neceſſary to their huſbands and houſhold, the men meddling with nothing but their hunting, hawking, and things pertaining to arms. They have the beſt falcons in the world, and alſo dogs; they live only on fleſh and milk, and what they take in hunting. They eat horſes, camels, dogs, if fat; and drink mares' milk, called cofmos, ſo managed, that it is like white wine. If the father dies, the ſon may have all his wives, except his own mother and ſiſters; ſo the brother being dead, it is lawful for the brother who remaineth alive to marry the widow of his deceaſed brother. The huſbands receive no dowry of the wives, but they themſelves aſſign dowry to the wives, and their mothers. Through the multitude of their wives, the Tartars have many children; nor is this multitude burthenſome, ſeeing they gain much through their labour; beſides they are very careful for the government of the family, and the preparation of their food, and with no leſs care execute the other duties of the houſe; but the men apply themſelves wholly to hunting, fowling, and the exerciſe of arms.

The Tartars feed many herds of oxen, flocks of ſheep, and other beaſts and cattle, and remain with them in places of paſture, in the ſummer time, in the mountains, and colder places, where they find paſture and wood; but in the winter, they remove to the hotter countries, where they find paſture for their cattle, marching forwards two or three months together. Their houſes are covered with ſticks and felts, and are commonly round, which they carry with them in carts or waggons, with four wheels; for they can fold and extend them, ſet them up and take them down; and they turn, whereſoever they go, the door of thoſe moveable houſes always to the ſouth. They have alſo neat carts of two wheels, covered with felt, ſo cloſe that the rain cannot pierce through them, drawn by oxen and camels, wherein they carry their wives, children, and neceſſary houſhold ſtuff, and defend them from the injury of foul weather and rain.

The Tartars, if they be rich, are cloathed in ſables, ermins, and cloth of gold, and all their furniture is coſtly. Their arms are bows, ſwords, pole-axes, and ſome lances; but they can beſt uſe their bows, to which they are uſed from their childhood: they are hardy, active, brave, but ſomewhat cruel, will continue two days and nights on horſeback armed, exceeding patient, and obedient to their Lords; their cattle alſo are ſtrong and hardy. The law and faith of the Tartars is this, they ſay, that there is one Great God, ſupreme in heaven, of whom with daily incenſe, they deſire good underſtanding and health. They have another which they call Natigay, which is a little image covered

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Emperor's will, would have exalted Ugadai-Khan to that dignity, which he abſolutely refuſed, becauſe he had an uncle and two elder brothers living. This diſpute laſted forty days, when at a great council his elder and younger brother roſe up and ſaid, You have heard our father's will, your modeſty ſhall not render us guilty of impiety, we will execute his will, if you will not; and ſo taking him, one by one arm, and the other by the other, they forced him into the imperial chair againſt his content, A. D. 1220. This Prince died ſuddenly in 1245. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Kajuk-Khan, whom our author calls Khan-Khan, who died in the year 1247, and was ſucceeded by Mangu-Khan, who held the empire to the year 1257, when he was ſucceeded by Koplai-Khan, the ſame with whom our author lived, and whom he calls Kublai Khan. He reigned in all thirty-five years, and died in the year 1292, which agrees very well with Marco Polo's relation.

with felt, or ſome other thing, which every one hath in his houſe. To this God they make a wife and children, placing the wife's image at the left hand, and the repreſentations of the children before his face. This they call the God of earthly things, which keeps their children, and their beaſts, and corn, and give it great reverence. Before they eat themſelves, they anoint the mouths of the images with fat of the ſodden fleſh; and they caſt the broth out of doors, in honour of other ſpirits, ſaying, that now their God with his family has had their part; and after they eat and drink at pleaſure.

If the ſon of a Tartar die before he has been married, and the daughter of another die alſo unmarried, the parents of the deceaſed meet together, and celebrate a marriage between the dead, and making a draught in writing of that contract, they paint men and women for ſervants, horſes, and other creatures, with cloaths of all ſorts, and monies in paper, and burn them together with the contract; by the ſmoke whereof they ſay that all theſe things are carried to their children in another world, where they are married; and the fathers and mothers conceive they are joined together in ſuch a bond of affinity, as if theſe marriages had been celebrated while the married couple were ſtill living.

When the Tartars go to war, their Prince conducts about a hundred thouſand horſe, appointing heads over tens, hundreds, thouſands, and ten thouſands, by which ſubordination commands are eaſily maintained; every hundred is called a tuc, every ten a toman: when they begin their march, they ſend out men every way as ſcouts, that no enemy aſſault them unprovided. Of horſes and mares every man has about eighteen. They carry alſo their felt-houſes, under which they ſhelter themſelves in times of rain. When there falls out ſome important employment, they will ride ten days together without victuals dry or boiled, and live on the blood of their horſes, cutting a vein, and ſucking it. They have milk dried like paſte, which they make by boiling the milk, and ſkimming the cream which ſwims on the top, into another veſſel, and make butter; afterwards they ſet the milk in the ſun, and dry it, and when they go to the army, carry with them about ten pounds thereof, and every morning a man takes about half a pound, and puts it in a flaſk, or leather bottle, with as much water as he pleaſes, which while he rides, mixes together, and this is his dinner.

When they encounter with their enemies, they ride here and there ſhooting, and ſometimes make a ſhew of flight, ſhooting as they fly; and finding the enemy broken, rejoin their forces, and purſue the victory, having their horſes ſo at command, as with a ſign to turn any way. But now the Tartars are mixed and confounded, and ſo are their faſhions. They puniſh malefactors after this manner; if any ſteal a thing of ſmall value, and is not to be deprived of life, he is ſeven times beaten with a cudgel, or ſeventeen, or ſeven and twenty, or thirty and ſeven, or forty-ſeven, giving the ſtrokes according to the meaſure and quality of the offence, and that unto an hundred: ſome die through theſe ſtrokes. But if any have ſtolen an horſe, or other thing, for the which he deſerves to die, he is cut aſunder with a ſword in the middle; but if he will redeem his life he may, by reſtoring the theft nine-fold. Such as have horſes, oxen, or camels, brand them with their marks, and ſend them to feed in the paſtures without a keeper. Leaving the city of Caracarum and the mountain Altai, we come unto the champaign country of Bargu, which extends itſelf northwards about ſixty days journey in length. The inhabitants of theſe places are called Medites, and they are ſubject to the Great Khan, and in manners like the Tartars; they are a ſort of ſavage men, and eat the fleſh of beaſts which they take by hunting, eſpecially ſtags, of which they have plenty, and they make them ſo tame that they can ride them; they have no corn or wine. In the ſummer they chiefly practiſe hunting of wild beaſts and fowls, on the fleſh whereof they

they may live in the winter; for in winter fowls as well as other living things fly from thence on account of the extremity of the cold.

14. After forty days journey you come to the ocean, near which is a mountain, where ſtorks and fine falcons breed, which are carried thence unto the court of the Great Khan. Here we muſt return unto the city Campion; if therefore you proceed farther five days journey from the city Campion towards the eaſt, you come to the kingdom of Erginul, in the province of Tangut, ſubject to the Great Khan. In this kingdom are many idolaters; there are ſome Neſtorian Chriſtians and Turks; as alſo many cities and caſtles, of which Erginul is chief. From hence, if you proceed farther to the ſouth-eaſt, you may go to the parts of Cathay. Going ſouth-eaſt towards Cathay, there is a certain famous city named Cinguy, the name alſo of the province, tributary unto the Great Khan contained in Tangut; the people are ſome Chriſtians, ſome Mahammedans, and others idolaters. There are alſo found wild oxen, very near as big as elephants, very fair, having white and black hair, ſhort in other parts, and on the ſhoulder three palms long, fine, white, and in many reſpects beyond ſilk, of which hair our author brought ſome to Venice as a rare thing. Many alſo of theſe oxen are tamed, and made to couple with tame kine, and the breed of them are fitter for buſineſs than any other countries, bear great burthens, are yoked to the plough, and do twice as much ſervice as others.

The beſt muſk in the world is found in this province, and is taken from a beaſt of the bigneſs of a goat, having hair like a ſtag, feet and tail like a gazel, but without horns. It hath four teeth, two above and two beneath, of the length of three fingers, as white as ivory, and is a very beautiful creature. When the moon is at full, near the navel, under the belly, there grows to this beaſt an impoſthume or bladder, full of blood, and at the full moon they go to hunt them, and take away that ſwelling, which is dried in the ſun, and is the beſt muſk; the fleſh is alſo good to eat: Maſter Marco brought to Venice the head and feet of this beaſt dried. The men live by merchandize and arts, and have abundance of corn. They are idolaters, of a fat body and little noſe, black hair, having no beard but four hairs on their chin. The women are wonderfully fair, and when the men deſire to marry wives, they rather make choice of the beautiful than the noble or rich. It often happens from hence, that a great nobleman marries a poor wife, if beautiful, aſſigning a dowry to her mother. This province extends itſelf five-and-twenty days journey in length, and is very fertile; in it are exceeding large pheaſants, having trains eight or ten handsfull long; many other kinds of birds are alſo found there, which have very beautiful feathers of various excellent colours *.

After eight days journey further eaſt, you meet with the province Egrigaia, in the which are many cities and caſtles; all but this lies ſtill in Tangut. The principal city is called Callacia, the inhabitants thereof are idolaters; there are three churches of Neſtorian Chriſtians, who are ſubject to the Great Khan. In this city camblets are made, woven with white wool, and the hair of camels, than which there are ſcarce any better in the world. Eaſt from this province of Egrigaia lies that of Tandach, in which are many cities and caſtles, and here Preſbyter John reſides, who now pays tribute to the Great Khan. The king of that nation is called George, and is a prieſt and

* This account of the muſk animal is very exact, and contains nothing in it liable to exception, which ſhews that where our author relates things of his own knowledge, and which fall within the compaſs of his underſtanding, he may very well be relied on.

a Chriſtian, and moſt of the people are Chriſtians. All the Great Khans after his death (who was ſlain in battle by Zingis) give their daughters to thoſe kings to wife. This King George holds not all that the Prieſt John before held, and is the fourth of that family *. There is a nation there called Argons, more ſightly men, and fitter for merchandize than the reſt, deſcended of idolaters and Mohammedans. There are alſo two regions, where they dwell, which in thoſe parts are called Og and Magog; but they which dwell there call them Ung and Mongul; in Ung are Gog, and in Mongul the Tartars. Riding eaſt ſeven days towards Cathay are many cities peopled with idolaters, Mohammedans, and Neſtorians. There is one city called Sindicin, where very excellent arms are made of divers ſorts fit for armies. In the mountains of this province are great mines of ſilver, and much game, and the country of the mountains is called Idifa.

Three days journey from the city laſt mentioned ſtands another city Jangamur, that is, the White Lake, where there is a palace, in which the Great Khan delights, becauſe there are many lakes and rivers, many ſwans, and in the plains, cranes, pheaſants, partridges, and other fowls. There are five ſorts of cranes there, ſome have black wings like crows, others are white and bright, having their feathers full of eyes like peacocks, but of a golden colour, the neck black and white, very beautiful: a third ſort for bigneſs not unlike ours; a fourth little, and very fair, intermingled with red and blue colours; the fifth of a grizzle, or grey colour, having red and black heads, and theſe are very large; and near to this city lies a valley, where are many cottages, in which a great number of partridges are maintained, which are kept againſt the King's coming to lodge there for ſome time. Three days journey north-eaſtward, is the city Ciandu, which the Great Khan Kublay now reigning built, erecting therein a marvellous palace of marble, and other ſtones, which extends to the wall on the one ſide, and the middle of the city on the other. He included ſixteen miles within the circuit of the wall on that ſide where the palace joins the city wall, into which none can enter but by the palace. In this incloſure or park are pleaſant meadows, ſprings, rivers, red and fallow deer, fawns, carried thither for the hawks, of which are mewed there about two hundred ger-falcons, which he goes once a week to ſee; and he often uſeth one leopard or more, ſitting on horſes, with which he hunts the ſtag and deer, and having taken the beſt, gives it to the ger-falcons, and in beholding this ſpectacle, he takes much delight. In the midſt of a fair wood he hath built a royal houſe on pillars gilded and varniſhed, on every one of which is a dragon all gilt, which winds his tail about the pillar, with his head bearing up the roof, as alſo with his wings diſplayed on both ſides; the cover alſo is of reeds gilt and varniſhed ſo that the rain can do it no injury, the reeds being three handfuls thick, and ten yards long, ſplit from knot to knot; the houſe itſelf alſo may be pulled in pieces, and taken down like a tent, and erected again; for it is ſuſtained, when it is ſet up, with two hundred ſilken cords. The Great Khan uſeth to dwell there three months in the year, viz. June, July, and Auguſt. On the 28th day of Auguſt he departeth to make a ſolemn ſacrifice. He hath an herd of white horſes and white mares, about ten thouſand, of the milk whereof none may drink, except he be of the imperial race

* There is the ſame miſtake here, as in the relation of Rubruquis. The people in Europe were extremely deſirous of learning ſome news of this Chriſtian monarch, as they would needs have him to be; and therefore when our author heard that this Prince was a Neſtorian, he took it for granted that he muſt be Preſbyter John; but as we have already ſet that matter in a clear light, we ſhall not trouble the reader any further with it at preſent.

of Zingis-Khan, and except one family called Boriat, who had this granted by Zingis for their valour; and theſe beaſts, as they go up and down feeding, are much reverenced, nor dare any go before them, or hinder them in their way.

The aſtrologers or ſorcerers tell the Khan, that on the twentieth of the moon of Auguſt, he ſhall diſpenſe that milk here and there for the honour of all ſpirits, and his idols, that they may be careful preſervers of all things which he poſſeſſes. There are two ſorts of idolaters called Chebeth and Cheſimu, which in the midſt of ſtorms aſcend the palace, and ſuffer no rain to fall thereon, which they make the people believe comes to paſs by their ſanctity, and therefore they go ſlovenly and negligent of their perſons, never waſhing nor combing themſelves. They alſo have a horrible cuſtom to dreſs and eat ſuch as are condemned to death, but not thoſe which die naturally. They are called alſo Bachſi, which is the name of their order, as friars predicants or ſo with us; they ſeem by magic to do what they liſt. When the Great Khan in his hall ſits at his table, it is raiſed eight yards high; and in the midſt of the hall, a good diſtance from the table, is a great cupboard of plate, from whence theſe ſorcerers cauſe wine or milk to fill the goblets, without any hand touching them; this they do in the preſence of any man whenever their lord commands it. Theſe Bachſi alſo, when they have a mind to make feaſts to their idols, go to the Khan, and addreſs him thus: "Sir, you are to know that if our idols be not honoured with ſacrifices, they will bring plagues on corn and beaſts, and therefore we intreat you to give us the fleſh of ſo many ſheep, with black heads, and ſo many pounds of incenſe, and lignum aloes, that we may make them due ſacrifice and honour." This they ſpake not to him themſelves, but by certain lords deputed to that office, who ſpeak to the Khan, and obtain it. On the feaſt day, they ſacrifice theſe beaſts, and ſprinkle the broth before the idols.

They have great monaſteries, ſome of the bigneſs of a city, in ſeveral of which are about two thouſand monks, who ſerve an idol ſequeſtered from the laity, as appears by their ſhaving and garments; for they ſhave their heads and beards, and wear a religious garment. Theſe, in the ſolemnities of their idols, ſing with ſolemn ſongs, and lights; ſome of them may marry. There are ſome who obſerve ſtrict abſtinence, called Senſim, leading an auſtere life; for they eat nothing but meal mingled with water, till all the flour be gone, and eat the bran without any ſavour. Theſe worſhip the fire; and the men of other rules ſay, that theſe, which are ſo auſtere, are heretics againſt their law, becauſe they worſhip not idols as they do; and there are great differences between them, and theſe marry not at all. They ſhave their head and beard, wear black hempen garments, or of a bright yellow. They ſleep on thick mats, and live the ſevereſt life in the world.

15. In this book I purpoſe to write all the great and marvellous acts of the preſent Khan, called Cublai-Khan, which is, if expreſſed in our tongue, Lord of Lords, the greateſt Prince in people, cities, and treaſures, that ever was in the world, he being deſcended from the progeny of Zingis, the firſt Prince of the Tartars, the ſixth Emperor of that country, beginning to reign in the year of our Lord 1256, being twenty-ſeven years old *, and ruling the people with great wiſdom and gravity. He is a valiant

* The year of this Emperor's age, at the time of his acceſſion, is put in a different character, becauſe none of the MSS. have it at all, and it is alſo omitted in ſeveral of the printed editions; we cannot therefore fairly charge the author with the miſtake in it, which conſiſts of ten years, that Prince at the time of his acceſſion being thirty ſeven years old, or rather in the thirty-eighth year of his age. There ſeems alſo to be an error in the year of his reign, but that is eaſily corrected, ſince, as that Prince was raiſed to the imperial

liant man, exercised in arms, strong of body, and of a lofty mind, for the performance of matters before he attained to the dignity of the empire, which by his wisdom he did, against the will of his brethren. He often shewed himself a valiant soldier in the wars, and carried himself like a wiser and bolder captain than ever the Tartars had; yet since he swayed the kingdom, he went but once into the field, and sends his sons and other captains on expeditions.

In the year of our Lord 1286, his uncle, whose name was Naiam, being thirty years of age, and having the command of many people and countries, so that he was able easily to bring together four hundred thousand horse, being puffed up through youthful vanity, would no longer be subject, but would needs take away the kingdom from his Lord Cublai, and sent to another great Lord named Cadu, Lord of the parts towards Great Turkey, who was nephew of the Emperor Cublai, yet hated him, who yielding to his motion for rebellion, promised to come in person with an hundred thousand horse.

Both of them began to gather forces, which could not be done so secretly but Cublai heard of it, and presently took order to set guards on the ways, that no intelligence might pass, and then assembled all the forces, within ten days journey of Cambalu, with great speed, so that in twenty days were gathered together three hundred and sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, a great part of them falconers, and men of his household; with these he made haste day and night towards Naiam's country, where, at the end of twenty-five days he arrived, altogether unlooked for, and rested his men two days; then he called his astrologers, and caused them, before all the army, to divine who should have victory; a thing they use to encourage their men, and they promised it to Cublai. One morning, while Naiam was sleeping negligently in his tent, having not so much as sent out any scouts to gain intelligence, Cublai made shew of his army upon a hill, himself sat in a certain castle of wood, full of archers and cross-bow men, borne by four elephants, on the top whereof was the royal standard, with the images of the sun and moon. He divided his army into three bodies, of which he sent that on the right hand, and the other on the left against Naiam's army. To every ten thousand horse were assigned five hundred foot, with lances, taught to leap up behind the horsemen, if any occasion of flight happened, and suddenly, on advantage, to light and kill the enemies' horses with their lances. Caydu was not yet come.

The battles joined, and made a cruel fight, which continued from morning till noon, and then was Naiam taken and brought before Cublai, who commanded that he should be sewed betwixt two carpets, which should be tossed up and down till the breath was out of his body, that so the imperial blood might not be exposed to the sun or to the air. The remainder of his people sware obedience to Cublai, which were four nations, Ciazza, Carli, Barscol, and Sitinqui. Naiam was secretly baptized,

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imperial dignity in the month of January; Marco Polo, who reckons according to the Tartar year, places it in 1256, whereas we, computing from the beginning of the month of January, make it 1257. The genealogical history of the Tartars informs us of the breaking out of a civil war upon the election of this Emperor, though it gives us somewhat a different account of the conclusion of it, in which our author might be easily mistaken, since he owns what he delivers was from hearsay. However, the exactness as to dates is truly wonderful, since, in the compass of one hundred years after these travels were published, we had no authentic history of the Tartars in Europe, and consequently neither Marco Polo nor his editors could have any opportunity of correcting their accounts, so as to make them correspond with the genealogical history before mentioned. This remark is an invincibe proof of our author's veracity, and of the value of his work.

and

and by profeſſion a Chriſtian, but no follower of the works of faith, yet he ſigned his principal enſign with the ſign of the croſs, having with him infinite numbers of Chriſtians, who were all ſlain.

The Jews and Saracens that were in the army of Cublai, began to upbraid the Chriſtians with this diſaſter of the croſs, who complained of it to Cublai; he ſharply reproved the Jews and Saracens for this behaviour, and then turning to the Chriſtians, he ſaid, "Surely, your God and his croſs would not give any aid to Naiam; but be not you therefore aſhamed, becauſe God being good and juſt ought not to defend injuſtice or iniquity. Naiam was a traitor to his Lord, and contrary to all equity raiſed rebellion, and ſought the help of your God in his miſchievous purpoſe; but he, as a good and upright God, would not favour his deſigns."

He returned after this with great triumph to Cambula, and ſtaid there till Eaſter. On that day he called the Chriſtians before him, and kiſſed their goſpels, and made his barons do the ſame. He does the like on the great feaſts of the Saracens, Jews, and Heathens, that Segomamber-Khan, the god of the idols, Mohammed, Moſes, or whoſoever is greateſt in heaven, might help him; yet he made beſt ſhew of liking to the Chriſtian faith, but pretended the ignorance of the Neſtorian prieſts, and the mighty acts of the forcerers, hindered his profeſſing it.

For the better rewarding his ſoldiers he kept twelve barons or counſellors, who gave him notice of each captain's merit; and accordingly he raiſed them from the command of one hundred to a thouſand, and from one thouſand to ten thouſand, and ſo on, giving them veſſels of plate and tablets. The captain of one hundred hath a tablet of ſilver; and the captain of a thouſand, of gold or ſilver gilded; the captain of ten thouſand has a tablet of gold, and a lion's head on it. The weight of the tablets differs alſo according to the dignity. On the ſaid tablet is written a command in this manner: "By the ſtrength and power of the great God, and by the grace which he hath given to our empire, the name of Khan be bleſſed, and let them all die and be deſtroyed which will not obey him." All officers who have theſe tablets have privileges in writing of all things, which they are to do and demand; and the generals when they ride in public have a cloth borne over their heads, and when they ſit, it is on a chair of ſilver. Their tablet is of three hundred ſagi, which is equal to fifty ounces of gold, with the images of the ſun and moon; ſuch as have a tablet with a ger-falcon thereon, may take with them for their guard the whole army of a great commander. Cublai is a comely handſome man, of middle ſtature, of a very freſh complexion, black and bright eyes, well faſhioned noſe, and all the lineaments of his body conſiſting of due proportion. He has four wives, who are eſteemed lawful, and the firſt born of them is to ſucceed him in the kingdom, and every one of them is called Empreſs, and holdeth a peculiar court, and that in a magnificent palace, having about three hundred women to attend her, and many eunuch ſervants, and at leaſt ten thouſand perſons in their families.

The Grand Khan hath alſo many concubines. There is likewiſe a nation of fair people among the Tartars called Virgut, where every ſecond year he ſends ambaſſadors to make ſearch for the faireſt young women for him; who returning, bring him four or five hundred more or leſs, as they ſee cauſe. There are examiners appointed to take a view of all their beauties, examining eyes, noſe, mouth, &c. apart, and ſet a price on them at ſixteen, ſeventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, or more carats, and they bring thoſe of that rate which their commiſſion appoints; theſe he cauſes to be received by other examiners, and of ſo many perhaps chuſes thirty of the chief for his chamber, which he puts to ſome of his barons' wives to ſee if they ſnore

not in their ſleep, if in ſmell or behaviour they be not offenſive; thoſe which are approved are by fives divided, each fifth part waiting three days and nights in his chamber by courſe, the other in the next lodgings preparing whatſoever theſe command them. The leſs prized are put to cookery and other offices; and ſometimes the Khan beſtows them on gentlemen, with great portions. The men of that country eſteem it a grace and credit to have daughters worthy his liking; and think themſelves born under an ill planet if they are not kept when ſent to court.

Cublai had two-and-twenty ſons by his four legitimate wives, and the firſt-born of his firſt wife was called Zingis, who would have ſucceeded him in the empire if he had not died before his father. He left a ſon named Timur, a valiant man, wiſe, and experienced in arms, who is to ſucceed his grandfather in the empire, inſtead of his deceaſed father; but by his concubines he hath five-and-twenty ſons, all which are daily exerciſed in feats of arms, and are great lords; ſeven of his ſons by his wives are Kings of great provinces, and maintain their ſtates with great reputation.

16. Three months of the year, that is December, January, and February, Cublai reſides ordinarily in Cambalu *, which is at the north-eaſt border of Cathay; and there, on the ſouth part by the new city, is ſeated a great palace; firſt there is a great wall, each ſquare being eight miles, with a deep ditch environing, and a gate in the middle of each; after which is the ſpace of a mile in circuit, where ſoldiers ſtand; after this is another court of ſix miles ſquare, with three gates on the ſouth ſquare, and three on the north; that which is in the midſt being in both the greater, and kept ſhut, except when the Khan paſſeth that way; the other is always open to others; in each corner of this wall, and in the midſt is a fair palace, eight in all, very large, in which are kept the Khan's ammunitions, and furniture of all ſorts; horſes in one; in another bows and ſhooting artillery; in a third caſtlets, cuiraſſes, and leather armour; and ſo in the reſt.

Within this circuit is another walk like the former, very thick and ten paces high, all the battlements white, the walls ſquare, each ſquare a mile in length, with ſix gates as the former, and eight palaces alſo very large, wherein are the Khan's proviſions; between theſe two laſt walls are alſo many fair trees and meadows, in which are deer with other game, and ſtore of graſs, the paths being raiſed two cubits to ſpare it; no dirt or puddles of water being therein. Within this laſt wall is the palace of the Great Khan, the greateſt that hath been ſeen, extending to the wall on the north and ſouth, and opening where the barons and ſoldiers paſs. It hath no ceiling, but a very high roof; the foundation of the pavement ten palms high, with a wall of marble round about it two paces wide, as it were a walk. At the end of the wall without is a fair turret with pillars. In the walls of the halls and chambers are carved dragons, ſoldiers, birds, beaſts of divers kinds, hiſtories of wars gilded; the roof is ſo made that nothing is ſeen but gold and imagery; in every ſquare of the palace is a great hall, capable of holding a multitude of people; the chambers are diſpoſed the beſt that may be deviſed. The roof is red, green, azure, and of all colours. Behind the palace are

* There have been large diſſertations written upon this deſcription of our author, and great diſputes about the city here deſcribed; ſome will have it one place, ſome another, becauſe it is a Tartar appellation; and modern writers ſpeak of this city by another name. We have not either time or room to waſte in this controverſy; and therefore we ſhall cut it ſhort. Marco Polo wrote by the ear chiefly, and therefore ſet down Cambalu for Khan-balick, i. e. the imperial city; and it is allowed, that Khan-balick is the city of Peking, the preſent metropolis of China, of which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak at large in another place; and ſhall therein take an opportunity of juſtifying the accounts given us in the text by Marco Polo.

great rooms and private ſtorehouſes for his treaſure and jewels, for his women, and other private purpoſes.

Over againſt the ſaid palace of the Khan is another for Zingis his ſon, whoſe court was in all things like his father's. Near this palace towards the north is a mount made by hand, a mile in compaſs, one hundred paces high, adorned with trees that are always green; unto this mountain the King commands all the trees to be brought from remote parts, lading elephants with them, for they are taken up with the roots, and are tranſplanted in this mountain; and becauſe this mountain is always green, it is called the green mountain: and where the earth of the mount was taken away, are two lakes anſwering each other, with a ſmall river ſupplying them with ſtored fiſh, and ſo grated that the fiſh cannot get out.

The city of Cambalu in the province of Cathay, ſeated on a great river, was famous, and the royal ſeat in ancient times; and this name Cambalu ſignifies the city of the Lord or Prince. This city the Great Khan removed to the other ſide of the river where the palaces are, for he underſtood by the aſtrologers that it would rebel againſt the empire. This new-built city is called Taidu, and he commanded all the Cathayans to go out of the old city into the new; which contains in compaſs four-and-twenty miles, every ſide of the ſquare containing ſix miles. It hath walls of earth ten paces thick at the bottom, and at the top but three, as growing by little and little thinner. The battlements are white; every ſquare of the wall hath three principal gates, which are twelve in all, having ſumptuous palaces built over them. There are alſo certain pavilions in the angles of the walls where the arms of the garriſon, which are one thouſand at each gate, are kept. The buildings are ſquared, and the ſtreets laid very ſtrait by line throughout the city; ſo that from one gate a free proſpect opens throughout the city to the oppoſite gate; having very ſtately houſes built on both ſides like palaces, with gardens and courts, divided according to the heads of families. In the midſt of the city is a certain noble building, wherein hangeth a very great bell; after the tolling whereof in the night, no man muſt go out of his houſe until the beginning of the day following, except it be for ſome extraordinary cauſe, as for a woman in travail, and then they are compelled to carry lights with them.

Without the city of Cambalu are twelve large ſuburbs, three or four miles long, adjoining to each of the twelve gates, more inhabiting in the ſuburbs than in the city; here merchants and ſtrangers live, each nation having ſeveral ſtore-houſes, or burſes, in which they lodge. No dead corpſe of any man is burned within this city, but the bodies of idolaters are burned without the ſuburbs, where the dead bodies of other ſects are buried; and becauſe an huge multitude of Saracens inhabit there, they have above twenty-five thouſand harlots in the ſuburbs and in the city; and theſe have a chief captain appointed over every hundred and thouſand, and one general, whoſe office is, that when any ambaſſadors come, or ſuch as have buſineſs with the Khan, whoſe charges he defrays, then this captain giveth every ambaſſador, and every man of his family, a change of women every night at free coſt, for this is their tribute. The guards, every night, carry ſuch to priſon whom they find walking late; and if they be found guilty, they are beaten with cudgels, for the Bachſi tell them that it is not good to ſhed man's blood; but many die of theſe beatings. The Great Khan hath in his court twelve thouſand horſemen, which they call Caſitan, faithful ſoldiers of their lord, who guard his perſon, more for ſtate than fear; and four captains have the charge of theſe, whereof every one commandeth three thouſand. When one captain, with three thouſand ſoldiers within the palace, hath guarded the King for three days and nights, another captain

with his ſoldiers ſucceeds; and ſo, throughout the year, this courſe of watching by turns is obſerved *.

When on account of any feſtival day he keeps a ſolemn court, his table, which is higher than the reſt of the tables, is ſet at the north part of the hall, his face is to the ſouth, having the firſt Queen on his left hand, that is, his principal wife; and his ſons and nephews, and thoſe of the royal blood, on his right; yet their table is in a lower place, ſo that they ſcarce touch the King's feet with their hands, the ſeat of the eldeſt being higher than the reſt; the Princes ſit in a lower place than that; their wives alſo obſerve the like order: firſt, the Khan's ſons' wives and his kinſmen ſit lower on the left hand, and after thoſe of the lords, and of every captain and nobleman, each in their degree and order; and the Emperor himſelf, while he ſits at his table, may caſt his eyes upon all that feaſt with him in that hall. There are not tables for them all to ſit; but the greateſt part of the ſoldiers and barons eat on carpets. At all the doors ſtand two gigantic fellows with cudgels, to ſee that none touch the threſhold, which, if he does, they take his garments away, which he muſt redeem by receiving ſo many blows as ſhall be appointed, or elſe loſe them. They who ſerve the King, and thoſe ſitting at the table, all of them cover their mouths with ſilk, leſt their breathing ſhould by any means touch the King's meat or drink: and when he hath a mind to drink, the damſel who giveth it goes back three paces and kneels down, and then the barons and all the people kneel, and the muſicians ſound their inſtruments. There is no cauſe, ſince I would avoid prolixity, why I ſhould write any thing concerning the meats which are brought to the table, how dainty and delicate they are, and with what magnificence and pomp they are ſerved in.

All the Tartars obſerve this cuſtom, to celebrate the birth-day of their lord moſt honourably. The birth-day of Kublai is kept the 28th of September, and this day he accounteth more ſolemn than any in the whole year, except the firſt of February, on which they begin the year. The King, therefore, on his birth-day, is clothed in a moſt precious garment of gold, and about two thouſand barons and ſoldiers are clothed in the ſame colour of gold, though of ſilk ſtuff, and a girdle wrought in gold and ſilver, which is given them, with a pair of ſhoes. Some wear pearls and garments of great price, who are next to the Khan; and theſe garments are not worn but on thirteen ſolemn feaſts, according to the thirteen moons of the year; all are then clothed like Kings. This cuſtom is alſo obſerved by the Tartars, that on the birth-day of the Great Khan, all the kings, princes, and nobles, who are ſubject to his dominions, ſhould ſend preſents unto him, as to their Emperor; and they who deſire to attain any place of dignity or office of him, offer their petitions unto twelve barons appointed for that purpoſe; and what they decree is all one as if the Emperor himſelf had anſwered them. All people alſo, of what faith or ſect ſoever, whether Chriſtians or Jews, Saracens or Tartars, and Pagans, are bound ſolemnly to call upon their Gods, for the life, ſafety, and proſperity of the Great Khan †.

On

* This method of poſting guards and relieving them, was extremely ancient in the Eaſt, as appears from the accounts given us by the Greek writers of the œconomy in this reſpect of the Perſian Emperors; and it is ſtill practiſed by almoſt all the Tartar Princes, and particularly by the Great Mogul, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſecond volume.

† This account agrees exactly with what is related from authors of good credit in Dr Hyde's moſt learned treatiſe of the Religion of the ancient Perſians, with reſpect to the ceremonies obſerved on the birth-day of the Emperor, and at the beginning of the new year. Indeed the conformity is ſo great, that one might be tempted to believe there is a nearer relation between the Tartars and the ancient Perſians than is commonly

On the firſt of February, which is the beginning of the Tartar year, the Great Khan, and all the Tartars, wherſoever they are, celebrate a very ſolemn feaſt, and all, as well men as women, deſire to be cloth'd in white garments as a token of good luck; therefore, that fortune may favour them all the year, they wear white at the beginning thereof. The rulers of cities, and governors of provinces, mindful of their duty, ſend unto their Emperor this day preſents of gold and ſilver, pearls and precious ſtones, many white clothes, and other white things, and many horſes of a white colour. The reſt of the Tartars, at the beginning of the year, ſend white preſents one to another. It is the cuſtom of thoſe who bring preſents, if they can, of each to preſent nine times nine; as, if they ſend horſes, to preſent nine nines, that is eighty-one; and ſo of gold, of cloths, and other things; that ſometimes he hath, by this reckoning, one hundred thouſand horſes. Alſo at this happy ſeaſon, all the elephants which the Emperor hath (five thouſand in number), are brought into the court, covered with tapeſtry, the ſimilitudes of divers beaſts and fowls being pourtrayed thereon, carrying upon their ſhoulders cheſts full of gold and ſilver veſſels; many camels are alſo brought, covered with fine ſilken cloths, which bring other things neceſſary for the court.

On this day, in the morning, all the King's captains, barons, ſoldiers, phyſicians, aſtrologers, and governors of provinces and armies, and other officers of the empire, aſſemble in the great hall before the King, and they who happen to have no place there, for the multitude ſtand in another place, where they may ſee them, all being placed in their order and degree. One riſeth, who is amongſt their clergy as a prelate, and crieth with a loud voice, "Bow down and adore," and preſently all do reverence, bending down their foreheads to the earth; then he ſaith, "God preſerve our Lord with long life and joy;" and all anſwer, "God grant;" then he ſaith, "God increaſe and advance his empire, and preſerve his ſubjects in peace, concord, and proſperity;" and all anſwer, "God grant;" and this they do four times; then the adoration being finiſhed, the ſame prelate goes to an altar, richly adorned, on which is a red table, whereon is written the name of the Khan; and taking a cenſer, and putting ſpices therein, they perfume the table and the altar with great reverence, in honour of the Great Khan, and ſo return to their places; after which are offered the gifts of which we have ſpoken; and then the tables are prepared, and a moſt ſolemn dinner held, eating and drinking with great joy with their wives, in manner before deſcribed. And laſtly, a tame lion is brought to the King, which, lying at his feet like a gentle whelp, acknowledgeth and careſſes his lord.

In thoſe three months in which we ſaid before the Emperor reſides in the city of Cambalu, viz. in December, January, and February, all the hunters which the Emperor hath in all his provinces round about the province of Cathay, apply themſelves to hunting, and bring all the larger wild beaſts, ſuch as ſtags, bears, roe-bucks, wild boars, and deer, to their governors; who, if they be diſtant from the Emperor's court leſs than thirty days' journey, ſend ſuch beaſts as are taken by waggons or ſhips to the Emperor, having firſt bowelled them; but ſuch as are forty days diſtant from his court, ſend only the ſkins, which are neceſſary for making of armour. He hath many leopards and wolves for hunting, and many lions alſo, greater than thoſe which are in Babylon, in the hair whereof certain little beams appear of divers colours, viz. white,

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commonly imagined; and I muſt confeſs, that I cannot, for my own part, help thinking that the religion of the Tartars is very nearly the ſame with that of the old Perſians, that is to ſay, I apprehend the Lamas of the one correſpond with the Magi among the others.

black, and red, and they are bred to catch bears, boars, ſtags, roe-bucks, wild aſſes, and wild oxen, and it is marvellous to ſee the lion's fierceneſs and dexterity in this ſort of hunting; two lions are commonly carried in one waggon when they go to hunt, and with them a dog, with which they are tamed; and they carry them in this faſhion becauſe of their fury and unrulineſs; and they muſt carry them contrary to the wind, for elſe the beaſts would ſcent them and flee. He hath alſo many tame eagles, which are ſo taught, that they take hares, roe-bucks, deer, and foxes; among which ſome of them fear not to ſeize upon wolves, and vex them ſo grievouſly, that without labour and danger they may be taken by them.

The Khan hath in his court two which are brethren, one called Boyan, the other Mingan; called in the Tartar language Ciurco, that is, maſters of the game; each of them hath the command of ten thouſand men. They which are under one of them are clothed in red; the others in ſky colour; when they hunt, theſe keep diverſe ſorts of dogs, to the number of five thouſand maſtiffs and others. In hunting they go with their people one on the right hand, and the other on the left; and the King and they take up ſo great a length of the plain, that from one end to the other is a day's journey, ſo that no beaſt can eſcape them; and it is great pleaſure when the Khan goes in the midſt, to ſee the dogs follow hares, boars, and all other wild beaſts. Theſe brethren are bound by covenant from the beginning of October to the end of March, to bring to the court one thouſand head of beaſts and birds, beſides quails and fiſhes, the beſt they can, in ſuch proportion.

17. The month of March coming in, the Great Khan departeth from the city of Cambalu, and proceedeth north-eaſtward towards the ocean, diſtant thence two days' journey, bringing with him about ten thouſand falconers, who have falcons, hawks, ger-falcons, and other kind of fowls of prey, fit for hawking. Theſe falcons diſperſe themſelves by an hundred or two hundred in a company, and the birds that are taken for the moſt part are brought unto the King, who, by reaſon of his gout, ſitteth in a wooden houſe, which two elephants carry, covered with the ſkins of lions, and within hung with cloth of gold, having with him for his recreation twelve choice hawks, and twelve courtiers; many noblemen and ſoldiers ride by, who guard the King's perſon, who when they ſee pheaſants or cranes, or other birds flying in the air, ſpeak to the falconers, who are near the King, and they ſignify the ſame unto the King, uncover the King's houſe, and let their falcons and hawks fly, and the King ſitting on his bed, beholds the paſtime of the birds. Other ten thouſand men go alſo with the King, who in that hawking run hither and thither by two and two, and mark whither the falcon and hawks fly that are caſt from the fiſt, that if need be they may help them; and theſe in the Tartar language are called Toſcaol, that is to ſay, watchmen, or markſmen, being ſkilful in a certain kind of whiſtle, wherewith they call in the hawks that are flown; nor is it needful that the falconer, who let the hawks fly, ſhould follow them, ſeeing thoſe of whom I now ſpeak are buſily employed in taking up the hawks, and are careful that by no means they are hurt or loſt; and every flying hawk carrieth a little table of ſilver on her foot, ſigned with the mark of her maſter or falconer, that if ſhe be loſt, ſhe may be reſtored to her owner *.

* It may not be amiſs to remind the reader, that this paſſage of our author confirms what we have before met with in the accounts of the Arabian travels, and in the relation of the monk Rubruquis. It is alſo clear from the whole of this account, that the notions generally received of the barbarity, ſtupidity, and want of genius among the Tartars, are not extremely well founded, but are rather to be ranked among thoſe prejudices which are the effects of ſpeaking or thinking without juſt motives, or in plain Engliſh, are the effects of ignorance.

But

But if the mark cannot be known, the hawk is delivered to a certain baron, who for this cauſe is called Bulangazi, to whom are brought all loſt things (otherwiſe the finder would be puniſhed as a thief), and to him loſers reſort to enquire of things loſt. He hath a moſt eminent place noted by his enſign, that in ſo great an aſſembly of people he may always be known. While they are thus buſied in ſporting and hawking, they come into a certain great plain called Carzarmodin, where the tents of the King and all the courtiers are prepared, about ten thouſand in number.

The firſt is the Khan's pavilion, under which ten thouſand ſoldiers ſtand, beſides barons and noblemen, with the door to the ſouth, ſuſtained by three pillars, wrought with curious and excellent carved work, and covered with the ſkins of lions, and other wild beaſts, which keep out rain; but within, the walls of the pavilion are covered with moſt coſtly ſkins of ermines and ſables, although in thoſe countries theſe ſkins are accounted moſt precious, ſo that ſometimes ſkins worth two thouſand ſultanines of gold, are ſcarce ſufficient for one pair of veſts. The Tartars call the ſable the Queen of furs; the cords wherewith theſe pavilions are ſupported are of ſilk. There are alſo other pavilions erected, wherein the wives, ſons, and concubines of the King remain. Further alſo the falcons, hawks, ger-falcons, and other birds, which ſerve for hawking, have their tents; for there is ſo great a multitude of tents, that to them that come thither it ſeems at a diſtance as if a famous city was built there.

The King remains all March in that plain, and takes innumerable beaſts, and infinite multitudes of fowl; for no man may in this time hunt in all the provinces of that kingdom, at the leaſt within five days' journey one way, ten another, and fifteen a third way, of the Khan's court, nor keep an hunting dog or an hawk from the beginning of March until the month of October. No man is permitted to uſe any device or engine whatſoever to take ſtags, deer, roe-bucks, or hares, leſt he ſhould hinder their breed; and hence it is, that there is ſuch plenty of game. It is incredible what multitudes of people, merchants, and merchandizes of all ſorts are ſeen in Cambalu. The money of the Great Khan is not made of gold, or ſilver, or other metal; but they take the middle bark from the mulberry tree, and this they make firm, and cut into divers round pieces, great and little, and imprint the King's mark thereon; of this paper money therefore the Emperor cauſeth an huge maſs to be made in the city of Cambalu, which ſufficeth for the whole empire, and no man under pain of death may coin any other, or ſpend any other money, or refuſe it in all his kingdoms and countries, nor any coming from another kingdom dare ſpend any other money in the empire of the Great Khan. Hence it follows, that merchants, often coming from remote countries unto the city of Cambalu, bring with them gold, ſilver, pearl, and precious ſtones, and receive the King's money for them; and becauſe this money is not received in their country, they change it again, in the empire of the Great Khan, for merchandize, which they carry away with them. He alſo payeth ſtipends to his officers and army in the above-mentioned money. And laſtly, whatever thing he needs in his court, he buyeth with this money. Wherefore there is not a King to be found in the world who exceedeth him in treaſure, not expended on the mint, as elſewhere.

The Great Khan hath twelve barons, as is ſaid, before which are the council of war, who diſpoſe of martial affairs, and the exalting or diſgracing of captains or ſoldiers. Their office is called Thai, that is, the high court, becauſe they have none above them but the Khan. Other twelve barons are appointed counſellors for the four-and-thirty provinces, which have a fair palace in Cambalu, in which is for every province a judge, and many notaries. Theſe have power to chooſe governors of the ſaid provinces, and preſent their names to the Khan, who confirms them. Theſe alſo l[illegible]

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the charge of the treaſure to collect and diſpenſe the ſame; their office is called Singh, that is, the ſecond court, ſubject to none but the Khan, yet reputed leſs noble than the former, that being a military eſtabliſhment.

There are many public roads from the city of Cambalu, which conduct to the neighbouring provinces, and in every one of them, at the end of five-and-twenty or thirty miles, are lodgings or inns built, called lambs, that is, poſt-houſes, with large and fair courts, chambers furniſhed with beds and other proviſions, every way fit to entertain great men, nay, even to lodge a King. The proviſions are laid in from the country adjacent; there are about four hundred horſes, which are in readineſs for meſſengers and ambaſſadors, who there leave their tired horſes, and take freſh; and in mountainous places, where are no villages, he ſends people to inhabit, about ten thouſand at a place, where theſe lambs or poſt-houſes are built, and they cultivating the ground for their proviſions. Theſe excellent regulations continue unto the utmoſt limits of the empire, ſo that in the public ways throughout the whole empire, about ten thouſand of the King's inns are found; and the number of the horſes appointed for the ſervice of the meſſengers in thoſe inns are more than two hundred thouſand, a thing almoſt incredible; hence it is that in a little while, with change of men and horſes, intelligence comes without ſtop to the court; and if any wonder how ſo many men and beaſts ſhould be provided for, he muſt conſider, that the Moors and Gentiles have many women, and by them abundance of children, ſome having thirty ſons, which follow them armed; and for victuals they ſow three kinds of ſeeds, rice, panike, and millet, which yield an hundred fold. They make no bread, but boil theſe with milk or fleſh. Wheat will not ſo encreaſe with them, nor ſuffer they any ground which will bear, to lie untilled; and the cattle continually encreaſe, ſo that each of them carries with him ſix, eight, or more horſes into the field, for his own perſon. The horſes are employed by turns, ſo that of the four hundred, two hundred are in the ſtables ready, the other two hundred at graſs, each a month at a time. Their cities alſo that are adjoining to rivers or lakes are appointed to have ferry-boats in readineſs for the poſts, and cities on the borders of deſarts are directed to have horſes and proviſions for the uſe of ſuch as paſs through thoſe deſarts; but have a reaſonable allowance for this ſervice of the Khan. In caſes of great conſequence, the poſt rides with a ger-falcon table, and is equipped ſo, that he will ride two hundred miles in a day, or two hundred and fifty ſometimes; alſo they ride all night, foot-poſts running by them with lights, if the moon does not ſhine.

They ſound a horn, that the freſh horſes may be brought forth for them to mount preſently, and having their bellies and heads girded, they run as faſt as the horſe can go; and thoſe which are able to endure this exceſſive riding, are on that account in great reputation among them, who admire nothing ſo much as horſemanſhip. There are alſo between theſe inns other habitations, three or four miles diſtant one from another, in which there are a few houſes, where foot-poſts live, having each of them his girdle hung full of ſhrill ſounding bells. Theſe keep themſelves always ready, and as often as the Khan's letters are ſent to them, convey them ſpeedily to the poſts at the next village, who, hearing the ſound of the foot-poſt coming when at a diſtance, expect him, and receive his letters, preſently carry them to the next watch; and ſo the letters, paſſing through ſeveral hands, are conveyed, without delay, to the place whither they ought to come: and it often happens, that the King by this learns news, or receives new fruits, from a place ten days' journey diſtant, in two days. As for inſtance, fruits growing at Cambalu in the morning, by the next day at night are at Xandu; but all the before-mentioned poſts are free from all tribute, and receive a great recompence

pence for their labours from the King's rent-gatherers beſides. Some alſo are appointed to examine theſe poſts monthly, and to puniſh their faults, if they are fairly convicted.

He ſends yearly to the divers provinces of his empire, to enquire whether any prejudice be done to the corn by tempeſts, locuſts, worms, or any other means; and when he hath notice given him that any province or city hath ſuſtained any damage, he remits his tribute to that people for that year, and ſends grain for victual and for ſeed out of his own granaries; for in a time of great plenty the King buys abundance of corn, and keeps it with great care by his officers, three or four years in granaries, that when there happens to be a ſcarcity of corn in one country, that defect may be ſupplied out of the King's ſtorehouſes in another. He ſelleth his grain for a fourth part of the common price, and always provides that his ſtorehouſes are kept fully ſupplied. Likewiſe when any murrain lights among cattle he ſends them other cattle, which he has for tenths in other provinces; and if a thunderbolt has ſtriken any beaſt of any herd or flock, he receives no tribute from it for three years, let the herd be ever ſo great; neither will he receive any cuſtom of a thunder-ſtricken ſheep, as thinking God is angry with them, that are ſo ſtricken.

Likewiſe that travellers may diſcern all places able to bear trees, he hath cauſed trees to be planted, at a convenient diſtance one from another, near the principal roads; and in the ſandy and deſart places he hath cauſed ſtones and pillars to be erected for that purpoſe, and officers are appointed to look to theſe things. He plants trees the rather, becauſe his aſtrologers tell him that planting trees lengthens the life of man. They make excellent drink, in the province of Cathay, of rice and divers ſpices, which in the taſte thereof excels the flavour even of wine; and they who drink more greedily thereof than is fit, or the nature of the drinker can bear, become ſooner intoxicated than if they had drank wine.

Through the whole province of Cathay, certain black ſtones are dug out of the mountains, which put into the fire, burn like wood, and, being kindled, preſerve fire a long time, and, if they be kindled in the evening, they keep fire all the night*; and many uſe thoſe ſtones, becauſe that though they have plenty of wood, yet is there ſuch frequent uſe of ſtones and laths, that the wood would not ſerve.

It is not amiſs, having ſpoken of his proviſion abroad, to mention his care for the poor of Cambalu. When he hears of any honourable family decayed by misfortune, or of any which cannot work, and have no ſubſiſtence, he gives to ſuch families the whole year's expences, each head of ſuch families going to the officer for that purpoſe, and ſhewing their bill of allowance, receive proviſions accordingly. There is a place ſet apart for thoſe officers; they are provided alſo with garments for winter and for ſummer. The Khan having the tenths of all wool, ſilk and hemp, which he cauſes to be made into cloaths, in a houſe for that purpoſe appointed; for all trades are bound one day in the week to work for him. He provides alſo apparel for his armies, and in every city cauſeth cloth to be made of his tythe

* The reader will eaſily diſcern, that what our author ſpeaks of here with ſo much wonder, is, in truth, nothing more than a coal-mine, which might appear very ſtrange to him, who very probably had never ſeen or heard of any ſuch thing; but ſome of the miſſionaries ſeem to be inexcuſable, who have dreſſed up this matter with ſuch pompous expreſſions, as might induce unwary readers to believe that the Chineſe dug fire out of the earth, and that they laid it up in cellars or vaults; whereas after all, there is nothing ſtranger in their digging and keeping coals there, than what we ſee practiſed every day in our own country, and very probably, if we were to examine other wonders that are told us, as cloſely and ſeverely as they deſerve, we might be able to diſcover that they were rather rendered marvellous by the ignorance of relaters, than by any thing ſupernatural in themſelves.

wool. You muſt underſtand, that the Tartars, according to their ancient cuſtoms, beſtowed no alms, but rather upbraided thoſe that were in neceſſity, as hated of God; but the idolaters, eſpecially thoſe Bachſi, have propounded it as a good work acceptable unto God, and have taught him to be thus bountiful; ſo that in this court, bread is never denied to any who aſk it, and there is no day in which are not given away twenty thouſand crowns in rice, millet, and panike; whence he is eſteemed as a God by his ſubjects.

There are in Cambalu, Chriſtians, Saracens, and Catayans, about five thouſand aſtrologers and diviners, which the Great Khan provideth yearly in food and raiment, as he doth thoſe poor aboveſaid. Theſe have an aſtrolabe, in which are marked the ſigns of the planets, the hours and points of all the year. Herein all thoſe aſtrologers, each religion apart, view the courſe of the year according to every moon, obſerving the diſpoſition of the weather, referring always to God to do more or leſs after his own pleaſure. They write alſo upon certain ſquares they call Tacuini, the things which are to come that year, which they ſell to thoſe that will buy them, and ſuch as ſpeak moſt truth are moſt honoured. If any intend any great work, or to go a far journey, and will know the event before hand, he has recourſe to theſe aſtrologers, to ſee it with their eyes in the heavens, which they pretend to do, comparing the preſent conſtellation with that of his birth, which they demand of him; ſo foretelling him the good or evil. The Tartars reckon the computation of their years by twelves, the firſt ſignified by a lion, the ſecond by an ox, the third by a dragon, the fourth by a dog, and ſo through the whole twelve; ſo that if it be demanded of a man when he was born, he will anſwer, ſuch a point of ſuch an hour of ſuch a day, in the year Lion. This their fathers exactly ſet down in a book, and when the twelve is complete, they go over the ſame again *.

Of their religion, we have ſaid, that they are idolaters; and for their gods, have a table ſet aloft in the wall of their chamber, on which is written a name repreſenting the high God of Heaven, and there every day with a cenſor of incenſe they adore it in this manner; they lift up their hands aloft, and ſtrike their teeth thrice, praying it to give them a good underſtanding and health, and deſire thereof nothing elſe. Beſides, on the ground they have another ſtatue called Natigai, the god of earthly things, with his wife and children, whom likewiſe they worſhip with incenſe, ſtriking or gnaſhing the teeth, and lifting up their hands, and deſire thereof temperature of the air, fruits of the earth, children, and the like. They hold the ſoul to be immortal, and that when a man dies, it enters into another body, better or worſe, according to the merits of the former life; as of a poor man to become a gentleman, and after a prince or lord, and ſo higher, till it be abſorbed in God; and if it have ill deſerved, to be a poorer man, after a dog, always deſcending to the loweſt rank of baſeneſs. They have a comely ſpeech, ſalute chearfully and honeſtly, have a graceful carriage, and feed cleanly. They bear great reverence to their parents, and if any be undutiful or regardleſs of their neceſſity, there is a public tribunal aſſigned for this particular to puniſh ungrateful or diſobedient children: priſoners are releaſed at three years end, and marked in the cheek, that they may be known for malefactors.

The barons and people which go to the Grand Khan, obſerve theſe rights: firſt, within half a mile of the place where the Khan is, all is ſtill and quiet, without noiſe

* The Tartarian cycle was a very good contrivance, and, as ſuch, has been not only preſerved amongſt them, but ſpread itſelf alſo into other countries; we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to explain it more at large; at preſent it ſhall ſuffice to obſerve, that ſomething of the ſame kind was antiently uſed in the northern nations of Europe, and is ſtill practiſed among the ſavages in ſome parts of America.

or any loud ſpeech; that every baron carries continually a little veſſel to ſpit in, after which he covers it, none daring to ſpit in the hall; they have fur buſkins of white leather, which they put on when they enter the hall, putting off the former, and giving them to the ſervants, leſt they ſhould foul the carpets.

18. Ten miles off Cambalu is a certain great river named Puliſangan, emptying itſelf into the ocean, by which many ſhips with much merchandize aſcend; and in that p'ace there is a very fair bridge, all of ſerpentine ſtone, curiouſly wrought, containing three hundred paces in length, and eight in breadth, ſo broad that ten men may ride abreaſt; on each ſide it is ſecured with a wall of marble, and pillars ſet in a row, and in the height of this aſcent is a great and high pillar, at the feet whereof is a great lion, and on the top another, and ſo quite through the bridge: one pace and a half diſtance are pillars with lions on the tops, and a fair wall with wrought marble work betwixt, to keep men from falling. Having paſſed over the river and bridge, and proceeding thirty miles weſtward (in which palaces are continually ſeen, with vineyards and fertile fields), you come to the city Gouza, both fair and great, having many monaſteries of idols. Cloths of gold and ſilk are made there, and the pureſt and fineſt cambricks or lawns; and many common inns for ſtrangers or travellers are found in that city. The citizens are artificers and merchants. A mile without this city the way parteth, one leading weſt, the other ſouth-eaſt; that to the weſt leadeth through the province of Cathay, but the other, towards the country of Mangi, from the city of Gouza to the kingdom of Tainfu *.

You ride ten days through Cathay, always finding many fair cities, well furniſhed with vineyards, and tilled fields, from whence wine is carried to Cathay, where there is none; there are many mulberry-trees for ſilk-worms, the people civil, and cities very numerous and populous. Tainfu is the name of the kingdom, and of the chief city, which is great and fair, hath much trade, with ſtore of ammunition, fit for the Khan's armies. The wine about this city ſerveth the whole province. Seven days further weſtward is a pleaſant country beautified with many caſtles and cities in which alſo there is great trade in different mercandize carried on. After which you come to a city very great, named Pianfu, in which there is vaſt abundance of ſilk and much trade. Weſtward from Pianfu ſtands a very pleaſant caſtle, named Thaigin, anciently built by a King called Dor; in it is a ſpacious palace, wherein is a fine hall, in which are painted all the famous kings which have reigned there, and it is a fair ſpectacle. Of this King Dor, they ſay he was potent, and was attended only by young damſels, of which he had many in his court. Theſe alſo, when he had a mind to take his pleaſure, carried him in a ſmall light chariot through the caſtle, which was ſo fortified by art and nature, that the governor thereof feared none, no not Umcan his lord, againſt whom he rebelled.

But ſeven men, profeſſing fidelity and ſervice to Dor, took him at a diſadvantage in hunting, and brought him priſoner to preſbyter John, or Umcan, who put him on vile cloths, and appointed him to keep his cattle, and ſet over him a ſtrong guard, till two years were ended: after which he commanded him to be brought before him, and

* It muſt be acknowledged, that the deſcription here given by our author is a little dark and perplexed, and that at the ſame time it is no eaſy matter to ſettle the places he mentions; but on the other hand it muſt be conſidered, that this is the firſt account that was received here in Europe of the great country of China, and that this account was written by a man little, if at all, acquainted with the ſciences, and who aimed at nothing more than tranſcribing from his note-book the names of places and provinces, their diſtances from each other, with ſuch other circumſtances relating to them as at ſo great a diſtance of time he was able to recollect.

being dreſſed in princely apparel, he giving him his pardon, after a ſharp admonition, ſent him well attended to the re-poſſeſſion of his kingdom. About twenty miles beyond the caſtle Thaigin is the river Caramaran, which, by reaſon of the exceeding breadth and depth thereof, hath no bridge over it in all the ſpace from thence, till it floweth to the ocean. On the ſhore thereof are many cities and caſtles built, wherein great trade is carried on. This country abounds with ginger, ſilk, and fowl, eſpecially pheaſants, ſo that three of them are bought for a Venetian groat. There grow reeds in vaſt plenty, ſo thick that ſome are a foot, and others a foot and a half in compaſs, which are applied to many uſes. Paſſing this river, after two days' journey, is the famous city called Carianfu, where many cloths of gold and ſilk are made. Here grow ginger, galingale ſpike, and many ſpices. The people are idolaters.

Proceeding ſeven days journey weſtward, many cities and towns, lovely fields and gardens are found, and every where mulberries for ſilk-worms. As for the people, they are moſtly idolaters; but there are alſo Chriſtians, Turks, Neſtorians and ſome Saracens. There is a vaſt abundance here of wild beaſts and fowl. If you proceed ſeven days journey farther, you ſhall come to a certain great city named Quenſanfu, which is the chief city of the kingdom, in which have reigned many famous kings; and, at this day, the ſon of the Great Khan, called Mangalu, hath the command thereof. That country yields great plenty of ſilk, cloth of gold, and all other things neceſſary for furniſhing an army, and for the preſervation of man's life. The inhabitants worſhip idols, and there are ſome Chriſtians, Turks, and Saracens. Five miles without this city ſtandeth the palace of Mangalu, ſeated in a plain, where are many ſprings, rivulets and places of game. There is a high wall encompaſſing a park of five miles, where are all ſorts of wild beaſts and fowls. In the midſt is an excellent palace, having many halls and chambers, great and fair, all painted with gold and azure, and numberleſs ſtatues adorning it. The King, with his courtiers, delights himſelf in hunting the wild beaſts, and taking of fowl, and following his father's examples in juſtice and equity, is much beloved of his people.

Proceeding three days journey weſtward from the ſaid palace, through a very beautiful plain, where many cities and caſtles are, which abound with ſilk merchandize and manufactures, you come to a country where in the mountains and vallies are frequent habitations, and many villages of the province of Chunchian. The inhabitants as to religion are idolaters; and as to employment, huſbandmen. Alſo in that country they hunt lions, bears, ſtags, roe-bucks, deer, and wolves. The plain is two days journey over, and the country is about twenty days journey weſtward, well inhabited, being finely diverſified into mountains, vallies, and woods. After theſe twenty days, towards the weſt, there lies a province called Achbaluch Mangi, that is, the white city, on the borders of Mangi, which is well peopled. This province, for two days journey, hath a plain, in which are an infinite number of villages: beyond theſe lie mountains, vallies, and wood, all well inhabited. It hath plenty of wild beaſts, and of thoſe creatures that yield muſk. In this province ginger grows in great plenty, as alſo corn and rice.

After twenty days journey through thoſe hills is a plain, and a province in the confines of Mangi, named Sindinfu. The chief city hath the ſame name, and is very great, and exceeding rich, being twenty miles in circuit. It hath had many rich and mighty kings; but an old king dying, left three ſons ſucceſſors in the kingdom, who divided the city into three parts, compaſſing every part with their proper walls; all which, notwithſtanding, were contained within the former wall; but the Great Khan ſubjected nevertheleſs that city and kingdom. Through this city run many rivers, and

many places round about, ſome half a mile over, ſome two hundred paces, very deep; on them are many bridges of ſtone, very fair, eight paces broad, ſet on both ſides with marble pillars, which bear up a timber frame that covers the bridge, each bridge having ſtreets and ſhops thereupon. When the rivers have paſſed through the city, they become one great river, called Quian, which runs one hundred days journey hence to the ocean. Near theſe rivers are many cities and caſtles, and on them innumerable ſhips for merchandize. Proceeding four days journey farther, through a very fine plain, many cities, caſtles, and villages are found, in which five lawns extend in beautiful order. There are alſo many wild beaſts there. Beyond the plain, which we have now mentioned, is the wide province of Thebet, which the Great Khan vanquiſhed and waſted; for in it lie many cities deſtroyed and caſtles overthrown, by the ſpace of twenty days journey; and becauſe it is become a wilderneſs, wanting inhabitants, wild beaſts and lions are increaſed exceſſively, and it is requiſite therefore that travellers carry victuals with them. Very large cane grows in this country, ten paces in length, and three palms in thickneſs, and as much from knot to knot. When travellers therefore will reſt at night ſecure from beaſts, they take great bundles of the greener reeds, and putting fire under, kindle them, which makes ſuch a crackling, and ſo great a noiſe, that it may be heard two miles off; which terrible ſound the wild beaſts hearing, flee away, but it has ſometimes happened, that horſes and other beaſts, which merchants uſe for their journey, hearing this noiſe, and cracking, have grown alſo much afraid, and betaking themſelves to flight have eſcaped from their maſters; and therefore wiſer travellers binding their feet together detain them in their proper places.

19. Theſe twenty days journey ended, having paſſed over the province of Thebet, we met with cities, and many villages, in which, through the blindneſs of idolatry, a wicked cuſtom is uſed; for no man there marrieth a wife that is a virgin; whereupon, when travellers and ſtrangers, coming from other places, paſs through this country and pitch their pavilions, the women of that place having marriageable daughters, bring them unto ſtrangers, deſiring them to take them, and enjoy their company as long as they remain there. Thus the handſomeſt are choſen, and the reſt return home ſorrowful, and when they depart, they are not ſuffered to carry any away with them, but faithfully reſtore them to their parents. The maiden alſo requireth ſome toy or ſmall preſent of him who hath deflowered her, which ſhe may ſhew, as an argument and proof of her condition; and ſhe that hath been loved and abuſed of moſt men, and ſhall have many ſuch favours and toys to ſhew to her wooers, is accounted more noble, and may on that account be advantageouſly married, and when ſhe would appear moſt honourably dreſſed, ſhe hangs all her lovers favours about her neck, and the more acceptable ſhe was to many, ſo much the more honour ſhe receives from her countrymen. But when they are once married, they are no more ſuffered to converſe with ſtrange men, and the men of this country are very cautious never to offend one another in this matter. They are idolaters, and cruel, thinking it no ſin if they rob and exerciſe theft. They live by hunting and the fruits of the earth: many beaſts alſo are found with them, yielding muſk, called in this country Gadderi. They have a language of their own, and have no money, not ſo much as the paper money of the Khan, but uſe corals for money, and are cloathed with the ſkins of beaſts, or coarſe hemp. This country belongs to the province of Thebet, for Thebet is a very large province, and has been ſometimes divided into eight kingdoms having many cities and towns, with mountains, lakes, and rivers, where gold is found. The women wear coral about their necks, and hang it about the necks of their idols, as a precious thing. In this country

try there are very large dogs, as big as aſſes, which take wild beaſts, eſpecially wild oxen, called Boyamini.

There are in this province many ſorts of ſpices, which are never brought into theſe parts. This Thebet is (as all the former provinces) ſubject to the Khan. On the weſt of the province of Thebet bordereth the province of Caindu, which was formerly governed by her own king, now by the governors of the Khan. By the weſt, you muſt not underſtand that the countries are in the weſt; but that we, departing from thoſe parts which are betwixt the eaſt and north-eaſt, came hither weſtward, and therefore reckon them weſtward. The people are idolaters, have many cities, the chief called by the name of the province, Caindu, built on the frontiers of the province. There is a large ſalt lake, in which are abundance of pearls, white, but not round, ſo many, that in point of price they would become little worth, if they were ſuffered to be carried away at men's pleaſure. It is therefore provided, upon pain of death, that none ſhould preſume to fiſh for pearl in this lake, without the licence of the Great Khan. There is alſo a mountain, in which is found a mine of Turquoiſe ſtones, the digging of which is reſtrained by the like licence. Many Gadderi are alſo in this province, which yield muſk. That lake alſo which breeds pearl in ſuch plenty, abounds with fiſh, and the whole country is full of wild beaſts, that is to ſay, of lions, bears, ſtags, deer, ounces, roe-bucks, and divers kinds of birds. Cloves are found there in great plenty, which are gathered from ſmall trees, which have boughs and leaves like the bay-tree, but ſomewhat longer, and ſtraiter, white flowers, and brittle, as are the cloves, and when they are ripe they are black and duſky. Ginger, cinnamon, and ſeveral other ſpices, grow there in great plenty, which are not brought into our countries. Wine, however, though plentiful with us, groweth not in it, but inſtead thereof they make a moſt excellent drink of corn, rice, and divers ſpices.

The inhabitants of this country worſhip idols, to which they are ſo beſotted, that they think they deſerve their favours, if they proſtitute their wives, ſiſters and daughters, to be abuſed by travellers; for when any ſtranger cometh amongſt them, every maſter of a houſe ſeeketh to give him entertainment, and leaving the females and houſe to the ſtrangers, will not return until they depart, which he doth for the glory of his idols, hoping they will be more gracious to him. Certain ſprigs of gold are their money, uſing weights, and according to the weight of the ſprig is the value of the money, and this money is their larger ſort of money without ſtamp. They have alſo a leſſer, which they make after this manner. They boil ſalt in a cauldron, for about an hour, and of this, being congealed they make little lumps like two-penny loaves, which being ſolid, is ſigned with the prince's ſtamp, and they make vaſt profit thereof in places remote from cities, which have ſtore of muſk and gold, and want chapmen. Theſe barter their gold for ſalt, to uſe with their meats.

Leaving this province, they proceed fifteen days journey further, and in that ſpace meet with caſtles, and many villages whoſe inhabitants have the ſame cuſtoms that the province of Caindu hath, and at length they come unto a river called Brius, by which the province of Caindu is bounded. In this river gold is found in great plenty, which they call Di Paiola, waſhed in veſſels to cleanſe it from the ſand and earth. On the banks thereof cinnamon grows in great abundance. This river falls directly into the ocean. Having paſſed over the river Brius, they come weſtward to the province Caraian, which contains ſeven kingdoms. It is ſubject to the Great Khan, whoſe ſon named Sentemur, is made Vice-King of that kingdom, and is a young prince, rich, wiſe, and juſt.

The

The inhabitants thereof are idolaters; you ride five days journey through it, and find it all well peopled: they live on their beaſts and fruits. The country breeds excellent horſes, and it hath a peculiar and difficult language. Having finiſhed theſe five days journey, you come to the chief city called Jaci, which is both great and famous, hath in it many merchants and artificers, and many ſorts of people, idolaters, Chriſtians, Neſtorians, and Saracens, but the greateſt part of the inhabitants are idolaters. It hath corn and rice, notwithſtanding which they eat no bread of corn, becauſe it is not wholeſome, but they make bread of rice; they make drink alſo of it, and ſeveral ſpices, which is very pleaſant; they uſe white porcelane inſtead of money, and for ornaments, ſhells which are found at ſea. Much ſalt is made in this city of the water of ſalt-wells, from whence the Vice-King hath great profit. The men of this country care not if any man come to their wives, ſo they give their conſent. There is alſo a lake there very full of fiſh, containing an hundred miles in compaſs. Theſe men eat raw fleſh of hens, beef, mutton, and buffaloes, but prepared after this manner: they firſt cut it into ſmall pieces, and after ſeaſon it with excellent ſpices; but the poorer ſort ſhred it, and lay it in garlic ſauce, and eat it as we do boiled meat. Departing from the city of Jaci, having travelled ten days journey weſtward, we came to the province called, as the chief city, Carazan, which Cogatin, ſon of Cublai, governeth. The rivers there yield great quantities of waſhed gold, and alſo that which is ſolid, and on the mountains they find gold in the vein, and they give one pound of gold for ſix of ſilver. They ſpend porcelane for money brought thither from India.

The inhabitants are idolaters; very great ſerpents are bred in this country, ſome of which are ten paces in length, and in thickneſs ten ſpans. They have two little feet before near the head, with three talons or claws like lions, and the eyes bigger than a loaf, ſhining very bright. They have their mouths and jaws ſo very wide, that they are able to ſwallow a man, great and ſharp teeth; nor is there any man, or other living creature, which can behold theſe ſerpents without terror. There are alſo ſome leſs, of eight, or ſix, ſome of five paces long, which are taken after this manner: in the day-time they uſe to lie hid, by reaſon of the heat, in holes, out of which they go by night to ſeek their prey, and devour whatſoever they get, lions, wolves, as well as other beaſts, and then go to ſeek water, leaving ſuch a track through their weight in the ſands, as if a piece of timber had been drawn there; whereupon the hunters faſten under the ſands great iron ſpikes, in their uſual tracks, whereby they are wounded and ſlain. The crows preſently proclaim the ſerpent's fate, and by their cries, invite the hunters, who come and flea him, taking out his gall, which is uſed for divers medicines, amongſt other things, for the biting of mad dogs, a pennyweight given in wine; and for women in travail, for carbuncles, and other diſtempers, and they ſell the fleſh dear, as being exceeding delicate.

There are ſtout horſes bred in this province, which by their merchants are carried into India. They commonly take one bone out of the tail, leſt he ſhould bend his tail hither and thither, and eſteem it more comely, that it hang downright. They uſe long ſtirrups as the French, which the Tartars and other nations, for their ſhooting, uſe ſhort, becauſe when they ſhoot they riſe up. They uſe targets and armour in the wars, made of the hides of buffaloes; they have lancets and croſs-bows, and poiſon all their arrows. Some of them, who are villains, are ſaid to carry poiſon about them continually, that if they be taken they may ſuddenly ſwallow it, and ſo dying at once prevent torture; for which cauſe the great lords have dog's dung ready, which they force them to ſwallow, and that makes them vomit the poiſon. Before the Great Khan ſubjected them, they uſed, when any ſtranger which ſeemed of good preſence and parts lodged with

with them, to kill him by night, ſuppoſing that thoſe good parts of that man would abide afterwards in that houſe; and this ſilly notion has proved the death of many.

Travelling forwards from the province of Carazan, after five days journey weſtward, is the province of Cardandan, which alſo is ſubject to the Great Khan: the chief city thereof is called Vociam, the inhabitants whereof uſe porcelane, and weighed pieces of gold inſtead of money; for in that country, and many others lying round about, ſilver mines are not found, and they give an ounce of gold for five ounces of ſilver, and according to this exchange great gain is made. The men and women in that country cover their teeth with thin plates of gold, which they ſo fit to themſelves, that the teeth themſelves ſeem, as they were, ſet in thoſe plates. The men about their arms and legs make liſts, pricking the places with needles, and putting therein a black indelible tincture; and theſe liſts or marks are eſteemed with them as a mark of great gallantry. They give their minds to nothing but riding, hunting, hawking, and the exerciſe of arms, leaving the houſhold cares to the women, who are aſſiſted therein by ſlaves, which they buy, or take in war. When a woman is once delivered, ſhe forſakes the bed, waſhes the child, and dreſſes it, and then the huſband lieth down, and keeps the child with him forty days, not ſuffering it to depart; is viſited all that time by friends and neighbours, to cheer and comfort him. The woman looks to the houſe, and carries the huſband his broths to the bed, and gives ſuck to the child by him. Their wine is made of rice and ſpice; their ordinary food is rice, and raw fleſh, dreſſed as before mentioned. In this province there are no other idols, ſave that every family adoreth the oldeſt man in the houſe, of whom they ſay, come themſelves and all they have; they dwell for the moſt part in wild and mountainous places, but foreigners come not to thoſe mountains, becauſe the air would kill them, being in ſummer very corrupt.

They have no letters, but make their contracts and obligations by tallies of wood, one half whereof one keepeth, and the other the other, which being afterwards paid, the tally is deſtroyed. There are no phyſicians in this province, nor in Caindu, Vociam, and Caraian; but when any is ſick, they call the magicians or idol prieſts together, and the ſick perſon declares his diſeaſe unto them; then the magicians dance, and ſound certain inſtruments, and bellow forth ſongs in honour of their gods, till at length the devil entereth into one of them, ſkipping and playing in the dance. Then leaving the dance, they conſult with him that is poſſeſſed, for what cauſe this diſeaſe happened unto him, and what is to be done for his recovery. The devil anſwereth by him, becauſe he hath done this or that, or becauſe he hath offended this or that god, therefore he fell into this diſeaſe. Then the magicians intreat that god to pardon him this offence, promiſing that if the ſick perſon recovers, he ſhall offer a ſacrifice of his own blood; but if the devil, or the prieſt, think the patient to be ſick of ſuch a diſeaſe that he cannot be freed from the ſame, he uſeth to anſwer; this man hath ſo grievouſly offended that god, that he cannot by any ſacrifices be appeaſed; but if he think he ſhall recover, he commandeth to offer ſo many rams, having black heads, and to prepare ſo many magicians with their wives, by them to offer ſacrifices, and that god may then be appeaſed towards him; which being heard, his kinſmen quickly cauſe thoſe things to be done which the devil commanded. They kill rams, and ſprinkle their blood in the air, and the magicians aſſembled, light great candles, and perfume the whole houſe with incenſe, making great ſmoke of lignum aloes, and ſprinkle the broth of the fleſh in the air, with the potion made of ſpices; all which being duly performed, they ſkip about again, and dance in honour of that idol, which is ſuppoſed to have been favourable to the ſick, ſinging and making a horrible noiſe with their voices. Theſe things being performed, they aſk the poſſeſſed again, whether the idol be pleaſed? And if he anſwer,

ſwer, no, they preſently prepare themſelves to fulfil any other command of his; but if he anſwer that he is ſatisfied, they ſit down at the table, and eat the fleſh offered to the idol with great joy, and drink the liquors; and dinner being ended, and the magicians paid, every one returns to his own home; and when the ſick hath thus eſcaped the diſeaſe, through the providence of God, and hath been reſtored to health, they attribute it to the idol, to whom they ſacrificed; but if he die, then they ſay, the idol was defrauded, and that ſome of the ſacrificers taſted thereof firſt: this is not done to all, but by the richer, the devil, or his prieſts in his name, impoſing on their blindneſs.

The Great Khan, A. D. 1272, ſent an army into the kingdom of Vociam and Gurazan to reduce it, his forces being to the number of twelve thouſand veteran troops, under the conduct of a Neſtorian, an experienced officer. As ſoon as the King of Mein and King of Bengala heard of their coming, aſſembling their forces, they joined horſe and foot together about threeſcore thouſand, and about a thouſand elephants bearing caſtles, and in every caſtle twelve or ſixteen armed men were placed; with this army the King of Mein marched ſpeedily towards the city of Vociam, where the army of the Tartars lay encamped. Neſtardin, however, marched forth with invincible courage to fight the enemy, and drawing near them, encamped near a certain great wood, knowing that the elephants with their towers on their backs were not able to enter the wood. Then the King of Mein ſeeing this, reſolved to meet them; but the Tartarian horſe perceiving the elephants which were placed in the front of the battle were terrified, ſo that they could not by any means be brought to charge the elephants; the Tartars therefore were compelled to alight from their horſes, and tying them to the trees, they came to fight on foot againſt thoſe beaſts, and very wiſely ſhot a multitude of arrows againſt the elephants, which not able to endure the wounds received by the arrows, betook themſelves to flight, and went all to the next wood, broke their caſtles, and overthrew the armed men ſitting in them; which the Tartars ſeeing, run to their horſes, and getting upon them, furiouſly fell upon the King's army with great violence, and many of either army fell. At length the King of Mein being put to flight, left the victory to the Tartars, who haſtened to the wood, and taking many cap tives, uſed their help to ſeize two hundred of theſe elephants, and ever ſince the Great Khan hath uſed elephants in his army, to which before he was not accuſtomed: hereupon alſo he vanquiſhed the countries of the King of Mein and Bengala, and ſubjected them to his empire *.

Departing from the province of Caraim, there is a great deſart, which continueth two days and a half, nor is there any habitation there, but a very large plain, in which three days in the week multitudes meet together for trading. Many deſcend from the great mountains of that country, bringing gold with them to change for ſilver, that is, giving an ounce of gold for five ounces of ſilver, and therefore many merchants from

* The great conqueſts made by the Tartars in the eaſt have ſo overturned all monuments of antiquity among the nations they have ſubdued, that if it were not for the travels of Marco Polo, we ſhould be at a loſs for any of the particulars relating to them. The Chineſe hiſtorians, indeed, very fully confirm the truth of what he has delivered, but in general terms only; ſo that they add nothing circumſtantial, or capable of giving us a clearer or more diſtinct idea of what he has laid down, in reſpect to which it is ſufficient for us to obſerve, that moſt of the facts he mentions either happened at the time when he was actually preſent in the court of the Great Khan, or a very little before it; ſo that he could not but be well informed as to the truth of what he aſſerts. Strange indeed to us, who live at ſo great a diſtance from theſe countries, and are ſo little acquainted with the manners of their inhabitants, but at the ſame time very agreeable to the beſt accounts that have been afforded us of theſe countries by modern travellers, and more eſpecially by the miſſionaries, who have been at great pains to collect and reduce into order ſuch paſſages as they have met with in Chineſe and other oriental writers.

foreign nations come thither, who bring ſilver and carry gold away, and bring thither merchandize to ſell to theſe people; for to thoſe high mountains in which they who gather gold in the country dwell no ſtranger can come, becauſe the way is intricate and unpaſſable. When you are paſt that plain, going toward the ſouth, Mein bordereth upon India, and the diſtance is about fifteen days journey through places uninhabited and woody, in which innumerable elephants, unicorns, and other wild beaſts wander.

After that fifteen days' journey you come to Mein, a great and noble city, the head of the kingdom, and ſubject to the Great Khan. The inhabitants thereof have a peculiar language, and are idolaters. In this city there was a King, who being ready to die, commanded that near to his ſepulchre there ſhould be erected two towers in the form of pyramids, one at the head, the other at the feet, both of marble, of the height of ten fathom. On the top was placed a round ball; he cauſed one to be covered all over with gold, a finger thick, and the other with ſilver; and upon the top round about the balls, many little gold and ſilver bells were hanged, which, at the blowing of the wind, gave a certain ſhrill and pleaſant ſound. The monument or ſepulchre was alſo covered with plates, partly of gold, partly of ſilver. He commanded this to be made in honour of his ſoul, and that his memory ſhould never die among men. And when the Great Khan undertook to ſubdue this city, he ſent a valiant captain, and the greateſt part of his army were cavalry, of which the better part of his troops conſiſts; theſe winning the city would not demoliſh that monument without the Khan's knowledge; who hearing that the deceaſed had erected it for the honour of his ſoul, would not ſuffer it to be injured; for the manner of the Tartars is not to violate the things which belong to the dead. In this province are many elephants, wild oxen, great and fair ſtags, and deer, and other wild beaſts of divers kinds.

The province Bengala bordereth upon India towards the ſouth, which the Great Khan ſubdued when Marco Polo lived in this country. This country has its own proper King and language, the inhabitants whereof are all idolaters; they have maſters which keep ſchools, and teach idolatries and enchantments, a thing common to all the great men of that country. They eat fleſh, rice, and milk; they have cotton in great plenty, and by the manufacture thereof, much trade is there carried on. They abound alſo with ſpike, galingal, ginger, ſugar, and diverſe other ſpices; huge oxen alſo are there, comparable unto elephants in height, but not in bulk. Many eunuchs are made in this province, which are afterwards ſold to merchants. This province continueth thirty days journey, in the end whereof, going eaſtward, is the province of Cangigu, which is a country having alſo its proper King and peculiar language, the inhabitants whereof worſhip idols, and are tributary to the Great Khan; their King hath about three hundred wives; much gold is found in this province and many ſpices, but they cannot eaſily be tranſported, becauſe that country is far diſtant from the ſea: there are alſo many elephants in it, and much game. The inhabitants live on milk, fleſh, and rice; they have no wine, but they make very good drink of rice and ſpices. As well the men as the women uſe to embroider their faces, necks, hands, bellies, and legs, making the images of lions, dragons, and birds, and ſo firmly imprint them, that they cannot eaſily be put out; and the more ſuch images any one has upon his body, ſo much he is eſteemed the finer and the more gallant. And there are alſo in this country profeſſors of this fooliſh art of fleſh-embroidery, which uſe no other trade but this needlework and dying of fools ſkins.

Amu lies to the eaſt of that province, and is ſubject to the Great Khan, whoſe inhabitants worſhip idols, and have to themſelves a peculiar language. They abound with

herds of cattle, and have plenty of victuals, and many horſes, and theſe excellent, which merchants carry for ſale to India. They have alſo many buffaloes and oxen, becauſe there are delicate paſtures there. As well men as women wear bracelets of gold and ſilver, of great value, on their arms, as alſo the like on their legs; but thoſe of the women are moſt valuable: from Amu to Cangigu are above five-and-twenty days journey. The province of Tholoman is ſtill eight days journey farther diſtant to the eaſt from Amu, ſubject to the Great Khan, having a peculiar language, and worſhipping idols. The men and women in this country are tall, well-ſhaped, and of a brown complexion. The country is very well inhabited, having many and ſtrong caſtles and cities. The men are practiſed in arms, and accuſtomed to war; they burn the bodies of their dead, and, incloſing the relics of their bones in a cheſt, hide them in the caves of the mountains, that they cannot be touched either by man or beaſt. Gold is found in great plenty there, and inſtead of money, they uſe porcelane brought from India, as alſo in Cangigu and Amu. From the province of Tholoman the high road leads towards the eaſt, by a river, on the bank of which are many cities and caſtles, and at the end of twelve days you come to the great city Cintiqui. The country is ſubject to the Great Khan, and the inhabitants therefore addicted to idolatry. Excellent cloths are made in this country of the bark of trees, with which they are clothed in the ſummer. Many lions are there, ſo that for fear of them, none dare ſleep without doors by night; the veſſels which ſail up and down the river for fear of theſe lions, are not faſtened to the bank. There are great dogs in the ſame country ſo hardy and ſtrong, that they fear not to attack the lion; and it often happeneth, that two dogs and one archer kill a lion: for the dogs, ſet on by the man, give the onſet, and the lion's nature is preſently to take ſhelter from ſome tree, that the dogs may not come behind him, neither will his great heart ſuffer him to run from the dogs, leſt he ſhould ſeem afraid; but he holds his ſtately pace, the man mean while ſhooting, and the dogs faſtening on his hinder parts, but with ſuch agility, that when the lion turns on them they are gone; and then this magnanimous beaſt holds on his way again, to ſeek a tree for ſuccour, till what with bitings and arrows, he ſometimes comes ſhort, and, with expence of blood, dieth by the way. This country abounds with ſilk, which by merchants is carried to diverſe provinces by the river; they live therefore chiefly by their merchandize: their money is paper, and they are valiant in arms.

At the end of ten days is the city of Sidinfu, and twenty days from thence is Gingui, and four days thence is Palanfu, towards the ſouth, and is in Cathay, returning by the other ſide of the province. The people are idolaters, and burn their dead; there are alſo certain Chriſtians which have a church, are all under the Khan, and uſe paper money. They make cloths of gold and ſilk, and lawns, very fine. By this city, which has many cities under it, runs a great river, which carries ſtore of merchandiſe to Cambalu, made by many channels to paſs thither; but we will leave this place, and proceeding three days' journey, ſpeak of Ciangu, a great city towards the ſouth, of the province of Cathay, ſubject to the Khan. The inhabitants are idolaters, and burn their dead. Their money is the (mulberry) paper coin of the Khan. In this city, and the territories that depend upon it, they make large quantities of ſalt, for the earth abounds therewith, and out of it they get ſalt after this manner; they heap up the earth in the manner of an hill, and pour water upon it, which draws the ſaltneſs of the earth into it, and then runs into certain conduits, and is boiled in pans, till it be congealed to ſalt, fair and white, to the great gain of the people and of the Great Khan, being carried into other countries to ſell. There are large peaches, high flavoured, and weigh two

pounds a-piece. Five days journey beyond the city Ciangu, in Cathay, ſouthward, ſtandeth another city, named Ciangli, in which road are many cities and caſtles, ſubject to the Khan, through the midſt of which runs a great river, very convenient for ſhipping laden with merchandiſe.

Six days journey hence to the ſouth is the noble kingdom and great city of Tudinfu, which had formerly its proper King, before it was ſubdued by the Great Khan, A. D. 1272, and hath eleven royal cities famous for traffic under the juriſdiction thereof. It is very pleaſantly ſeated for gardens and fruits, rich in ſilks; their Khan ſent to be governor thereof one of his Barons named Lucanfer, with eight thouſand horſe, who rebelled againſt this Lord, but was reduced and ſlain by an army of one hundred thouſand horſe, under two other Barons ſent againſt him, and the country reduced to obedience. Seven days off towards the ſouth is the famous city named Singuimatu, to which on the ſouth a great river runs, which being divided by the inhabitants of the place into two rivers, flows one branch to the eaſt towards Cathay, and the other to the weſt toward Mangi; by theſe rivers innumerable veſſels, and incredible for their ſize and wealth, bring neceſſaries to both provinces. If you proceed ſixteen days journey towards the ſouth from Singuimatu, you will meet with cities and towns where prodigious trading is exerciſed. The inhabitants of theſe countries are idolaters, ſubject to the Great Khan. After that, ſixteen days, you come unto a great river named Caramoran, which is ſaid to take its riſe in the kingdom of Uncan, or Preſbyter John, in the north. It is very deep, and carries ſhips of great burthen; it is alſo well ſtocked with fiſh, within one day's journey of the ſea. There are in this river fifteen thouſand ſail, each of which carries fifteen horſes and twenty men, beſides victuals and mariners. This is the Khan's fleet, kept there in readineſs to carry an army to any of the iſlands, if they ſhould rebel, or to any remote region. Near the bank of the river where theſe ſhips are kept is Coiganzu, and over againſt it Quanzu, one a great city, the other a ſmall one. After you are paſt that river, you enter into the noble kingdom of Mangi; but you muſt not think that we have handled in order the whole province of Cathay, having not ſpoken of the twentieth part; for Marco Polo paſſing by the ſaid province, hath only deſcribed the cities in his way, leaving thoſe on both hands, and thoſe betwixt theſe to prevent tedioufneſs, and to avoid writing from hearſay.

20. The province of Mangi is the richeſt and moſt famous that is founded in the eaſt; and in An. Dom. 1269, was governed by a certain King, called Fanfur, who was richer and mightier than any which had reigned there in an hundred years, but a man peaceable and charitable, ſo beloved of his ſubjects, that thereby, and by the ſtrength of the country, he ſeemed invincible. It was from a perſuaſion of this that the King, as well as the people, loſt the uſe and exerciſe of war and arms. All the city was encompaſſed with ditches full of water. He held in pay no horſes, becauſe he feared nobody; and, in proceſs of time, the King, betaking himſelf to pleaſure more than was fit, employed his whole time in delights. He maintained about a thouſand concubines, with whom he paſſed his time in pleaſure. He maintained juſtice, and preſerved peace, no man durſt offend his neighbour and diſturb the peace, for fear of ſevere and impartial puniſhment; ſo that artificers would often leave their ſhops full of wares open by night, and yet none would preſume to go into them. Travellers and ſtrangers ſafely walked day and night through that whole kingdom, fearing no man. The King himſelf was alſo merciful towards the poor, and did not overlook them that were oppreſſed with neceſſity, or puniſhed with penury. Beſides, every year he took up twenty thouſand young infants, caſt off by their mothers, who, through poverty, were not able to keep them,

them, which he brought up, and put them, when they were grown up, to ſome trade, marrying the young men with the maids, which he had in like manner ſo educated *.

Cublai-Khan was of a different diſpoſition from Fanfur, and delighted only in wars and conqueſts; and to make himſelf great, he levied an army of horſe and foot, and made one, named Chinſan-Baian, i. e. an hundred eyes, General thereof, he therefore coming with his army and a fleet to the province of Mangi, firſt ſummoned the city Coiganzu to yield obedience to his Emperor, who refuſed the ſame; he departed without any aſſault given to the city, and required the ſame of the ſecond city, which likewiſe refuſing, he marched forwards to the third and fourth, and received the like anſwer of them all; but he aſſaulted the next with great courage, and vanquiſhed the ſame by force, and ſlew every creature of what ſex or age ſoever therein, which ſo frighted and terrified the reſt, that they all preſently yielded. The Great Khan ſent out another great army after the former, with both which armies he marched againſt the chief city Quinſai, where the King of Mangai reſided, who being mightily terrified, as never having ſeen any war, fled with his wealth on board the ſhips he had prepared, to certain impregnable iſlands in the Ocean, where he afterwards died, committing the cuſtody of the city of Quinſai to his wife, bidding her to defend it as well as ſhe could, for being a woman, ſhe needed not fear death if ſhe was taken.

It is to be obſerved, that King Fanfur had been told by his diviners, that his kingdom would never be taken from him but by one who had an hundred eyes, which the Queen knew, and therefore was ſtill in hopes not to looſe the city however ſtraightened, thinking it impoſſible for one man to have an hundred eyes; but one day ſhe heard the commander of the Tartars was called Baian Chinſan, that is to ſay, an hundred eyes, and was much terrified; wherefore calling for the commander of the Tartar army, thinking him to be the man which the aſtrologers ſpoke of, ſhe delivered the city unto him, which being heard, the citizens and inhabitants of the whole province yielded to the obedience of the Great Khan. The Queen was ſent unto the court of the Great Khan, and was moſt honourably received by him, and maintained like a Queen. And now we will ſpeak of the cities in the country of Mangi. Coiganzu is a very fair and rich city ſituate towards the ſouth-eaſt and eaſt, in the entrance of the province of Mangi, where are always great numbers of ſhips, being ſeated on the river Carama, and a great quantity of merchandize is carried thither; ſalt is alſo made there in abundance. Proceeding from Coiganzu, you ride towards the ſouth-eaſt one day's journey on a ſtone cauſeway, on both ſides whereof are great fences, with deep waters, through which they may paſs with proper veſſels; neither is there any entrance into Mangi but by ſhipping, excepting this cauſeway.

* The Chineſe hiſtories agree exactly, as to the character of this Prince, with what we find delivered concerning him by our author; but they differ widely with reſpect to the name; ſince, according to them, he was called Tou, and from the name of his family Tſong. He was the fifteenth Emperor of the nineteenth dynaſty, and ſucceeded to the throne in the year 1264. It was to his indolence, debauchery, and exceſſive love of pleaſure, that the Chineſe attribute the deſtruction of their country, and the total conqueſt of it by the Tartars. This Monarch died in the midſt of his misfortunes, and left three young children under the tutelage of the Empreſs their mother. Theſe hiſtorians give us a great character of the Tartar General, mentioned by our author; but then they give him quite another name, viz. Pe Yen; but what the ſignification of that is, I cannot inform the reader. He is ſaid to have commanded an army of two hundred thouſand men, with the ſame eaſe as if it had been only a ſmall body of troops, and to have ſhewn ſo great modeſty in the midſt of his conqueſts, as never once to have valued himſelf on the many and great ſervices he rendered to his maſter.

At

At the end of that day's journey is a city called Paughin, large and fair; the people make ſtuffs of Gold and ſilk, are merchants, and idolaters. The paper-money of the Great Khan is received throughout the whole country. It is plentiful in all neceſſaries of life. To the city Caim is from Paughin one day's journey ſouth-eaſt; and this is alſo a famous city. The country thereabouts abounding with fiſh, beaſts, and fowl, eſpecially pheaſants, are found in exceeding great plenty, as large as peacocks, of which you may have three for a Venetian groat. Proceeding farther from hence one day's journey, you come through a well manured, moſt fruitful, and well peopled country, to the city of Tingui, which though it be not over large, yet hath in it exceeding great plenty of victuals. They are merchants, and have a vaſt reſort of ſhips: there is plenty of beaſts and fowls. It is ſeated to the ſouth-eaſt, and on the left hand towards the eaſt, three days journey off the ocean, and in the country between, are very many ſalt-pits, and they make great quantities of ſalt. After this is Cingui, a great city, whence the country is furniſhed with ſalt, whereof the Khan makes immenſe profit, almoſt beyond belief: they are idolaters, and have paper-money. From Cingui, riding towards the ſouth-eaſt, you meet with the noble city Jangui, under the government whereof are other cities, ſeven and twenty in number; and in that city reſides one of the twelve barons, which are governors of provinces, choſen by that Great Khan; they are idolaters, and live on merchandize. They make arms and harneſs for war, and Maſter Marco had the ſole government thereof, by commiſſion from the Great Khan, three years together, inſtead of one of theſe barons. Naughin is a province to the weſt, one of the greateſt and nobleſt of Mangi; a place of great merchandize; they are idolaters, have none but paper money, have vaſt quantities of beaſts and fowl, wild and tame. They make cloths of gold and ſilver, and are rich merchants, and the country is very advantageous to the Khan, eſpecially by cuſtom of merchandize; there is likewiſe great plenty of corn.

Sianfu is a noble and great city in the province of Mangi, and hath twelve rich and great cities under her juriſdiction. They make great quantities of ſilks, and cloths of gold; have plenty of game, fowl, and all things pertaining to a city of note; ſo ſtrong that it was three years beſieged, and could not be vanquiſhed by the army of the Tartars, when the province of Mangi was ſubdued, for it is encompaſſed on every ſide with lakes, that there was no way to it but on the north; ſo that ſhips came and went, continually bringing plenty of victuals, which not a little afflicted the Great Khan. The two brethren, Maſter Nicolo, and Maſter Maffio, then in his court, hearing thereof, went to him, and offered him their ſervice to deviſe certain engines, after the manner of the weſt, able to ſhoot a ſtone of three hundred weight, thereby to kill men and ruin houſes. The Khan appointed carpenters, which were Neſtorian Chriſtians, who made three of theſe engines in a ſhort ſpace, which were proved before him, and by ſhips ſent to his army. Planting them therefore againſt the city Sianfu, they began to caſt great ſtones into the city; and the firſt falling upon a certain houſe, broke the moſt part of it with the violence thereof, which the beſieged inhabitants ſeeing, were very much aſtoniſhed, and yielded themſelves, and became ſubject to the Great Khan, on the ſame conditions with the reſt of Mangi, to the great repute of the two Venetian brethren, the one the author's father, and the other his uncle.

From the city of Sianfu to a certain city called Singui, are accounted fifteen miles ſouth-eaſtward, which, although it is not very large, yet has a prodigious number of ſhips, being ſeated upon the greateſt river in the world, called Quian, the breadth of which in ſome places is ten miles, in others eight, and in many ſix; but the length thereof

thereof extendeth above an hundred days journey from the ſource of it into the ſea. Innumerable other rivers flow into it, which run through divers regions, and are navigable; and theſe make it ſo great, that incredible quantities of merchandize are brought by this river. There are alſo many other cities, in number about two hundred, which participate of the advantages of this river, for it runs through the bounds of ſixteen provinces. The greateſt commodity is ſalt, wherewith all the cities which communicate by theſe waters are ſupplied. Maſter Marco ſaw at one time at Singui five thouſand veſſels, and yet other cities on the river have more; all theſe ſhips are covered, and have but one maſt, and one ſail, and uſually carry four thouſand, and ſo upwards, ſome of them twelve thouſand Venetia Cantari; neither do they uſe cordage of hemp, except for the maſt and ſail, but have canes, fifteen paces long, which they ſplit into thin parts from one end to the other, and binding the cut parts together, and wreathing them, make very long ropes, ſo that ſome of them contain three hundred fathom in length; and thoſe ropes are as ſtrong as hemp, and ſerve for halſes and cables to draw their ſhips up and down the river, each veſſel having ten or twelve horſes for that purpoſe.

On that river, in many places, are rocky hillocks, on which are built monaſteries to their idols, and all the way are vallies and places inhabited. Cayngi is a little city upon the ſame river ſouth-eaſtward, where every year is brought plenty of corn and rice, carried for the moſt part to Cambalu; for they paſs thither by lakes and rivers, and by one large canal, which the Khan cauſed to be made for a paſſage from one river to another, and from Mangi to Cambalu, without going to ſea; which work is beautiful and wonderful for the ſight and length, and more for the profit which accrues thereby to the cities. He hath made alſo great cauſeways to go on land by theſe waters commodiouſly. In the midſt of the ſaid river is an iſland, or rock, on which is erected a great temple and monaſtery, in which are two hundred idolatrous monks. Cinghianfu is a city of Mangi, rich in merchandize, plentiful of game, having all kind of wild beaſts and fowl, and of victual. In it are two churches of Neſtorian Chriſtians, built A. D. 1274, when the great Khan ſent a governor thither, Marſachis, a Neſtorian who built them. From the city Cinghianfu, in three days journey ſouth-eaſtward, you find many cities and caſtles, all idolaters, and at laſt come to Tinguigui, a great and fair city, abounding with all kind of proviſions *.

When Baian Chinſan, general of the army of the Tartars, conquered the province of Mangi, he ſent many Chriſtians called Alani againſt the city, which was double walled; into the inner they retired, into the other the Alans entered, and found there abundance of wine, whereof, after a bad journey, they began to drink ſo largely, that they were all drunk, and the citizens, in their ſleep, ſuddenly falling upon them, ſlew

* This happened the year before the death of the Emperor Tou-Tſong, and in about four years more all his children, who ſucceeded one after the other to the empire, periſhed. The firſt was taken priſoner by the Tartars, and ſent by them into their own country, where he died in captivity. The ſecond was driven to Canton, where he died of a conſumption at the age of eleven years. The third, whoſe name was Ti-Ping, having loſt all his country, was oblige to take refuge on board the fleet, which was purſued, and forced to an engagement by that of the Tartars. When the Chineſe Lord, who had the care of the Emperor's Perſon, found his veſſel ſurrounded, he took the young Prince in his arms, and jumped with him into the ſea. The Empreſs ſeeing the laſt of her ſons thus unhappily deſtroyed, followed his fate, and threw herſelf alſo into the ſea. One whole ſquadron of the Chineſe fleet forced a paſſage through that of the Tartars, but was afterwards deſtroyed by a tempeſt, ſo that not a veſſel or a man eſcaped of the whole navy; and the Chineſe writers ſay, that there periſhed in the whole a hundred thouſand men. The loſs of this battle put an end to the Chineſe empire, and left the Tartars totally maſters of the whole country.

them

them all, not one eſcaping; but Baian hearing this, ſent another great army againſt thoſe citizens which in a ſhort ſpace of time vanquiſhing the city, in revenge, put them all to the ſword, leaving none alive. The great and excellent city Singui contains in circuit twenty miles: multitudes of people are in it, it hath many rich merchants and induſtrious artificers, and it hath alſo very many phyſicians and magicians, and wiſe men, or philoſophers. In the mountains of this city, rhubarb and ginger grow in great plenty. This city hath ſixteen cities under the juriſdiction thereof, in each of which much trade is carried on, and many curious arts are exerciſed, many ſorts of ſilk are made there. The word Singui ſignifies the city of the Earth: alſo they have another city which they call Quinſai, that is to ſay, the city of Heaven. From Singui, at the diſtance of one day's journey, is Vagiu, where is alſo abundance of ſilk, and able artificers, with many other merchants, as there are in general in all the cities in this country.

21. In a journey of three days, you find cities, caſtles, and villages, well peopled and rich. The people are idolaters, under the dominion of the Great Khan. At the end of theſe days you come to Quinſai, i. e. the city of Heaven, which for the excellency thereof hath that name; for in the world there is not the like, or a place in which are found ſo many pleaſures, that a man would think he were in paradiſe. In this city our author Marco Polo hath often been, and conſidered the ſame with great diligence, obſerving the whole ſtate thereof, ſetting down the ſame in his memorials, as here from them ſhall be declared briefly. This city by common report, is an hundred miles in circuit. The ſtreets and lanes are very long, and very wide; there are market-places exceeding large; on the one ſide a clear lake of freſh water, on the other a great river, which enters in many places, and carries away all the filth of the city, and ſo runneth into that lake, thence continuing its courſe into the ocean. This courſe of water cauſeth a good air, and commodious paſſage both by land and by thoſe canals. There may go both carts and barks to carry neceſſaries; and the report is, that there are twelve thouſand bridges great and ſmall, and thoſe on the chief channels are ſo high, that a ſhip without her maſts may paſs under, and at the ſame time chariots and horſes paſs over it. On the other ſide the city is a large canal forty miles long, which encloſes it on that ſide, large and full of water, from the river, made by the ancient Kings of that province, both to receive the overflowing of the water, and beſides that to fortify the city, the earth which was taken out being laid within as a bank or hill encompaſſing it *.

There are ten great market-places, beſides others in the great ſtreets, which are ſquare, half a mile in each ſquare; and from the great entrance is a principal ſtreet, forty paces wide, running right from one end of the city to the other, with many bridges croſſing it, and every four miles is found ſuch a market-place, two miles, as is ſaid, in compaſs. There is alſo one large canal, which runs againſt the ſaid ſtreet behind the market-places, on the next bank whereof are erected great ſtore-houſes of

* This deſcription of the city of Quinſay has occaſioned many reflections upon our author, as if writing of countries at ſo great a diſtance, he took the liberty of impoſing on his readers the notions of his imaginations for the facts which he had ſeen. Under this imputation he for a long time laboured, eſpecially with ſuch as were deſirous of maintaining the reputation of ſagacious and penetrating people; but by degrees the credit of our author has got the better of all ſuch inſinuations, and the relations given by the Portugueſe, and other Europeans, who went thither after the diſcovery of the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope, have put it out of doubt that he did not invent any part of his relation, but repreſented things fairly as they appeared to him, though certainly with fewer circumſtances, and leſs accuracy, than ſucceeding travellers, who had more time to examine, and greater capacities for deſcribing what they ſaw.

ſtone, where the merchants from India, and other parts, lay up their merchandize, being at hand, and commodious for the market-places. In each of theſe market-places the people meet three days in a week, to the number of between forty and fifty thouſand, who bring thither all things that can be deſired for man's life, beaſts, game and fowls, that lake yielding ſuch advantages for bringing them up, that for a Venetian groat you may have two geeſe, and four ducks for the ſame. Then follow the butcher-rows, of veal, beef, kid, and lamb, which the great and rich men eat; for the poor eat all the offal, and unclean meats, without reſpect. There are all ſorts of herbs and fruits continually, and amongſt the reſt huge pears, weighing ten pounds apiece, white within like paſte, and very fragrant. Peaches yellow and white, very delicate. Grapes grow not there, but are brought from other places dried; very good wine alſo, but it is not eſteemed in thoſe parts as with us, that of rice and ſpices contenting them. Every day from the ocean are brought up the river, which is the ſpace of five-and-twenty miles, great quantities of fiſh, beſides that of the lake, ſo much that a man would think would never be bought, and yet in a few hours all his gone. All theſe market-places are encompaſſed with high houſes, and underneath are ſhops for artificers and all ſorts of merchandize, as ſpice, jewels, pearls, and in ſome only rice-wine. Many ſtreets anſwer one to another in the ſaid market-places; in ſome of them are many cold baths, accommodated with attendants of both ſexes, a thing to which from children they uſe themſelves. There are chambers alſo in the ſame baths, with hot waters for ſtrangers, which are not accuſtomed to the cold waters; they waſh every day, neither do they eat before they have waſhed.

In other ſtreets are mercenary proſtitutes, in ſuch numbers, that I dare not report it, and not only near the market-places, where they have their places appointed, but through all the city; they ſtand pompouſly adorned with rich perfumes, many ſervants, and their houſes finely furniſhed. Theſe are very ſkilful in making ſports and daliances, and contriving pleaſures for raviſhing men out of themſelves. In other ſtreets are the phyſicians, the aſtrologers, they which teach to read and write, and infinite other trades. At each end of every market-place is a palace, where lords and governors are appointed by the King to determine difficulties which happen betwixt merchants and others, as alſo to look to the guards on the bridges, puniſhing ſuch as are negligent. Along the principal ſtreet on both ſides are great palaces with gardens, and near them houſes of artificers, and ſuch multitudes of people going to and fro, that a man would wonder whence ſuch multitudes could be provided with victuals; and Maſter Marco learned of an officer of the cuſtom-houſe in Quinſay, that by a very accurate computation, it appeared, the daily expence of pepper in Quinſay was three-and-forty Somma and every Somma is two hundred and twenty-three pounds. Hence may be gueſſed the quantity of victuals, fleſh, wine, and ſpices, were there ſpent. The inhabitants are idolators, uſe none but paper money, are of a very fair complexion, apparelled for the moſt part in ſilk, which grows in all that territory abundantly, beſides that which is brought from other places. There are twelve principal companies or corporations, each of which have one thouſand ſhops, and in each ſhop or ſtanding are ten, fifteen or twenty men at work, and in ſome forty under one maſter.

The rich tradeſmen do not work with their hands, but ſtand in their ſhops, well, or rather pompouſly dreſſed, eſpecially their wives, with jewels invaluable. And although their old Kings ordained, that the child ſhould be of the father's trade, yet the rich are permitted not to work at it, but to keep their ſhop, and men working in the ſame trade. Their houſes are well built, and very richly furniſhed with pictures and other orna-

ments of immenſe price. The natives are peaceable, know not how to manage arms, nor keep them in their houſes, neither is there ſtrife and debate among them. They exerciſe their trades with great ſincerity. They live in ſuch amity, that one ſtreet ſeems as one houſe without jealouſy among their wives, which they hold in great reſpect, and it would be reputed a great diſgrace to ſpeak a diſhoneſt word to a married woman. They entertain foreign merchants kindly, both in their houſes, and with beſt advice for their affairs; but they are not over fond of the ſoldiers, and guards of the Grand Khan, becauſe by them deprived of their natural lords and Kings. About the lake are very fair buildings, and great palaces of the principal men, and temples of their idols, with monaſteries of many monks. In the midſt of the lake are two iſlands, upon each of which is a palace with incredible numbers of rooms, whither they reſort upon occaſion of marriages, or other feaſts, where proviſions of veſſels, linen and other things are maintained in common, for ſuch purpoſes, one hundred ſometimes accommodated at once in ſeveral rooms. In the lake alſo are boats and barges for pleaſure, adorned with fair ſeats and tables, and other proviſions for a banquet. covered above, and flat, upon which men ſtand with poles to puſh the boat on, the lake being but ſhallow: within they are painted, without are windows to open and ſhut at pleaſure; nor can any thing in the world ſeem more pleaſant than in this lake to have ſuch various objects, the city ſo fully preſenting itſelf to the eye, with ſo many temples, monaſteries, palaces, gardens, with high trees, and on the water barges and people; for their cuſtom is to work one part of the day, and to ſpend ſome part in this diverſion with their friends, or with women on the lake, or elſe in chariots, riding through the city, which is alſo another of the Quinſay pleaſures; for all the ſtreets are paved with ſtone, as alſo are all the highways in the province of Mangi only for the foot; poſts are left on the ſide a ſpace unpaved: the principal ſtreet of Quinſay is paved ten paces on each hand, and in the midſt it is full of gravel, with paſſages for the water, which keep it always clean.

In this ſtreet are innumerable long cloſe chariots, accommodated with cloths and cuſhions of ſilk for ſix perſons, who divert themſelves in the ſtreet, or go to the gardens, and there paſs the time in bowers, fine walks, &c. which are kept for that purpoſe, and return at night in the ſame chariots. When a child is born, the father ſets down the exact point of time, and with that note goes to the aſtrologer to conſult of his future fortunes; of theſe aſtrologers are a great number in every market-place. Theſe people will not celebrate a marriage without ſuch conſultation. When one dies that is of note, the kindred cloath themſelves in canvas, and ſo both men and women accompany him to the burying-place, playing on inſtruments, and ſinging all the way prayers to their idols, and being come to that place, caſt into the fire many papers of cotton whereon are painted ſlaves, horſes, camels, ſtuffs of gold, and ſilk, and monies which they think he ſhall really poſſeſs in another world, and make a grand concert of muſic, in conceit of the joy wherewith the idols there receive his ſoul, where he beginneth, as they fancy, to live anew. In every ſtreet are towers of ſtone, to which, when in danger of fire, they uſe to carry their gods, their timber-houſes being very ſubject to ſuch caſualties. The Khan hath ordered, that on the moſt of the bridges, day and night, there ſtand under a covert, ten ſoldiers, five by day, and five by night, and every guard-room is a tabernacle of wood, with a great baſon, whereby they know the hours of the day and night, which at every hour's end the warders ſtrike, to ſignify what hour, one, two, &c. beginning at the ſun-riſing; and then again at the beginning of the night. They walk up and down, and if any have

a light

a light or fire after the appointed time, they cauſe him to anſwer it before the juſtices, or governors aforeſaid, or if any walk later.

If any be not able to work, they carry him to ſome hoſpital, of which are exceeding many, founded by the old Kings with great revenues, through the city: when they are well again, they are compelled to work. If a fire happen, theſe from divers places come to and quench it, and to carry the goods to the iſlands, or thoſe towers; for in the night none of the citizens dare go out, but thoſe who are in danger. The Khan always keeps here a body of his beſt and moſt faithful ſoldiery, as being the beſt and richeſt place in the world. Within a mile of each other, are built ramparts of wood, where the ſame precautions are uſed for like purpoſes. When the Khan had reduced all Mangi to his obedience, he divided it, being before but one kingdom, into nine parts, and ſet them a Vice-King over each, who there adminiſters juſtice. Every year they give account to the Khan's officers, of the revenues, and other accidents, and every third year are changed, as all other officers are. One of theſe deputy Kings is reſident at Quinſay, who is governor of above one hundred and forty cities, all rich and great: nor let this be eſteemed a wonder, ſeeing in Mangi there are twelve thouſand cities, all inhabited by rich and induſtrious people, in every one of which the Khan maintaineth a garriſon, proportionable to the greatneſs and occcaſions, one thouſand, ten, or twenty thouſand, not all Tartars, but Cathayans; for the Tartars are horſemen, and keep in ſuch places as may be fit to exerciſe their horſes. Into Cathay he ſends thoſe of Mangi, and Cathayans hither, ſuch as are fit for arms, of which he makes choice every third year, and ſends them for four or five years together, into places twenty days journey from their own country, and then ſuffers them to return home, a freſh body ſucceeding; and moſt part of the Khan's revenues are this way expended, and if any city rebel, he ſuddenly from the next garriſon compoſes an army to reduce or deſtroy them. The city of Quinſay hath in conſtant garriſon thirty thouſand ſoldiers, and that which hath leaſt, hath one thouſand regular troops, horſe and foot in garriſon *.

I come next to ſpeak of the palace of King Fanfur. His predeceſſors cauſed to be incloſed a place of ten miles circuit, with high walls, and divided it into three parts. That in the midſt was entered by one gate on the one ſide, and on the other were great and large galleries, the roof ſuſtained by pillars, painted and wrought in pure gold and fine azure. Theſe were ſmaller at the entry, and the further the greater, the faireſt at the end; the roof richly adorned with gold, and on the walls were painted the ſtories of the former kings, done very elegantly. Every year, on certain idol holidays Fanfur keeps his court, and feaſts his principal lords, the great merchants and rich artificers of Quinſay. Ten thouſand are at a time under theſe terraces. This feaſting endured ten or twelve days with incredible magnificence, every gueſt endeavouring to preſent himſelf in greateſt pomp. Behind this marble building was a wall, which divided the palace in which were, as it were, a cloiſter with pillars, ſuſtaining the terrace

* The Tartars viſibly depended upon a military force for the preſervation of their empire in China, which whether it was an effect of their own policy, or a part of the Chineſe ſyſtem of government which they adopted, is uncertain; but it is moſt probable that it was the latter. However, it was far enough from anſwering the end, for the Tartar forces becoming a mere ſtanding army, and having nothing to do but to make a lazy livelihood of that profeſſion, the ſoul of which is an active ſtate; they ſoon degenerated, and became as ſoft and effeminate as the Chineſe; while the latter, humbled by the Tartar conqueſt, impoveriſhed by enduring the burthen of ſuch a numerous army, and, above all, taught the value of liberty by the loſs of it, began to form deſigns for bringing about a new revolution, which at laſt they were ſo lucky as to effect.

round about the cloiſter, wherein were chambers for the King and Queen, curiouſly wrought. From this cloiſter was an entrance into a gallery ſix paces wide, extending in length to the lake, all covered. On each ſide of this gallery were ten courts, anſwering to each other like cloiſters, each court having fifty chambers, with their gardens, and in them one thouſand concubines abode, which the king kept for his ſervice, who, ſometimes with the Queen, ſometimes with them, went on his royal barge on the lake, for recreation, or to viſit his idol temples. The other two parts of the Seraglio were divided into groves, lakes, and gardens, planted with trees, in which were encloſed all ſorts of beaſts, roe-bucks, ſtags, hares, conies, and there the King diverted himſelf with his damſels in chariots, or on horſeback, no man entering there. There the ladies hunted with his dogs, and when weary, they went into thoſe groves, which anſwered one another over the lake, and there leaving their garments, came forth naked, and fell to ſwimming in the King's preſence. Sometimes he would eat a banquet in thoſe groves, being ſerved by thoſe damſels, without once thinking of arms, which ſweet meat coſt him the ſour ſauce ye have heard. All this was told me by a rich old merchant of Quinſay, while I was there, one who had been familiar with King Fanfur, and knew all his life, and had ſeen that palace flouriſhing, into which he would needs bring me.

The viceroy now reſides there, and the firſt galleries remain as they were, but the damſels chambers are ruined. The walls alſo which encompaſſed the woods and gardens are fallen to the ground, the beaſts and trees being gone, and all the other ornaments deſtroyed. Twenty-five miles from Quinſay is the ocean, between the eaſt and north-eaſt, near which is a city called Gampu, an excellent port, where arrive the Indian ſhips with merchandize. While Marco Polo was in Quinſay, account being given to the Grand Khan of the revenues, and the number of inhabitants, he hath ſeen that there have been inrolled one hundred-and ſixty toman of fires, reckoning for a fire the family dwelling in one houſe; every toman contains ten thouſand, which makes ſixteen hundred thouſand families, of all which there is but one church of Chriſtians, and thoſe Neſtorians. Every houſholder is bound to have written over his door the names of his whole houſhold, males and females; alſo the number of horſes, the names added or blotted out as the family increaſeth or decreaſeth; and this is obſerved in all the cities of Mangi and Cathay. Thoſe alſo that keep inns write in a book the names of their gueſts, and the day and hour of their departure, which books they ſend daily to the lords or magiſtrates, who preſide at the market-places. In Mangi the poor which are not able to bring up their children, ſell them to the rich. The revenues which accrue to the Khan from Quinſay, and the other cities pertaining thereto, being the ninth part of the kingdom of Mangi, are firſt of ſalt, every year, eight tomans of gold, every toman is eighty thouſand Sazzi's of gold, and every Sazzi is more than one florin of gold, which will amount to ſix millions and four hundred thouſand ducats. The cauſe is, that that province being nigh the ſea, there are many lakes, where the water in ſummer is coagulated into ſalt, wherewith five other kingdoms in that country are ſerved. There is plenty of ſugar growing, which pay, as likewiſe all ſpices do, three parts, and a third in the hundred: the like of rice-wine. Alſo thoſe twelve companies, which we ſaid had twelve thouſand ſhops, and the merchants which bring goods hither, or carry any hence by ſea, pay the ſame price. They which come from remote countries and regions, as for example, from the Indies, pay ten per cent. Likewiſe all things there breeding, as beaſts, and growing out of the earth, and ſilk, pay tithe to the King, and the computation being made in the preſence of Maſter Marco, beſides ſalt before-mentioned, yearly amounts to

two hundred-and-ten tomans, which will be ſixteen millions eight hundred-thouſand ducats in gold *.

A day's journey from Quinſay to the ſouth-eaſt, are all the way houſes, villages, fair gardens, and plenty of victuals; at the end whereof is Tapinzu, a fine city in the juriſdiction of Quinſay. Three days thence, ſouth-eaſt, is Uguiu, and two days farther you may ſtill ride that way, finding caſtles, cities, and well cultivated places, in ſuch a neighbourhood that they ſeem to travellers all one city, and are all in the juriſdiction of Quinſay; there are great canes fifteen paces long and four palms thick. Two days journey farther is the city Congui, fair and large; and travelling farther ſouth-eaſt, are places full of people and trades; and in this part of Mangi are no ſheep, but beavers, buffaloes, goats, and ſwine in great plenty. At the end of four days journey farther is the city Zengian, built on a hill in the midſt of a river, which dividing into two branches, encompaſſes it, and then runs one to the ſouth-eaſt, the other to the north-weſt. This city is in the juriſdiction of Quinſay, and its inhabitants are merchants alſo and idolaters; this country abounds with all ſorts of game. Three days journey from thence, through a moſt pleaſant country, exceeding well inhabited, ſtands Gieza, a great city, which is the laſt of the Quinſay kingdom; after which you enter into another kingdom of Mangi, called Concha; the principal city thereof is called Fugiu, by which you travel ſix days journey ſouth-eaſt, through hills and dales, always finding places inhabited, and plenty of game, of beaſts and fowl; they are idolaters, merchants ſubject to the Khan. There are ſtout lions and here grow ginger and galingale in great plenty, with other ſorts of ſpices; eight pounds of ginger are ſold for a Venetian groat. There is an herb, whoſe fruit hath the effect, and gives the colour and ſmell of ſaffron, but is not ſaffron, which is uſed in their meats. They commonly eat man's fleſh, if the perſons die not of ſickneſs, as better taſted than others. When they go into the field they ſhave to the ears, and paint their faces with azure: they ſerve on foot, except the captain, who rides, and uſes a ſword and lance; they are very cruel, and when they kill an enemy preſently drink his blood, and afterwards eat his fleſh.

After ſix days journey is Quelinfu, a great city, with three bridges, each eight paces broad, and above an hundred long: the women fair and delicately ſhaped. They have abundance of ſilk and cotton, are great merchants, have plenty of ginger and galingale. I was told, but ſaw them not, that they have hens without feathers, hairy like cats, which yet lay eggs, and are good to eat. Here are many lions, which make the way very dangerous. After three days journey, you arrive in a populous country, inhabited by idolaters, who make abundance of ſilk manufactures, the chief city is Unguem, where is great plenty of ſugar, ſent thence to Cambalu, which they knew not how to make good till they became ſubject to the Khan, in whoſe court were Babylonians, which taught them to refine it with aſhes of certain trees, they only boiling it before into a black paſte. Fifteen miles farther lies Cangiu, ſtill in the realm of Concha, and here the Khan keeps an army in readineſs for a guard of the country. Through this city paſſes a river a mile broad, fairly built on both ſides, and abounding with ſhips

* Theſe particulars might very well appear (as indeed they did) abſolutely incredible, at a time when there was not ſo much as an idea of a well peopled and regularly ſettled country beyond the limits of Perſia, received among the Europeans. As the Chineſe were amazed, and knew not what to think of our manners, when we came firſt among them, ſo the firſt news of ſuch an empire as China, ſo extenſive, ſo well peopled, ſo admirably governed, and in ſo flouriſhing a condition, muſt needs aſtoniſh us not a little. According to the lateſt account of this empire, its revenues amount to fifty millions ſterling annually.

carrying ſugar and other lading. This river diſembogues from hence five days journey ſouth-eaſt at Zaitum, a ſea-port, from which the rich ſhips of India come to this pleaſant city, as is all the country betwixt, in which are trees and ſhrubs of camphire. Zaitum is a famous port, where all the ſhips arrive with merchandize, thence diſperſed through all India. There is here ſuch a quantity of pepper, that what comes by Alexandria to the weſt is little to it, and, as it were, one of a hundred. The concourſe of merchants is incredible, it being one of the moſt commodious ports in the world, exceeding profitable to the Khan, who receives cuſtom at the rate of ten in the hundred of all merchandize. They pay ſo much for hire of ſhips alſo, that there is not above one half of their merchandize remaining entire to themſelves, and yet that moiety yields vaſt profit to them. The citizens are idolatrous, given to pleaſure; in it are many artificers on embroidered and arras work. The river is great, very wide and ſwift, and one arm of it runs to Quinſay, at the parting of which is Tringui ſituated, where porcelane diſhes are made. I was told of a certain earth, which they caſt up in hills, and ſo let lie expoſed to all weathers for thirty or forty years without ſtirring; after which refining by time, they make diſhes, paint them, and then put them in the furnance. You may there have eight diſhes for one Venetian groat. In this kingdom of Concha, the Khan has as great a revenue almoſt as that of the kingdom of Quinſay. In theſe two Maſter Marco was, and in none of the other nine kingdoms of Mangi, in all which one language is uſed, with variety of dialect, and but one ſort of writing; and therefore we will ſpeak no more of them, but in the next book diſcourſe of India the Greater, the Middle, and the Leſs, in which he was both in the ſervice of the Khan, and alſo in his return with the Queen to Argon.

22. We will now enter into the affairs of India, and begin with their ſhips, which are made of fir, with one deck, on which are twenty cabins, more or leſs, according to the bigneſs of the ſhips, each for one merchant. They have a good rudder, and four maſts with four ſails, and ſome two maſts, which they either raiſe or take down at pleaſure. Some greater ſhips have thirteen diviſions on the inſide, made with boards enchaſed, ſo that if by a blow of a whale, or touch of a rock, water gets in, it can go no farther than that diviſion, and the leak being found, is ſoon ſtopped. They are double, that is, have two courſes of boards, one within the other, and are well caulked with oakum, and nailed with iron, but not pitched, for they have no pitch, but anointed with an oil of a certain tree mixed with lime and hemp, beaten ſmall, which binds faſter than pitch or lime. The greater ſhips have three hundred mariners, the others two hundred, or one hundred and fifty, as they are in bigneſs and in burthen, from five to ſix thouſand bags of pepper *; and they were wont to be larger than now they are, the ſea having broken into parts and iſlands, that the defect of water in ſome places cauſeth them to build leſs. They uſe alſo oars in theſe ſhips, four men to one oar; and the greater ſhips have with them two or three leſs ſhips, able to carry a thouſand bags of pepper, having ſixty mariners or upwards on board; which ſmall ſhips ſerve ſometimes to tow the greater. They have alſo with them ten ſmall boats for fiſhing and other ſervices faſtened to the ſides of the larger ſhips, and let down when they pleaſe to uſe them. They ſheath their ſhips alſo after a year's uſage, ſo that then they have three courſes of boards, and they proceed in this manner ſometimes till there

* This account of the ſhips uſed in the trade of the Eaſt Indies agrees exactly with the modern relations; and though, without doubt, they fall very far ſhort of our ſhips for many purpoſes; yet for ſome, the nature of thoſe ſeas conſidered, they may be, and very probably are, more convenient.

be ſix courſes, after which they break them up. Having ſpoken of the ſhips, we will ſpeak of India, and, firſt, of certain iſlands.

Zipangu, *i. e.* Japan, is an iſland on the eaſt, one thouſand five hundred miles diſtant from the ſhores of Mangi, very great, the people of white complexion, of gentle behaviour, in religion idolaters, and have a King of their own. They have gold in great plenty, for few merchants come thither, and the King permits no exportation of it; and they which have carried on commerce there, ſpeak of the King's houſe covered with gold, as churches here with lead, gilded windows, floors of gold. There are alſo many pearls. Once the fame of theſe riches made Cublai-Khan to ſend to conquer it two of his Barons, with a great fleet of ſhips, one named Abbaca, and the other Venſanſin, who going from Zaitum and Quinſay, arrived there, but falling out between themſelves, could take but one city, and there beheaded all they took, except eight perſons, which by an enchanted precious ſtone, encloſed in the right arm between the ſkin and fleſh, could not be wounded with iron; whereupon, with wooden clubs, at the command of the two Barons, they were ſlain. It happened one day that a northern wind blew hard, which was dangerous to the ſhips riding there, ſo that ſome were loſt, ſome put out farther to ſea, and others, with the two leaders and a few principal perſons, returned home. Out of many broken ſhips ſome eſcaped by boards and ſwimming to an iſland not inhabited, four miles off Zipangu, and were about thirty thouſand, without proviſion or arms, againſt whom the Zipanguaners, after the tempeſt was calmed, ſent out a fleet of ſhips, and an army. Theſe coming on land to ſeek the wrecked Tartars without order, gave occaſion to the Tartars to wheel about, the iſland being high in the midſt, and to get unſeen to their ſhips, which were left unmanned, with the ſtreamers diſplayed, and in them they ſailed to the chief city of Zipangu, where they were admitted without ſuſpicion, and found few others but women. The King of Zipangu beſieged them ſix months, and they having no relief, yielded themſelves, and their lives were ſaved. This happened A. D. 1264*.

The Khan, for the ill conduct of his two commanders, cut off the head of one, and ſent the other to a deſart iſland called Zerga, where he cauſed offenders to die, by ſewing them, their hands bound in a new flayed hide of a buffaloe, which drying, ſhrinketh ſo as it puts them to vaſt tortures, which lead to a miſerable death. The idols in this and the adjoining iſlands are made with heads of kine, ſwine, dogs, and in other faſhions more monſtrous, as with faces on their ſhoulders, with four, ten, or even an hundred hands; and to theſe they aſcribe moſt power, and do moſt reverence, and ſay, that ſo they learned of their progenitors. They ſometimes eat their enemies which they take, with great joy, and for great dainties; at leaſt ſo it is reported of them. The ſea, in which this iſland lies, is called the ſea of Cin, or Chin, that is, the ſea againſt Mangi, and in the language of that iſland Mangi is called Chin or Chint, which ſea is ſo large, that the mariners and expert pilots, who frequent it, ſay, that there are ſeven thouſand four hundred and forty iſlands therein, the moſt part of them inhabited; that there grows no tree which yields not a good ſmell and that there grow many ſpices of divers kinds, eſpecially lignum aloes, and pepper black and white. The ſhips of Zaitum are a year in their voyage, for they go in winter, and return in ſummer, having winds of two ſorts, which keep their ſeaſons, and this country is far from India; but I will leave them, for I never was there, nor are they ſubject to the Khan, and return to

* This attempt made by the Tartars to conquer Japan is a very curious circumſtance, and of great conſequence to the hiſtory of this country, becauſe mentioned by no other author, which is the reaſon that Father Martini refers us hither on that head, in his moſt accurate work of the empire of China.

Zaitum;

Zaitum; from hence failing ſouth-weſtward one thouſand five hundred miles, paſſing a gulph called Cheinan, which continues two months ſailing to the northward, ſtill confining on the ſouth-eaſt of Mangi, and elſewhere with Ania and Toloman, and other provinces before named. Within it are infinite iſlands all in a manner inhabited: in them is found abundance of gold, and they trade one with another.

22. This gulph ſeems like another world; and after one thouſand and five hundred miles, ſailing acroſs this gulph, is the county Ziambar, rich and great, having a King and a language of their own, idolaters, and paying tribute to the Grand Khan of twenty elephants, and lignum aloes in great quantities yearly. A. D. 1268, the Khan hearing of the riches of this iſland, ſent thither Sagatu with an army to invade it. Acambate the King thereof was old, and made his compoſition by paying the tribute, which has been mentioned. There are many woods of black ebony there, which are of infinite value. Sailing thence betwixt the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt one thouſand five hundred miles is Java, at preſent ſuppoſed by mariners the greateſt iſland in the world, being above three thouſand miles in circuit, under a King who payeth tribute to none, the Khan not offering to ſubject it, becauſe of the length and danger of the voyage. The merchants of Zaitum and Mangi fetch thence abundance of gold and ſpices. South and ſouth-weſtward ſix hundred miles from Java are two iſlands, one Sondur, which is the greater, the other Condur, leſs, both deſolate.

Fifty miles ſouth-eaſt from them is a province, or firm land, very rich and great, named Lochae, the people idolaters, having a language of their own, as well as a King. There grows Braſil wood in great plenty, much gold, elephants, wild beaſts, and fowl, a fruit called Bercias, large as lemons, very good; the place is mountainous and ſavage, and the King permits not any one to come thither, leſt they ſhould know his country, and attempt to conquer it. There are abundance of porcelane ſhells for money tranſported to other places. Five hundred miles ſouthward from Lochae is the iſle Pentan, a ſavage place, which produceth in all the woods ſweet trees; ſixty miles in the way, the ſea is in many places but four fathom, after which ſailing to the ſouth-eaſt thirty miles further, is the iſland and kingdom of Malaiur, which hath a peculiar King and language to itſelf, and here a great trade is carried on in ſpices from Pentan. One hundred miles ſouth-eaſt is Java the Leſs, in compaſs about two thouſand miles, and hath in it eight kingdoms, and the people as many languages; they are idolaters, have abundance of treaſure, ſpices, ebony, and Braſil, and are ſo far to the ſouth, that the north ſtar cannot there be ſeen. Maſter Marco was in ſix of thoſe kingdoms, of which he gives following account, leaving the other two which he ſaw not.

One of theſe eight kingdoms is Felech, where the idolaters, by frequent trade with Saracens, are converted to the law of Mohammed. In the cities the mountaineers are very beaſtly, eating man's fleſh and all kinds of impure food, and worſhip all day what they firſt ſee in the morning: next to that is Baſma, which hath a language by itſelf; they live without law like beaſts, and ſometimes ſend hawks to the Khan, who lays claim to all the iſland. For ſavage beaſts they have wild elephants, and unicorns much leſs than elephants, like the buffaloe in hair; their feet are like elephant's feet, they have one horn in the midſt of the forehead, and hurt none therewith, but with the tongue and knee; for on their tongue are certain long prickles, and ſharp, and when they hurt any they trample on him, and preſs him down with their knees, and then tear him to pieces with their tongue. The head is like a wild boar's, which he carries downwards to the ground. They love to ſtand in the mire, and are filthy beaſts, and not ſuch unicorns are ſaid to be in our parts, which ſuffer themſelves to be taken by maids, but quite contrary. They have many apes, and of ſeveral kinds; they have goſs-hawks

black

black as ravens, great and good for prey. There are certain ſmall apes, in their faces like men, which they put in boxes, and preſerve with ſpices, and ſell them to merchants, who carry them through the world, ſhewing them for pigmies, or little men.

Samara is the next kingdom, where Maſter Marco ſtaid five months againſt his will, forced by ill weather. There none of the ſtars of Charles's Wain are ſeen. He once went on ſhore with two thouſand people, and there fortified for thoſe five months, for fear of thoſe brutiſh men-eaters, and traded meanwhile with them for victuals. They have excellent fiſh, wine of the date-tree, very wholeſome for phthiſic, dropſy, diſeaſes of the ſpleen; ſome white, ſome red, and Indian nuts as big as a man's head, the middle whereof is full of a pleaſant liquor better than wine; they eat of all ſorts of fleſh without any difference. Dragoian is another of theſe kingdoms claimed by the Khan, having a King and language of their own. I was told of an abominable cuſtom, that when one is ſick, they ſend to enquire of the ſorcerers whether he ſhall eſcape? If the devils anſwer no, the kindred ſend for ſome, whoſe office it is to ſtrangle the ſick party; after which they cut him in pieces, and the kindred eat him with great jollity, even to the marrow of the bones; for, ſay they, if any ſubſtance of him ſhould remain, worms would breed thereof, which would want food, and ſo die, to the great torture of the ſoul of the deceaſed. The bones they afterwards take and carry into ſome caves in the hills, that no beaſt may touch them. If they take any ſtranger, they eat him in the ſame manner.

Lambrai is the fifth kingdom of Java, in which is great plenty of Braſil, of the ſeeds whereof Maſter Marco brought to Venice, and ſowed them, but in vain, the ſoil being too cold. They have unicorns in great abundance, and choice of beaſts and fowls. Fanfur, the ſixth kingdom, hath the beſt camphire, which is ſold weight for weight with gold. In that province they make meal out of great and long trees, as thick as two men can fathom; whence, paring off the thin bark and wood about three fingers thick, the pith within is meal, which they put in water, and ſtir it very well, the lighteſt droſs ſwimming, and the fineſt ſettling to the bottom, and then the water being caſt away, they make paſte, of which Maſter Marco brought ſome to Venice, taſting not much unlike barley-bread. The wood of this tree thrown into the water ſinks like iron, of which they make lancets, but ſhort; for if long, they would be too heavy to bear. Theſe they ſharpen, and burn at the tops, with which ſo prepared, they will pierce through armour ſooner than if they were made of iron. About one hundred and fifty miles from Lambri, ſailing northwards, are two iſlands, one called Nocueran, in which the inhabitants live like beaſts, go all naked, both men and women, and worſhip idols, have excellent trees, cloves, ſanders white and red, Indian nuts, Braſil and other ſpices; the other Angaman, ſavage as the former, and where I was told they had dogs' heads and teeth.

24. Sailing hence one thouſand miles to the weſt, and a little to the north-weſt, is Zeilan, two thouſand and four hundred miles in circuit, and anciently three thouſand and ſix hundred miles, as is ſeen in the maps of the mariners of thoſe places; but the north winds have made a great part of it ſea. It is the fineſt iſland in the world; the King is called Sendernaz. The men and women are idolaters, go naked, ſave that they cover their privities with a cloth, have no corn, but rice and oil of Seſamino, milk, fleſh, wine of trees, abundance of Braſil, the beſt rubies in the world, ſapphires, topazes, amethyſts, and other gems: the King is ſaid to have the very fineſt ruby that was ever ſeen, as long as one's hand, and as big as a man's arm, without ſpot, ſhining like a fire, not to be bought for money. Cublai-Khan ſent and offered the value of a city for it; but the King anſwered, he would not give it for the treaſure of the world, nor part with

it, becauſe it had been his anceſtors. The men are unfit for ſoldiers, and hire others when they have occaſion. From Zeilan, ſailing ſixty miles to the weſt, lies the great province of Malabar, which is not an iſland but firm continent, called India the Greater, the richeſt province in the world: there are in it four Kings, the chief of which is Sinder Candi, in whoſe kingdom they fiſh for pearls, viz. betwixt Malabar and Zeilan, in a bay where the ſea is not above ten or twelve fathom; in which divers deſcend and in bags or nets tied to their bodies, bring up the oyſters, in which are the pearls: and becauſe there are ſome great fiſh which kill the fiſhermen, they hire certain Bramins to charm them, and theſe have the twentieth, and the King the tenth. Theſe oyſters are found through the whole month of April, and till the middle of May, and not at any time elſe. In September they find them in a place above three hundred miles off, and till the midſt of October. The Khan goes as naked as the reſt, ſave that he wears ſome honourable enſigns, as a collar of precious ſtones about his neck, and a thread of ſilk to his breaſt, with one hundred and four fair pearls ſtrung thereon to count his prayers by, of which he muſt daily ſay ſo many to his idols. A ſort of bracelets he weareth on three places on his arms, and likewiſe on his legs, on his fingers, and on his toes. The prayers which he ſays are *Pacauca*, *Pacauca*, *Pacauca*, one hundred and four times. This King hath one thouſand concubines, and if any pleaſe him, he takes her, as once he did from his brother, whence wars had followed; but the mother threatening to cut off her breaſts, which had nouriſhed them, if they proceeded, the quarrel was compoſed. He hath many horſemen for his guard, which always accompany him, who, when the King dies, throw themſelves voluntarily into the fire when he is burnt, to do him ſervice in the next world.

This Prince and his brethren, the Kings of Malabar, buy their horſes from Ormus, and other parts; the country breeds none, and if it ſometimes falls out that it does, yet are they there bred ill-favoured and naught. Condemned perſons will offer themſelves to die in honour of ſuch an idol, which is performed with twelve knives, and twelve wounds in divers parts of the body, at every blow, ſaying, "I kill myſelf in honour of that idol;" and the laſt he thruſts in his heart, and is then burnt by his kindred. The wives alſo caſt themſelves into the fire with their huſbands, diſrepute following thoſe who refuſe it. They worſhip idols, and moſt of them adore cows, and would not eat ſo holy fleſh as beef for all the world. There are ſome called Gaui, who eat ſuch oxen as die of themſelves, but may not kill them, and daub over their houſes with ox-dung. Theſe Gaui are of the poſterity of thoſe which ſlew St. Thomas, and cannot enter the place where his body is. They ſit on carpets on the ground in this kingdom: they have no corn but rice; are not a martial people; kill no beaſts, but when they will eat any, get the Saracens to do it, or other people; waſh twice a-day, morning and even-ing, both men and women, and will not otherwiſe eat, which they who obſerve not are accounted heretics. They touch not their meat with their left hand, but uſe that hand only to wipe, and for other unclean uſes. They drink each in his own pot, and will not touch another man's pot, nor ſuffer their own to touch their mouth, but hold it over, and pour it in. To ſtrangers who have no pot they pour drink into his hands, and oblige him to drink with them. Juſtice is ſeverely adminiſtered for crimes, and a creditor may in ſome caſes encompaſs his debtor with a circle, which he dares not paſs till he hath paid the debt, or given ſecurity; if he does, he is to be put to death; and Maſter Marco once ſaw the King himſelf on horſeback thus encircled by a merchant, whom he had long delayed and put off; neither would the King go out of the circle which the merchant had drawn, till he had ſatisfied him, the people applauding the King's juſtice. They are very ſcrupulous of drinking wine made of the grape, and they

which do it are not thought worthy or honeſt men, or admitted to be witneſſes, a thing denied alſo to him who fails by ſea, for they ſay ſuch men are deſperate. They think lechery no ſin. It is very hot, and they have no rain but in June, July, and Auguſt; without which refreſhing of the air they could not live. They have many phyſiognomers and ſoothſayers, which obſerve beaſts and birds, and have an unlucky hour every day in the week called Choiach, as on Monday, betwixt two and three, on Tueſday the third hour, and on Wedneſday the ninth, &c. through all the year, ſet down in their books. They curiouſly obſerve nativities. At thirteen years old they put their boys to get their own livings, who run up and down to buy and ſell, having a ſmall flock given them to begin, and in pearl ſeaſon they buy a few pearls, and ſell them again to the merchants, which cannot well endure the ſun, for little gain; what they get they bring to their mothers to dreſs for them, for they may not eat at their father's coſt. They have idols, male and female, to whom they offer their daughters, who, when the monks or prieſts appoint, ſing and dance to the idols, and very often ſet victuals before them, ſaying that they eat, leaving it the ſpace of a meal, ſinging all the while, and then they fall to eating in earneſt, after which they return home. The cauſe of theſe ſacrifices is the houſhold quarrels betwixt the god and goddeſs, which, if they ſhould appeaſe, they ſhould loſe their bleſſing. The great men have litters made of large canes, which they faſten artificially to ſome upper place to prevent tarantulas biting, and alſo fleas and other vermin, and for freſh air.

The place of St. Thomas's ſepulchre is a ſmall city, not much frequented by merchants, but very much by Chriſtians and Saracens for devotion. The Saracens hold him a great prophet, and call him Ananias, that is, a holy man. The Chriſtians take of the earth where he was ſlain, which is red, and carry it with them with great reverence, and give it, mixed with water, to the ſick. A. D. 1288, a great Prince, having more rice than room to lay it in, made bold with St. Thomas's church, in the room where pilgrims were received; but by a viſion of St. Thomas in the night, was ſo terrified that he quickly left the place. The inhabitants are black, not ſo born, but became ſo by often anointing themſelves with jeſſamine oil, to obtain that beauty. They paint the devil white, and their idols black. The cow-worſhippers carry with them to battle ſome of the hair of a wild ox, as a preſervation againſt dangers, and therefore ſuch hairs are ſold at a high price.

25. Murfili, or Monſul, is northward from Malabar five hundred miles; the inhabitants are idolaters. They have diamonds in their hills, which they ſearch for after great rains. Weſtward from St. Thomas is Lac, whence the Bramins have their original, who are the honeſteſt merchants in the world, and will not lye for any thing, and faithfully keep any thing committed to their cuſtody, or as brokers ſell or barter merchandiſe for others. They are known by a cotton thread, which they wear over the ſhoulders, tied under the arm croſſing the breaſt. They have but one wife, are great aſtrologers, of great abſtinence, and long life; obſerve their own ſhadow in the ſun, when they are to buy, and thence conjecture according to the rules of their art. They conſtantly chew a certain herb, which makes their teeth good, and helps digeſtion. There are ſome religious among them, called Tangui, who go altogether naked, live auſterely, worſhip cows, of which they have little braſs images on their foreheads, and of the ox-bones aſhes make an ointment, wherewith they anoint their bodies in divers places with great reverence. They neither kill or eat any live creature, nor herb green, or root before it is dried, eſteeming every thing to have a ſoul. They uſe no diſhes, but lay their victuals on dry leaves of apples of paradiſe. They caſe themſelves in the ſands, and then diſperſe it hither and thither, leſt it ſhould breed worms, which

muſt die for want of food. Some of them live to one hundred and fifty years, and their bodies, after death, are burnt.

In Zeilan I had forgot to mention a high mountain, which none can aſcend but by iron chains, as I was told, in the top whereof the Saracens ſay is Adam's ſepulchre; the idolaters ſay it is the body of Sogoman Barchan, the firſt idol founder, ſon to the King of that iſland, who betook himſelf to a ſolitary life on the top of this hill, from whence no pleaſures nor perſuaſions could draw him; his father made an image after his death to repreſent him, all of gold, adorned with garments, and commanded all the iſlanders to worſhip it: and hence, as they ſay, began idolatry. Hither they come from remote places in pilgrimage, and there his fore-teeth, and a diſh of his, are reſerved, and as holy relics ſolemnly ſhewed. The Saracens ſay they are of Adam, which report cauſed the Khan, A. D. 1281, to ſend ambaſſadors thither, who obtained two teeth and a diſh, and ſome of his hairs, by grant, from the King of Zeilan, which he cauſed to be received by the whole people of Cambalu without the city, and brought to his preſence with great honour.

Cael is a great city, governed by After, one of the four brethren, who is very rich, alſo very kind to merchants; he hath three hundred concubines. All the people have a cuſtom to be continually chewing in their mouths a leaf called Tembul, with ſpices and lime. Coulam is five hundred miles ſouth-weſt from Malabar; they are idolaters. There are alſo Chriſtians and Jews, who have a ſpeech by themſelves. They have pepper, Braſil, Indico, lions all black, parrots of divers ſorts, all white as ſnow, others azure, others red, and ſome ſmall peacocks and peahens, very different from ours, and larger, as are their fruits; they are lecherous, and marry their ſiſters and near kindred: there are many aſtrologers and phyſicians. In Camari are apes ſo large, that they ſeem to be men: and here we had a ſight of the north-ſtar. Delai hath a King, and the inhabitants have their own language: the people are idolaters, and have plenty of ſpices; the ſhips of Mangi come thither. Malabar is a kingdom in the weſt, in which, and in Guzerat, are many pirates, who ſometimes put to ſea with above an hundred ſail, and rob merchants. They bring with them their wives and children, and there remain all ſummer. In Guzerat is abundance of cotton, the trees ſix fathoms high, and laſt twenty years; the cotton of theſe trees is not fit to ſpin after they are above twelve years old, but for quilts: there are many Rhinoceros's. In Canhau is ſtore of frankincenſe. It is a great city, where is great trade for horſes. In Cambaia is much Indico, buckram, and cotton. Semenath is a kingdom of a peculiar language, they are idolaters, merchants, and a good people. Reſmacoran is a great kingdom of idolaters and Saracens. The laſt province of the Greater India, towards the north-weſt, is five hundred miles, near which are ſaid to be two iſlands, one of men and the other of women, thoſe coming to theſe, and there ſtay in March, April, and May. The women keep their ſons till twelve years, and then ſend them to their fathers. It ſeems the air of that country admits no other courſe: they are Chriſtians, and have their biſhop, ſubject to the Biſhop of Socotora; they are good fiſhermen, and have ſtore of amber. Socotora hath an archbiſhop, not ſubject to the Pope, but to one Zatuli, who reſides at Baldach, who chooſeth him. The Socotorans are inchanters, as great as any in the world, though excommunicated therefore by their prelate, and raiſe winds to bring back ſuch ſhips as have wronged them till they obtain ſatisfaction.

26. A thouſand miles thence ſouthward is Magaſter, one of the greateſt and richeſt iſles in the world, three thouſand miles in circuit, inhabited by Saracens, governed by four old men; the people live by merchandize, and ſell vaſt quantites of elephants'

teeth. The currents in theſe parts are of exceeding force. They report ſtrange ſtories of fowls called Ruch, like an eagle, but of incomparable bigneſs. Zenſibar alſo is ſaid to be of great length, &c. There are elephants, giraffas, and ſheep, very unlike to ours; the men and women very deformed. I have heard mariners and ſkilful pilots of thoſe parts report, and have ſeen in their writings, which have compaſſed the ſea of India, that there are in it twelve thouſand and ſeven hundred iſlands inhabited and deſert. In India Major, which is from Malabar to Cheſmacoran, are thirteen kingdoms.

India Minor is from Ziambi to Murſili, in which are eight kingdoms, beſides many iſlands. The ſecond, or Middle India, is called Abaſcia, the chief King a Chriſtian. There are ſix other Kings, three Chriſtians, and three Saracens, ſubject to him; there are alſo Jews. St. Thomas having preached in Nubia, came to Abaſcia, and there did the like, and went afterwards to Malabar. They are very valiant ſoldiers, always in arms againſt the Soldan of Aden, and the people of Nubia. I heard that A. D. 1288, the Great Emperor of the Abiſſines would have viſited Jeruſalem, but being diſſuaded by reaſon of the Saracen kingdoms in the way, he ſent a Biſhop of holy life to perform his devotions, who in his return was taken by the Soldan of Aden, and circumciſed by force; whereupon the Abiſſine Monarch raiſed an army, diſcomfited the Soldan, with two other Mohammedan Kings, took and ſpoiled Aden. Abaſcia is rich in gold; Eſcier is ſubject to Aden, forty miles diſtant ſouth-eaſt, where is plenty of white frankincenſe, very good, which drops from ſmall trees by inciſion of the bark, a rich merchandiſe, &c. Some in that country, for want of corn, make biſcuit of fiſh, of which they have great plenty: they alſo feed their beaſts with fiſh. They take them in March, April, and May.

27. After having ſpoken of the provinces on the coaſt, I will now return to ſome provinces more to the north, where many Tartars dwell, which have a King called Caidu, of the race of Zingis-Khan, but ſubject to none. Theſe obſerve the cuſtoms of their anceſtors, dwell not in cities, caſtles, or fortreſſes, but dwell with their King in the fields, plains, vallies, and foreſts, and are eſteemed true Tartars. They have no ſort of corn, but live on fleſh and milk, in great peace. They have multitudes of horſes, kine, ſheep, and other beaſts. There are found great white bears, twenty palms long, black foxes, very large, wild aſſes, and little beaſts called Rondes, which bear the fable furs, and variarcolini, and thoſe which are called Pharaoh's rats, which the Tartars are ſkilful in taking. The great lakes which are frozen, except for a few months in the year, are the cauſe that in the ſummer it is ſcarce to be travelled for mire, and therefore the merchants in going to buy their furs, for fourteen days journey through the deſart, have ſet up for each day a houſe of wood, where they barter with the inhabitants, and in winter they uſe ſledges without wheels, and plain on the bottom, riſing with a ſemicircle at the top, or end, which are drawn on the ice by beaſts like great dogs, by couples, the ſledge-man only with his merchant and furs ſitting therein.

At the extremity of the region of theſe Tartars is a country reaching to the fartheſt north, called the obſcure land, becauſe the moſt part of the winter months the ſun appears not, and the air is thick and darkiſh, as betimes in the morning with us. The men there are pale and ſquat, have no Prince, and live like beaſts. The Tartars often rob them of their cattle in thoſe dark months, and, leſt they ſhould loſe their way, they ride on mares which have colts ſucking, which they leave with a guard at the entrance of that country, where the light beginneth to fail, and when they have taken their prey, give reins to the mares, which haſten to their colts. In their long continued ſummer, they take many of the fineſt furs (on occaſion of the Tartars going to rob them), of which I have heard ſome are brought into Ruſſia. Ruſſia is a great country near

that

that northern darkneſs. The people are Greek Chriſtians, the men and women fair, and pay tribute to the King of the Tartars of the weſt, on whom they border. On the eaſt there is plenty of furs, wax, and mines of ſilver; it reaches, as I was told, to the ocean ſea, in which are iſlands that abound in ger-falcons and falcons.

28. We are now arrived at the cloſe of this author's writings, and therefore are more capable of judging of the particulars they contain, which was the reaſon that I left ſome points to be conſidered here, which I ſhould otherwiſe have thrown under the head of objections. Some critical readers have affected to doubt, whether our author, or rather his performance, deſerves credit, from the account that is given of the manner in which it was wrote, and from the different ſtories that we have told of the original. We have already accounted for the miſtakes that have been made on this head, and ſhall here only take notice, that Francis Pipin, of the order of preachers, who made a Latin tranſlation of our author's work, tells us in his preface, that from the report of his domeſtics, he was ſatisfied that Marco Polo was a man of great prudence, remarkably honeſt, and one who had the faireſt character that could be. It is not very eaſy to conceive, that ſuch a man ſhould expoſe that credit which he had been at ſo much pains to eſtabliſh, by ſending into the world an indigeſted heap of fictions and romances. But the ſame perſon informs us farther, that Signior Nicolo Polo, the father of our author, was the moſt eſteemed and beſt beloved man of his time, and that he conſtantly reported the very ſame facts during his whole life, which his ſon publiſhed in his works; and as for his uncle Signior Maffio, who enjoyed ſome of the principal offices in the government at Venice, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his wiſdom and integrity, when he was upon his death-bed he took particular care to aſſure his confeſſor, that he had reviewed his nephew's work, and that he was fully ſatisfied that there was nothing in it that was not ſtrictly true, and this he gave him leave to declare for the ſatisfaction of the world. Here then are three credible witneſſes to the ſame facts, and therefore, according to all the laws of evidence, they ought to be looked upon as thoroughly eſtabliſhed.

We muſt however diſtinguiſh between ſuch facts as our author reports from his own knowledge, and thoſe which are grounded only on hearſay and information. We may accuſe an author of credulity or imprudence, who inſerts ſtrange and improbable things in his writings, but we cannot with juſtice charge him with infidelity or falſehood on that head, and we ought alſo to make ſome allowance for the genius of the time in which he wrote, becauſe it cannot be preſumed, that even the wiſeſt and moſt prudent men can be totally free from the errors of the age in which he flouriſhed: it may not be amiſs to give a few inſtances with regard to our author.

In the twenty-fifth chapter there is an account of diamond mines, in the kingdom of Murfili, where we have omitted a paſſage that is to be met with in moſt of the editions of our author, becauſe it is reported on the credit of the inhabitants, and we were willing to examine it by itſelf, that the reader might perceive we had no intention to impoſe upon him thoſe improbabilities which had been impoſed upon our author himſelf. After having told us that diamonds are found there at the bottom of the rocky mountains, after the rainy ſeaſon is over, he proceeds thus: "They alſo in the ſummer-time aſcend theſe mountains, though with great difficulty, becauſe of the vehemence of the heat, and find abundance of thoſe precious ſtones among the gravel. In this they are likewiſe much expoſed to danger from the vaſt number of ſerpents of enormous ſize, which ſhelter themſelves in the holes and caverns of theſe rocks, where, nevertheleſs, they find diamonds in the greateſt abundance. Among other methods of obtaining them, they make uſe of this: there are abundance of white eagles that reſt in the upper part

part of thoſe rocks, for the ſake of feeding on the ſerpents, and in the deep vallies and precipices, where men are afraid to venture themſelves, they throw pieces of raw meat, which the eagles perceiving, immediately ſtoop and ſeize it, with all the little ſtones and gravel that adhere to theſe moiſt pieces of meat. Such as ſearch for diamonds watch the eagles' neſts, and when they leave them, pick up ſuch little ſtones, and ſearch likewiſe for diamonds among the eagles' dung. The Kings and great men in this country keep the faireſt and fineſt of theſe ſtones to themſelves, and ſuffer the merchants to ſell the reſt."

The famous Julius Cæſar Scaliger was extremely offended with this relation, which he treats with the utmoſt contempt, and ſeems to wonder at the aſſurance of a writer that expects ſtories of this kind ſhould gain credit; yet, after all, I do not ſee that there is any great harm in our author's relating this tale, however improbable it may ſeem, ſince without doubt he received it from the inhabitants, and what motives they had to tell him ſuch a ſtory is not very difficult to gueſs. The native Indians, in all the revolutions that have happened in the countries where they live, have preſerved this trade in their own hands, and by fables of one ſort or other kept ſtrangers from attempting to interfere with them. Our author was very probably the firſt European that was ever at the diamond mines, and therefore we have the leſs reaſon to be ſurpriſed at his being impoſed upon in an affair of which he could not be a competent judge.

But to make the reader ſome amends for ſo imperfect a relation of the manner in which this valuable trade is carried on, I ſhall take this opportunity of inſerting the beſt account of the matter that I believe has been hitherto given, by one who was an eye-witneſs of it in the year 1680, and that too in the very country known to our author by the name of the kingdom of Murfili. "The diamonds are ſo ſcattered and diſperſed in the earth, and lie ſo thin, that in the moſt plentiful mines it is rare to find one in digging, or till they have prepared the ſtuff, and ſearched purpoſely for them: they are alſo frequently encloſed in clods; and ſome of thoſe of Molwilleed, and the new mines in the kingdom of Golconda, have the earth ſo fixed about them, that, till they grind them on a rough ſtone with ſand, they cannot move it ſufficiently to diſcover they are tranſparent, or were it not for their ſhapes, to know them from other ſtones. At the firſt opening of the mine, the unſkilful labourers ſometimes, to try what they have found, lay them on a great ſtone, and ſtriking them one with another, to their coſtly experience diſcover they have broken a diamond. One I know who had an excellent ſtone of eight mangellans, that is, thirty-two grains, ſerved ſo by ignorant miners he employed. Near the place where they dig they raiſe a wall, with ſuch rugged ſtones as they find at hand, whereof all the mines afford plenty, of about two feet high, and ſix feet over, flooring it well with the ſame; for the laying of which they have no other mortar than the earth tempered with water. To ſtrengthen and make it tight, they throw up a bank againſt the ſide of it, in one part whereof they leave a ſmall vent about two inches from the bottom, by which it empties itſelf into a little pit made in the earth to receive ſmall ſtones, if by chance any ſhould run through. The vent being ſtopped, they fill the ciſtern they have made with water, ſoaking therein as much of the earth they dig out of the mine as it can conveniently receive at a time, breaking the clods, picking out the great ſtones, and ſtirring it with ſhovels till the water is all muddy, the gravelly ſtuff falling to the bottom; then they open the vent, letting out the foul water, and ſupply it with clean, till all the earthy ſubſtance be waſhed away, and none but a gravelly one remains at the bottom. Thus they continue waſhing till about ten of the clock before noon, when they take the gravelly ſtuff they have waſhed, and ſpread it on a place made plain and ſmooth for that purpoſe near the ciſtern, which being ſo dried by the heat of the ſun at that

that time of the day, they very curiouſly look it over, that the ſmalleſt bit of a ſtone can hardly eſcape them. They never examine the ſtuff they have waſhed, but between the hours of ten and three, leſt any cloud, by interpoſing, intercept the briſk beams of the ſun, which they hold very neceſſary to aſſiſt them in their ſearch, the diamonds conſtantly reflecting them when they ſhine on them, rendering themſelves thereby the more conſpicuous.

" Some of the experteſt labourers are employed in ſearching, he that ſets them at work uſually ſitting by, and over-looking; but it is hardly poſſible, eſpecially where many are employed, to watch them ſo narrowly but that they may ſteal part of what they find, as many times ſome of them do, and ſelling it privately, convert it to their own uſe. If they find a large ſtone, they carry it not preſently to their employer, but keep on looking, having an eye on him, till they obſerve he takes notice of it, when, with the turn of their hand, they give him a glimpſe of it, but deliver it not till they have done work, and then very privately, it being the general endeavour to conceal what they find, leſt it ſhould come to the knowledge of the governor of the place, and he requires a ſhare, which in the kingdom of Golconda is uſually practiſed, without any reſpect to the agreement made with them. The miners, thoſe that employ them, and the merchants that buy ſtones of them, are uſually Pagans, not a Muſſelman, that ever I heard of, followed the employment. Theſe labourers, and their employers, are Tellingas, commonly natives of or near the place. The merchants are the Banians of Guzerat, who for ſome generations have forſaken their own country to take up this trade, in which they have had ſuch ſucceſs, that it is now ſolely engroſſed by them, who, correſponding with their countrymen in Surat, Goa, Golconda, Viſiapore, Agra, and Dilu, and other places in India, furniſh them all with diamonds.

" The governors of the mines are alſo idolaters. In the King of Golconda's dominions a Tellenga Brammee rents moſt of them, whoſe agreement with the adventurer is, that all the ſtones found under a pagoda weight are to be their own; all of that weight and above is to be his, for the King's uſe. But although this agreement be ſigned and ſealed, he minds not at all the performance thereof, but endeavours to engroſs all the profit to himſelf, by tyrannically ſqueezing both merchants and miners, whom he not only taxes very high, but maintaineth ſpies among them of their own people. On the leaſt ſuſpicion that they have been any ways fortunate, he immediately makes a demand on them, and raiſes their tax; elſe on a falſe pretence they have found a great ſtone, drubs them till they ſurrender what they have, to redeem their bodies from torture.

" Beſides, the exciſe is ſo high on all ſorts of proviſions, beetle, and tobacco, which with them are eſteemed neceſſaries, that the price of all things is doubled; by which courſe there is hardly a man to be found worth five hundred pounds amongſt them, moſt of them dealing by monies taken up at intereſt of uſurers, who reſide there purpoſely to furniſh them, who with the governor eat up their gains, ſo that one would wonder any of them ſhould ſtay, and not betake themſelves to places where they might have better uſage, as there are many in other governments, and ſome few that have the ſenſe to remove; but many their debts, others hopes of a great hit, detains. Both merchant and miner go generally naked, only a poor cloth about their middle, and their faſh on their heads; they dare not wear a coat, leſt the governor ſhould ſay they have thriven much, and are rich, and ſo enlarge his demands on them. The wiſeſt, when they find a great ſtone, conceal it till they have an opportunity, and then with wife and children run all away into the Viſiapore country, where they are ſecure. The government in the Viſiapore country is better: their agreements obſerved, taxes eaſier, and

and no ſuch impoſitions on proviſions; the merchants go handſomely clad, among whom are ſeveral perſons of conſiderable eſtates, which they are permitted to enjoy peaceably, by reaſon whereof their mines are much more populous, and better employed than thoſe of Golconda."

It is for the ſame reaſon that I have omitted another improbable ſtory of a bird called a Ruc, of ſuch a monſtrous ſize as to be able to carry an elephant into the air; which abſurdities our author was probably induced to believe, by the ſtrange things he daily ſaw in theſe parts of the world, and of which the people in Europe had not ſo much as the leaſt idea. Theſe omiſſions I thought requiſite for keeping the work within bounds, as having no inclination to try the patience of my readers, by inſerting any more of theſe old travels than ſeem abſolutely neceſſary for connecting the ſeveral parts of this diſcourſe, and ſhewing how, in what manner, and by whom thoſe great diſcoveries were made, which enabled the different nations in Europe to carry on ſo great a trade as they do to all parts of the Eaſt Indies. This, without doubt, was originally owing to this work of Marco Polo, who, though no geographer or ſeaman himſelf, yet left ſuch clear and evident proofs of the poſſibility of reaching the moſt diſtant parts of Aſia by ſea, that his work was more eſteemed in Portugal, where the firſt ſpirit of diſcovery appeared, than in Italy itſelf. It remains, in this place, to give a ſhort account of the names by which he has diſtinguiſhed the countries he viſited, and particularly to anſwer the great objection raiſed againſt his work, from his not making any mention of the famous wall in China for keeping out the Tartars, which ſhall be done in as few words as poſſible.

Our author following exactly the ſentiments of the Tartars, diſtinguiſhes all this great country into two parts, viz. Cathay and Mangi, about which many doubts have been raiſed, and many diſputes ſet on foot without any juſt grounds, ſince it is very plain, that, under the denomination of Cathay, Marco Polo comprehends the ſix northern provinces of China, and under that of Mangi the nine ſouthern provinces, which are ſeparated from the former by the great river Kiang; and when we come hereafter to treat of the preſent ſtate of the empire of China, we ſhall take occaſion to ſhew, that this deſcription of his agrees very well with the beſt accounts of that empire. This will be the more intelligible to the reader, when he is informed, that the Tartars ſtill preſerve theſe very forms of ſpeech, that is to ſay, give the name of Cathay to the northern parts, and that of Mangi to the ſouthern provinces of China. As to this latter, it is a name of contempt, for Mangi, in the Tartar tongue, implies Barbarians, and ſo they eſteemed the Chineſe to be, not from the brutality of their manners, but from their extravagant haughtineſs and pride, and eſpecially from that intolerable hatred and contempt with which they treated the Tartars themſelves. The plain reaſon why our author did not mention the famous wall in China was, becauſe he entered it by the ſouthern provinces; and as he confines himſelf to the places he ſaw, or to ſuch as were in their neighbourhood, and proſecutes his deſcription from the weſtern parts of China to the ſea, it was impoſſible he ſhould take notice of it; ſo that when we conſider this matter attentively, it is very plain, that this circumſtance, inſtead of leſſening the credit of Marco Polo, ought, in truth, to ſtrengthen it very much, ſince it is a convincing proof of the truth of what he has aſſerted in relation to his own travels, and his deſcriptions of the countries through which he paſſed; and evidently ſhews he did not amuſe himſelf with accounts of countries and provinces of which he could ſay nothing but from report, to which, if he had liſtened, his relation muſt have been much more obſcure and perplexed than we find it at preſent. But it is now time to proceed to the concluſion of this ſection, by ſhewing the advantages that may be obtained by the peruſal of Marco Polo's Travels, in order to the thorough underſtand-

ing of our ſubject. And this we ſhall perform as conciſely as poſſible, and in ſuch a manner as may diſengage us from the neceſſity of looking into any more of theſe old writers for the future.

29. As the inhabitants of Europe, received the firſt diſtinct account of the vaſt country of China from our induſtrious Venetians, ſo from them likewiſe they had the cleareſt and beſt account of the revolutions that had happened in that empire by the power of the Tartars; a thing of ſuch conſequence to the right underſtanding what ſubſequent travellers have related, that I will be bold to ſay all the difficulties and diſcouragements that have been thrown in our way, and have ſo long hindered our making a right uſe of the many collections of travels already publiſhed, have ariſen in part from a humour that for ſome time prevailed, of treating Marco Polo's relation as a romance, and partly through the miſtakes made by thoſe, who for want of having ſufficient lights, and the materials that were requiſite, undertook to explain the hiſtory of the irruptions of the Tartars into China, and endeavoured to make the dates and facts mentioned in theſe travels, fall in with their accounts, accuſing, at every turn, the author of errors and faults, of which themſelves only were guilty. To remedy theſe diſorders, and to make the way plainer for the future, we ſhall, without running into a long diſcuſſion of what other writers have advanced, obſerve, that there have been three diſtinct conqueſts of China made by the Tartars, of each of which we ſhall give a clear and diſtinct account in very few words. The firſt of theſe was by the Eaſtern Tartars, who, before the time of Zingis Khan, made themſelves maſters of the northern provinces of China, and fixed the ſeat of their empire at Khanbalick, Cambalu, or Pekin; and this, as I conceive, gave riſe to what is called the empire of Cathay; concerning which, all our antient writers in general deliver themſelves with ſo much confuſion, ſometimes repreſenting Cathay as a part of Tartary, ſometimes again comprehending under that name the whole empire of China; and at others, diſtinguiſhing it from both. But from this diſtinction, it clearly appears, that though the ancient empire of Cathay was ſituated in China, yet it was an empire raiſed by the Tartars; and that from want of attending to this, ſo many miſtakes have been introduced.

The prince who governed Cathay in the time of Zingis Khan was Altan Khan, againſt whom that great conqueror made his firſt attempt, in the year 1206, and that with ſuch ſucceſs as to oblige this monarch, after various defeats, to ſhut himſelf up in the city of Cambalu, and to ſue for a peace, which, with much difficulty, he obtained; for the confirmation of which he gave his daughter in marriage to Zingis-Khan. This peace was of but very ſhort continuance; for Altan-Khan, having a jealouſy that ſome of his nobility held intelligence with his enemy, he put many of them to death; and finding the northern parts of his dominions in a manner waſted and depopulated by the late invaſion, he retired to the city of Nankin, which his father had fortified with three walls the laſt of which was forty leagues in circuit, and left his ſon in poſſeſſion of Khanbalick and of the adjacent countries. The reſt of the nobility, enraged at the inſtances of ſeverity before-mentioned, and at the ſame time doubting their own ſafety, had immediate recourſe to Zingis-Khan, and drew him a ſecond time into Cathay, where he made himſelf maſter of the imperial city of Cambalu; the news of which accident affected Altan-Khan to ſuch a degree, that he poiſoned himſelf. This happened about the year 1210; and thus the Tartars became maſters of the northern parts of China. They continued their conqueſts under the reign of the ſucceſſors of Zingis-Khan, till the emperor, who reigned when our author was in theſe parts, viz. Coplai-Khan, who in the year 1278 completed the conqueſt of Mangi, or the ſouthern parts of China.

The bounds of Zingis-Khan's conqueſts on this ſide, was the river Hoang; but his ſucceſſors annexed all the country between that river and the river of Kiang. All the reſt were ſubdued by Coplai-Khan, and his general Pe Yen. This was the ſecond conqueſt made by the Tartars, who not only deſtroyed the empire formerly eſtabliſhed by their countrymen in Cathay, but alſo that of the native Chineſe, which had ſubſiſted for ſo many ages. This ſhort recapitulation ſets this affair in its true light, and not only explains what Marco Polo has told us, and reconciles his accounts with thoſe of later authors, but alſo connects his relation with that of Rubruquis, and even thoſe of the Arabian travellers; ſo that taking the whole together, we have a clear and ſatisfactory view of the affairs of China, to that which I call the ſecond conqueſt by the Tartars; but as the affairs of this country were entirely changed again before the arrival of the Portugueſe by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, I think it will be for the reader's eaſe and advantage to have this hiſtory conducted to its cloſe before we enter upon the diſcoveries and conqueſts of the Portugueſe; becauſe otherwiſe, when we come to ſpeak of the Chineſe as again in the poſſeſſion of their country, and again driven out and conquered by the Tartars, it muſt neceſſarily introduce infinite confuſion. It is from the Chineſe writers that we have the reigns of the Tartar emperors who ſucceeded Coplai-Khan, and of whom there is very little mention made in the hiſtories of the Tartars.

The Chineſe, as I before obſerved, called this new imperial family Yuen, and beſtowed the name of Chi-Tſou upon Coplai-Khan, of whom their hiſtories ſpeak with the utmoſt reverence, and whom they celebrate, for his having opened the great canal mentioned by our author, and which has been ever ſince juſtly conſidered as one of the wonders of China. It is three hundred leagues in length, and nine thouſand imperial barks are conſtantly employed thereon, in tranſporting the tributes of the ſouthern provinces to Cambalu or Pekin, and in other ſervices. Theſe writers place the death of this Emperor ſomewhat lower than the Tartar hiſtorians; for the former ſay, that he lived to the age of fourſcore, and died A. D. 1295, whereas the latter place that event in 1292. He was ſucceeded in the empire by his grandſon, whom our author calls Timur, but in the Chineſe chronicles he is ſtiled Tching-Tſong; and as his grandfather excelled in power ſo he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his clemency and the love of his ſubjects. After him reigned ſeven other princes of his family, all whom were no leſs illuſtrious on the ſcore of their perſonal virtues, than glorious from their poſſeſſing ſo large an empire: and it is very remarkable, that the Chineſe hiſtory renders ſo great juſtice to this foreign race of Princes, as to ſtile the period in which they ruled over China, the "Wiſe Adminiſtration." The laſt of them was Chun-ti, a prince of great natural endowments, but who unfortunately gave himſelf up to prieſts and women, leaving the management of the affairs of the empire entirely to his prime miniſter. The Tartar ſoldiers, through ſo long a piece, had loſt the original diſcipline, and were become ſlothful and effeminate, which ſo raiſed the courage of the Chineſe, that they began to ſhew a diſpoſition to revolt; and one Tchou, an obſcure perſon who had been no better than a footman, having put himſelf at the head of a body of malcontents, reduced many of the great cities in the empire; and became, by degrees, ſo powerful, that he twice defeated the imperial army, and at laſt forced the Tartars to abandon China, after they had been poſſeſſed of it ninety-nine years. This revolution happened in 1370; and Tchou having by his ſucceſs in this war raiſed himſelf to the imperial throne, aſſumed the name of Tai-Tſou, and fixed his imperial reſidence in the city of Nankin. And thus it was that the Chineſe, having expelled their conquerors, recovered the dominion of their own country.

As for the Emperor Chun-ti, he retired with his Tartar ſubjects northwards, and died of grief and vexation about two years after this revolution happened. The Tartars that were thus expelled, having a ſtrong tincture of the Chineſe cuſtoms, did not join with the reſt of the Moguls, but ſettled themſelves in the country of Leaoton, and were, from this time forward, ſtiled the Nieuchen Moguls, or "Moguls of the Eaſt," to diſtinguiſh them from the other Moguls, who were called "Moguls of the Weſt."

This defart country they cultivated with the utmoſt care, built therein ſeveral conſiderable cities, and practiſed that induſtry which they had learned by converſing ſo long with the Chineſe; yet, in ſome reſpects, they ſtill retained a tincture of their ancient manners; for, inſtead of remaining firm and united, which ſeemed to be the only means left for recovering again the dominions they had loſt, they ſplit themſelves into ſeveral little principalities, under ſo many Khans; who though their territories were not very wide, maintained nevertheleſs their independency. Among the moſt conſiderable of thoſe cities which they erected, were Kirin, Ula, and Kinkrita, all three of them ſeated on the weſt bank of the river Sangoro, which falls into the great river Amur, about twelve days journey above its mouth. The city of Kirin is diſtant from the province of Leaoton, about three hundred and ſixty miles. The city of Ula is in latitude forty four degrees twenty minutes north, and was conſidered as the capital of the Nieuchen Moguls. The Khan of Ula however was far from being a conſiderable prince, had no ſort of ſuperiority over the reſt of the Khans of the Eaſtern Tartars, was without allies or reſources beyond the power of his own ſubjects; and yet, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, it was this Khan Ula, that had the courage to undertake, and the good fortune to accompliſh the third conqueſt of China*: but at preſent we will leave the Tartars cultivating their defarts, and return to the new-founded empire of Tchou and his deſcendants.

The dynaſty, founded by this prince, was called Ming, and the Emperor, who, as I have ſaid before, aſſumed the name of Tai Tſou, reigned thirty-one years with great glory, and left the empire to his grandſon, who periſhed in a civil war, and was ſucceeded by his uncle, who, having been formerly King of Pekin, transferred the ſeat of the empire thither. The ſixth Emperor of this family was Yng Tſong, under whoſe reign the Tartars made new incurſions into China; to oppoſe them, the Emperor marched at the head of a great army, and purſuing them conſiderably beyond the famous wall, they ſuddenly faced about, attacked and defeated the Chineſe, making the Emperor priſoner. His ſon who was but two years old, was advanced to the empire, and the brother of the captive Emperor, whoſe name was King Ti, declared protector, which promotion gave him an opportunity of ſeizing the empire. The Tartars, ſome time after, releaſed Yng Tſong, who choſe however to lead a private life, and leave his brother in poſſeſſion of the empire, which he enjoyed to his death; and then the old Emperor was again ſeated on the throne.

The eleventh emperor of this race was Chi Tſong, who had the good fortune to defeat the Tartars in ſeveral battles; and it was under his reign that the famous Francis

* At preſent all the Eaſtern Tartary is ſubject to the Chineſe Emperors, and is divided into two parts; the firſt contains what may be called the hereditary dominions of the family now reigning in China. It is divided into three governments, and the inhabitants are diſtinguiſhed by the name of Mantcheoux. The capital of this country is called by the inhabitants themſelves Mongdon, but by the Chineſe Chin Yang, which at this Day is a well-peopled and well-fortified city, where there is a ſovereign tribunal for deciding all affairs that relate to the dominions of Tartary. The other part of this country is ſtill under the dominion of its own Princes, who have the title of Khans, which they receive from, and are vaſſals to, the Emperor of China. The inhabitants are called ſimply Mongols, or Mongous, and the country paſſes alſo under the ſame denomination.

Xavier preached the Chriſtian religion in the eaſt, where he died in 1552. The Emperor Chi Tſong reigned forty-five years, in the latter part of which the government began to decline very ſenſibly, as it continued to do under all his ſucceſſors, down to Hoai Tſong, who was the ſixteenth and laſt Emperor of the family of Ming. It was under his reign that Zungt-hy, who was Khan of Ula, formed the deſign of making himſelf maſter of China, notwithſtanding that all the force he was able to raiſe did not exceed fifteen thouſand horſe. He began with entering into private intrigues with ſome of the Chineſe mandarins, who were exiled into the province of Leaoton, by whoſe aſſiſtance he ſoon became maſter of great part of that province. The Emperor ſent againſt him an army more than ſufficient to have forced him back into his own country; but he had ſo much addreſs, as to prevent the principal officers of this army from doing their duty; ſo that by degrees he maſtered all the reſt of that province, and at laſt took poſſeſſion of its capital *.

While this ſcene was tranſacted in the eaſt, and the whole force of the Chineſe empire employed there to ſo little purpoſe, new troubles aroſe in the weſtern provinces, where ſeveral bands of thieves and highwaymen committed the moſt extragant outrages; and, at laſt, under the command of one Lycoungz, an obſcure and infamous fellow, plundered ſeveral cities, and even whole provinces, which increaſing the number of their forces, the rebel had at laſt ſufficient power to attempt the ſubverſion of the empire. It was with this view that he marched directly to Pekin, where in three days he became maſter of the place, and the Emperor finding himſelf abandoned, hanged himſelf on a tree in his garden. Lycoungz immediately took the title of Emperor, and endeavoured, by all the methods he could deviſe, to bring over to his intereſt Ou-fan-guei, who was general of the army ſent againſt the Tartars, and the only perſon capable of diſputing with him the poſſeſſion of China. That general however rejected all his offers with contempt, which obliged Lycoungz to take the field once again, and to march againſt him with his numerous army: Ou-fan-guei, who ſaw that it was ſimply impoſſible for him to think of making head at once againſt the uſurper and the Tartars, reſolved to make terms with the fairer enemy of the two, and thereupon invited Zungt-hy to come to his aſſiſtance †.

This was preciſely what the Tartar prince deſired, and therefore he made no difficulty of complying with his demand. He left five thouſand of his own troops in the province of Leaoton, and then marched with ten thouſand Tartars and twenty thouſand of the inhabitants of that country to the relief of the Chineſe general, who received him with great joy. They marched together directly towards the uſurper, and when they were upon the point of giving him battle, Zungt-hy obſerved in a conference he had with the Chineſe general, that as the beſt part of the forces of the empire, and eſpecially thoſe of the ſouthern and weſtern provinces were extremely afraid of the Tartars, it would be very expedient for him to cut the tails of his horſes after their manner; by which means the army of the uſurper would take them all for Tartars. Ou-fan-guei following the advice of the Khan, it had ſo good an effect, that the rebels were totally defeated, and Lycoungz obliged to fly with the remainder of his army to-

* As it is not my intention to give the reader here a hiſtory of China, but barely to mention ſuch facts as may be neceſſary to explain what has been related before, and may occur in ſucceeding voyages, I did not think myſelf obliged to mention all the Emperors of this family, and therefore have touched only on the reigns of ſuch as might beſt anſwer my purpoſe.

† Theſe facts are ſomewhat differently related by different hiſtorians; but I have given them the reader from the collection of a perſon who has taken great pains to make himſelf maſter of the Chineſe hiſtory, which he may probably be prevailed upon to publiſh when he thinks it perfect enough to bear the inſpection of the critics.

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wards Pekin. The victorious allies continued their purſuit without the leaſt intermiſſion; and on their drawing near the city, the Chineſe general made proclamation, that all ſuch as did not take part with the uſurper, ſhould trim their horſes after the manner of the Tartars, that they might the more eaſily diſtinguiſh them on all occaſions. This ſtratagem had as great an effect as a ſecond victory: ſuch multitudes declared themſelves againſt the uſurper, that finding it abſolutely impoſſible to maintain his ground, he firſt plundered the imperial city, and then retired with his army loaded with booty. When the allies where in poſſeſſion of Pekin, it was agreed that Zungt-hy, with his forces ſhould remain there for the ſecurity of the place, and that Ou-fan-guei with his army, ſhould purſue the uſurper till ſuch time as an end could be put to the war.

The ſame arts, or rather the ſame virtues by which the Tartar Prince had gained the affections of the people of Leaoton, produced the like conſequences amongſt the inhabitants of Pekin; and as, on the one hand, they were weary of living without the ſupport and protection of a governor, ſo they flattered themſelves, on the other, with enjoying all imaginable happineſs under a Prince of ſo much humanity and ſo great abilities as Zungt-hy, and therefore almoſt of their own accord, they declared him Emperor in the abſence of the Chineſe general, who had himſelf views upon the throne, in which he had very probably ſucceeded, if he had not been thus out-witted by the Tartar Zungt-hy, who foreſeeing how different a thing it might prove for him to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion of ſo great an empire, with ſuch a handful of forces, was no ſooner ſeated on the imperial throne, than he inſtantly diſpatched advice of his good fortune, to the Khans of Eaſt Tartary, who were Princes of his own family, inviting them to come, and ſhare with him in ſo rich a conqueſt. This was certainly a good expedient for ſecuring himſelf againſt the fickleneſs or infidelity of the Chineſe; but at the ſame time it viſibly expoſed the new Emperor to the danger of being undone by his auxiliaries; for the Khans of the Tartars, who on the firſt ſummons haſtened to his aſſiſtance, had certainly in view the dividing the Chineſe empire amongſt them; but Zungt-hy was a Prince of ſuch wiſdom and penetration, that he immediately diſcovered the danger to which he ſtood expoſed, and provided againſt it with a ſagacity equal to its penetration. He divided theſe corps of Tartars as ſoon as they entered his dominions, ſent for ſeveral of their princes to Pekin, and in a ſhort time ſo ſeparated them from each other, that they became abſolutely his ſubjects, and were unable to act otherwiſe than was conducive to his ſervice. In the conqueſt and ſettlement of China, this Tartar Prince ſhewed all the courage and capacity of Julius, all the policy and conduct of Auguſtus Cæſar, by which he thoroughly accompliſhed the third conqueſt of China by the Tartars, which happened in one thouſand ſix hundred forty and four, after the Chineſe had preſerved their freedom for two hundred ſixty-ſix years *.

This new race of Tartar princes, which ſtill continue to reign in China, for the twenty-ſecond dynaſty of their monarchs, is diſtinguiſhed by the name of Tſing; it is however very remarkable, that Zungt-hy is not accounted the firſt of thoſe emperors, becauſe he died almoſt as ſoon as he was ſeated on his throne, and before he was entirely

* The Chineſe hiſtorians themſelves agree, that this race of Emperors were far inferior to the Tartars, in giving themſelves up too much to a ſort of ſtudies that were by no means ſuitable to their dignities. Some of them were carried away by a vain deſire of finding the water of life; that is, a kind of liquor, by drinking of which a man might become immortal; but with ſo little ſucceſs, that the Emperor Chi-Tſong died immediately after he drank of this pretended water of life, at the age of fifty-eight. Others were poſſeſſed with a violent deſire of finding the philoſopher's ſtone, which induced them to ſpend too much of their time in chemical experiments. The fate of theſe Monarchs ſufficiently ſhew, that the art of government is the only ſcience worthy of the attention of princes.

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poſſeſſed of China, leaving the empire to his ſon Chun-Tchi, who was then no more than ſix years old, and to whom his dying father aſſigned his brother Ama-Van for his guardian. So early a minority, one would have imagined, muſt have been fatal to the new raiſed empire; but Ama-Van, during the non-age of his nephew, conducted all things with ſo much wiſdom and fidelity, that when the young Emperor came to take the reins of government into his own hands, he found himſelf in as full poſſeſſion of his dominions, as if they had deſcended to him from a long line of anceſtors. The Emperor Chun-Tchi was himſelf a perſon of extraordinary abilities, eaſy and affable amongſt his ſoldiers, wiſe and prudent in his councils, and ſo refined a politician, that under colour of executing the laws with exactneſs, he took off all the great men in China that were capable of giving him either jealouſy or diſturbance, ſo that after a reign of ſeventeen years, he left the empire perfectly ſettled to his ſon, who was but eight years old.

The name of this prince was Cang-hi; he was raiſed to the throne in the year 1662, and, during his minority, the empire was governed by four great miniſters, who executed their offices with the greateſt wiſdom and integrity, ſo that this ſecond minority proved not in the leaſt dangerous to the empire. It is true, that the famous Chineſe general Ou-ſan-guei took the advantage of it, and endeavoured to ſhake off the yoke of the Tartars, of whom with equal wit and wiſdom, he ſaid, that he had called in lions to aſſiſt him in hunting dogs. He had ſome ſucceſs at the beginning, and might probably have ſecured at leaſt ſome part of the empire for himſelf and his poſterity if he had not been very old at the time of his revolt, and died not long after, which gave the Emperor's miniſters an opportunity of taking ſuch meaſures, as put it out of the power of the Chineſe to rebel for the future. Cang-hi fell nothing ſhort, either of his father or his grandfather, ſo that it may be reckoned an extraordinary felicity in this family, that for three generations there were as great princes of it as perhaps of any other in the world. This Emperor was extremely careful with regard to two points, the encouraging and diſtinguiſhing his Tartar ſubjects, and behaving with the utmoſt juſtice and moderation towards the Chineſe.

In the beginning of his reign, indeed, he committed ſome neceſſary acts of ſeverity, but when he found that he had by this means abſolutelybroken the mutinous ſpirit of the people of China, he changed his conduct entirely, and applied himſelf wholly to the putting every thing in the beſt order poſſible, for the benefit of all his ſubjects. It was with this view that he obliged the viceroys and other governors of provinces to adminiſter juſtice with impartiality and mildneſs, taking from them the power of puniſhing capitally, and obliging them to ſend all ſuch ſentences to the ſupreme tribunal of the empire. In order to take away all diſtinctions, and to render his Tartar and Chineſe ſubjects but one people, he eſtabliſhed this regulation; he obliged the Tartars to wear the Chineſe habit and obliged the Chineſe to cut their hair, after the mode of the Tartars, and this upon pain of death. It may ſeem ſtrange; but it is nevertheleſs true, that many refuſed to comply with this order, and choſe rather to part with their lives than their hair, and that many more abondoned their native country, to fly into places where they might wear their hair as long as they were wont. But the Emperor's edict had notwithſtanding the deſired effect, that is to ſay, freed him from ſuch mutinous ſpirits as might have diſturbed the tranquillity of his reign.

The moſt important employments, and the moſt honourable offices in the government, he gave only to the Tartars; but then he made a law, by which the children of Tartars by Chineſe women, or of Chineſe by Tartarian women, who were bred up in the cuſtoms, and were taught to ſpeak the language of the Tartars, were declared capable of the higheſt offices in the empire. He was not more careful of the domeſtic than

than of the foreign affairs of his empire, which almoſt all his predeceſſors had neglected to a great degree; for he not only reduced all the eaſtern Tartars intirely under his obedience, but made two journeys into that country where he admitted all ranks of people freely to his preſence, and thereby gained the love of the Moguls in the higheſt degree. As for the Tartars of the weſt, he forced them to have reſource to his protection, and not only drove the Calmucks from his frontiers, but entering their country alſo in his turn, took from them the provinces of Chamil and Tarfan, which ſerve as an excellent barrier on that ſide of Chineſe empire *.

In his perſon, and in his manners, he had nothing of the Tartar, and was ſo perfectly acquainted with every government in Europe, that he diſcourſed of them in a manner that ſurpriſed even the Europeans themſelves. The late Czar Peter the Firſt ſent M. d'Iſmailoff with the character of his embaſſador to the Chineſe court, whom the Emperor not only received with all imaginable politeneſs, but at the firſt audience preſented his excellency, a nobleman who accompanied him, and his ſecretary, each with a gold cup full of mead, by which they plainly perceived that he was informed of the Czar's cuſtom, who when he had a mind to diſtinguiſh any foreigner, was wont to preſent him with a glaſs of wine with his own hand. This Emperor Cang-hi reigned with great glory ſixty-one years, and died on the 20th of December 1722. He left behind him ſeventeen ſons, the fourth of which he declared his ſucceſſor, who at his acceſſion to the imperial dignity, aſſumed the name of Yong-Tching, i. e. peace undiſturbed. This prince, who is ſaid to inherit the virtues as well as dominions of his anceſtors, was in quiet poſſeſſion of the empire in the year 1735, ſince which we have not had any certain, or at leaſt very important accounts from China.

By this deduction of the Chineſe hiſtory we learn a multitude of things neceſſary for the underſtanding ſuch of the ſubſequent voyages as mention that country, which was the reaſon that I inſiſted upon it ſo long; and we likewiſe diſcover the uſefulneſs of this ſort of knowledge, with reſpect to the voyages that have gone before. We ſee that the Chineſe, with whom our Arabian travellers converſed, were quite another ſort of people than thoſe that now inhabit China; for they were a pure and unmixed nation, whereas the modern Chineſe are in a great meaſure incorporated with the Tartars; from whence it is eaſy to diſcern, that great alterations muſt have happened in their manners, eſpecially if we conſider the character that Rubruquis gives the Tartars, which comes much nearer that of the modern Chineſe than any thing we meet with in the Arabian writers. It appears likewiſe from the compariſon of the facts related by the Arabians with thoſe mentioned by Marco Polo of the people of Mangi, that both theſe writers muſt have reported things with great fidelity, ſince they agree in a multitude of particulars. The conqueſt of the northern part of China by the Tartars, though not expreſsly mentioned, yet is plainly alluded to by the ſecond Arab writer; and as to the intire conqueſt of China by the ſame nation, we owe the full account of it to Marco Polo; for, without the aſſiſtance of his relations, it would have been a thing very difficult, if not impoſſible, to have diſcovered, that Chi-Tſou was the ſame with Coplai-Khan, or Cublai-Khan, Emperor of the Tartars, who before he became maſter of their country was called by the Chineſe Ho-pi-lie †.

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* This Prince took care to ſecure the Moguls of the eaſt from the ambitious deſigns of the Ruſſians, and for that purpoſe made a very wiſe and honourable treaty with the Czar Peter the firſt, for ſettling the limits of their reſpective empires, in conſequence of which the town and fortreſs of Albaſſinſkoy was demoliſhed.

† The change of names is a very clear proof that no ſort of blame ought to lie on Marco Polo for writing places after a different orthography than what is commonly uſed; and we have this advantage from it, that

We likewiſe learn from this ſuccinct view of the Chineſe hiſtory that the Tartars, who now poſſeſs China, are the very ſame nation that formerly poſſeſſed it, contrary to what ſome very learned men aſſerted, and which was generally believed half an age ago. We likewiſe ſee, that the reigning family in China are direct deſcendants of Cublai-Khan and conſequently of Zingis-Khan, that famous conqueror, whoſe empire, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, was the moſt extenſive that has been hitherto known in the world. Theſe things are of very great conſequence, if we read voyages for the ſake of improving and enlarging our knowledge, and not merely for the ſake of amuſement, which however, is rather increaſed than leſſened, by attending to theſe circumſtances. We can eaſily apprehend, after a little reflection, that in the time of our Arabian travellers, and even in that of Marco Polo, the Chineſe empire muſt have been in a much better condition, and its trade much more flouriſhing than when it was firſt viſited by the Portugueze, Engliſh and Dutch. Before that time it had not been expoſed to thoſe cruel ravages that enſued firſt on the breaking out of their civil wars, and next from the laſt conqueſt by the Tartars. Beſides, we can at any time have recourſe to this ſhort hiſtory, when we are at a loſs as to the facts mentioned in ſubſequent voyages, and by comparing the times in which they happened with the dates that are therein ſet down, obtain an eaſy ſolution of doubts that perhaps we could never otherwiſe have got over.

It is from the conſideration of theſe advantages, and that as far as in my power lies I might remove all obſtacles whatſoever to the perfect underſtanding of this ſubject, that I have determined to give the reader in the next ſection a conciſe hiſtory of the other Tartar empire in the Indies, I mean that of the Great Mogul, who was likewiſe a deſcendant from the ſame family with the great conqueror I have ſo often mentioned. By purſuing this method, which I have brought into the narroweſt compaſs poſſible, the reader will gain ſuch a previous knowledge of a great number of facts as never to be at a loſs in peruſing any of the voyages to the Eaſt-Indies, either in this, or in any other collection, which, without ſuch an introduction, it would have been abſolutely impracticable for him to have underſtood, and that for many reaſons, of which I will take the liberty to mention only a few. In the firſt place then, every voyage brings us not only into a new country, but, if I may ſo ſpeak, introduces us into a new company, with the character of which, if we have not ſome previous acquaintance, it is impoſſible for us to be at our eaſe, whereas if we know in general who and what they are, we enter immediately into the true ſenſe of the relation, and hear all that is told us with pleaſure. In the next place, it often happens, that either from the fear of appearing tedious, or from ſome other motive, the writers of voyages give us only ſhort hints as to the government of the countries through which they paſs, or the characters of princes that reign in them, which would be utterly unintelligible to ſuch as never heard of them before, and yet may be ſufficient for the information of thoſe who have a general notion of the poſture of things in that country at the time mentioned by the author. Laſtly, we are by theſe means enabled to rectify the miſtakes of ſuch

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that we learn the Tartar appellations, and have thereby an opportunity of comparing them with the Chineſe. I cannot help remarking upon this occaſion, that in all probability Ho-pi-lie is no more than the Tartar name of Khoplai (for ſo in that language it is written) expreſſed in Chineſe characters; but for the name given him, after he attained the empire, of Chi-Tſou, it may be rendered the firſt of his race, for Chi ſignifies the beginning, and Tſou a kind of violet-coloured plume or feather worn in the imperial diadem.

writers, to diſtinguiſh between the truth and falſehood of what they relate, and to form a clear and certain judgment of the merit of their performances.

It may poſſibly be objected, that for the ſame reaſons which have been offered in ſupport of theſe two hiſtories of the Chineſe and of the Indian empires, we might be obliged to write the hiſtory of all the other princes that have reigned in the Upper Aſia, which objection, however, is not at all founded in fact, ſince in the firſt place the hiſtories of all the little princes in India are very far from being ſo neceſſary as thoſe of the capital empires; and in the next, how neceſſary ſoever we might think them, it is impoſſible for us to write any ſuch hiſtories, becauſe the neceſſary materials for them are not to be found. When therefore this matter is ſeriouſly conſidered, it appears to be a new argument in favour of our deſign; for, ſince there have been but two great empires in this part of the world, of which any juſt and regular account can be given, and to which all books of voyages and travels through the Eaſt-Indies muſt neceſſarily refer, it would ſeem very abſurd and unreaſonable, after all the pains we have taken in the darker ages of this hiſtory, to decline that period of it, which is at once the moſt uſeful, and will appear by far the moſt agreeable to a modern reader, as there is not in the compaſs of univerſal hiſtory any branch ſo full of extraordinary events, or in which there occur more ſurprizing turns and revolutions than in that which we are about to give.

Add to all this, that however deficient the reſt of the oriental hiſtories may be, we have abundant materials for this, and thoſe too as excellent in the kind as can be deſired; for beſides the particular relations afforded us by ſeveral writers of credit, who were actually on the ſpot when thoſe events happened which they record, we have very great lights given us by ſuch of the oriental writers as have undertaken to explain the ſeveral expeditions of the Tartars, and eſpecially thoſe of the famous Timur-Bec, known to us by the name of Tamerlane, whoſe conqueſts, though leſs extenſive, have, notwithſtanding, made a greater figure in our general hiſtories than thoſe of his glorious predeceſſor Zingis-Khan. Beſides all which we have the ſingular advantage of having a great part of this hiſtory taken from the very records of that empire which it concerns, by the induſtry of Mr. Manouchi *, who was forty years in that country, in the quality of phyſician to its emperors, and had thereby an opportunity of having free recourſe to thoſe records, which for the benefit of poſterity, as well as his own information, he tranſcribed.

* This Mr. Manouchi was a Venetian by birth, but he wrote his hiſtory of Indoſtan in the Portugueze language, which was then, and is ſtill common in the eaſt. We owe the publication of it to the famous Jeſuit Father Cartrou, who dedicated his French tranſlation to the Duke of Burgundy, the father of the preſent Louis XV. In his preface to that work, he promiſes ſome farther memoirs by the ſame hand; but I cannot find that theſe were ever publiſhed, which is the more wonderful, conſidering the great reputation that the firſt part of the work acquired. As Father Cartrou is lately dead, it is very poſſible thoſe papers may fall into other hands, and yet ſee the light.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

TRAVELS OF TWO MOHAMMEDANS THROUGH INDIA AND CHINA,

IN THE NINTH CENTURY *.

Tranſlated from the Arabic by the Abbé RENAUDOT.

1. *A conciſe Account of the original Editor of theſe Voyages, and of the Works which render him famous.* — 2. *The Antiquity of theſe Relations, and of the Manuſcript from which they were tranſlated.* — 3. *Of the Sea of Herkend, and of the Iſlands therein.* — 4. *Of the the Iſland of Serandib, or Ceylon; the riches it contains, and the Manners of its Inhabitants.* — 5. *Of ſeveral other Iſlands, particularly thoſe of Andaman, the Inhabitants of which eat human Fleſh.* — 6. *Of an Iſland in which are Silver Mines, and other extraordinary Things in theſe Seas.* — 7. *Of the Trade of China, and of the Reſpect ſhewn there to the Mohammedans.* — 8. *A very clear and diſtinct Account of the Navigation of China, which is probably the firſt Account of it that was ever publiſhed.* — 9. *Of an Iſland in which there are no Women ſeen.* — 10. *Of the Port of Canfu in China, and of the Irregularity of the Tides there.* — 11. *Of many remarkable Things obſerved in the Countries touched at in this Voyage to China.* — 12. *The Cuſtoms and Manners of the Chineſe in civil and religious Affairs.* — 13. *An Account of the four great Kings, viz. the Khaliff, the Emperor of China, the Emperor of the Greeks, and the Balhara of the Indies.* — 14. *A ſuccinct Account of ſeveral other Kingdoms in the Indies.* — 15. *The Account of China reſumed, the Number of the Cities in that Empire, and the extraordinary Diſcipline maintained in them.* — 16. *Of the Burials of the Chineſe, and of their domeſtic Affairs.* — 17. *Of the Power of the Viceroys, and of the Emperor of China.* — 18. *Of the public Revenues of the Chineſe Empire.* — 19. *Of the Paſſes requiſite for travelling through that Country.* — 20. *Of the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in China.* — 21. *Their Laws with regard to Bankrupts.* — 22. *Other wiſe Regulations practiſed in that Country.* — 23. *Miſcellaneous Cuſtoms among the Chineſe.* — 24. *Of the Methods practiſed for diſcovering Truth in Trials in the Indies.* — 25. *Some other extraordinary Cuſtoms among the Indians.* — 26. *The Vices of the Chineſe, and the Puniſhment of bad Governors among them.* — 27. *Several Laws in India and China.* — 28. *Strange Cuſtoms that prevail among the Inhabitants of both Countries.* — 29. *A Compariſon between India and China.* — 30. *Of other Countries bordering upon China.* — 31. *The Preface of the ſecond Author in Confirmation of what the former had delivered.* — 32. *The Hiſtory of a great Revolution in China, by the Rebellion of one Baichu.* — 33. *The Emperor of China reſtored, and the Declenſion of that Empire.* — 34. *Of various Puniſhments in Uſe among the Chineſe.* — 35. *A curious Account of the Maintenance of public Women in China.* — 36. *Of various Regulations in the Chineſe Empire.* — 37. *Of the Excellence of the Chineſe Painters.* — 38. *The Hiſtory of Eben Wahab, an Arab, who made a Voyage into Perſia.* — 39. *His Conference with the Emperor.* — 40. *Some very ſingular Paſſages in relation to the Knowledge of the Emperor, with regard to the Religions in other Countries.* — 41. *Concluſion of the Arab's Conference*

* Harris, i. 521. It was thought proper that this Account ſhould follow the firſt diſcovery of China by European travellers.

with the Emperor of China. — 42. *Other Circumſtances from that Traveller's Relation.* — 43. *Of the Communication between the Ocean and the Mediterranean.* — 44. *Of the Province of Zapage, and of the Commodities it produces.* — 45. *A remarkable Story of an ancient Prince of this Country.* — 46. *The War between the King of Komar and the King of Zapage.* — 47. *The Concluſion of that War.* — 48. *Of the Doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, or Tranſmigration of Souls, with a remarkable Story on that Subject.* — 49. *A moſt ſingular Act of Juſtice done by the Emperor of China, on behalf of an Arabian Merchant, againſt his Favourite.* — 50. *The great Care taken with reſpect to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in China.* — 51. *Of the Situation of the Province of Choraſſan* — 52. *Of the Animal that produces Muſk; the Reaſon why the Muſk of Thibet is better than that of China, and of the ſeveral Sorts of that Perfume.* — 53. *Of certain Cuſtoms in China that reſemble thoſe of the Arabs.* — 54. *The Cuſtom of the Indians to burn themſelves on particular Occaſions, and of their great Conſtancy in Acts of this Nature.* — 55. *An incredible Story of the deſperate Courage of a certain Indian.* — 56. *Other Inſtances of the ſame Nature.* — 57. *Of the immenſe Riches of Serandib, or Ceylon, and of the Laws of that Country.* — 58. *Of the flagrant Vices, and exceſſive Debauchery of thoſe People.* — 59. *Of the rainy Seaſon in the Indies.* — 60. *Of the Indian Brachmans and Penitents.* — 61. *Monſtrous Errors proceeding from religious Miſtakes.* — 62. *Ships built, rigged, and laden from a Plantation of Cocoa Trees.* — 63. *Of the Country of the Zinges, or Negroes, with an Account of thoſe People.* — 64. *Of the Iſland of Socotra, and its Productions.* — 65. *Of the different Seas omitted in the former Relation.* — 66. *Of the Riches of the Indian Ocean* — 67. *Of the Formation of Pearl, according to the Notion of the Arabs.* — 68. *A very ſingular Story on the foregoing Subject.* — 69. *Some further Particulars as to the Cuſtoms of the Indians.* — 70. *The Uſe of this Section with regard to the Hiſtory of the Indies in the ninth Century.* — 71. *Additional Remarks and Obſervations.*

1. THE moſt natural, eaſy, and certain method of attaining a perfect knowledge of the diſcoveries made in the Eaſt Indies, is unqueſtionably that of reading the beſt voyages and travels into thoſe parts, in the order of time in which they were made; for by this means they illuſtrate each other, and ſerve as a kind of commentaries, deliver the hiſtory of places and perſons with the leaſt poſſible confuſion, and ſhew us at once the different ſtate of the countries mentioned in them in different periods of time, and the advances that were made in perfecting the knowledge of thoſe countries by ſuch as undertook to go thither, and to report what they had ſeen and heard, for the information of others and of poſterity. Of all the travellers into theſe parts of the world, whoſe writings are ſtill preſerved, thoſe which are contained in this ſection are beyond all doubt the moſt ancient, and in that reſpect, as well as in many others, extremely curious. To render theſe as clear and as intelligible as is poſſible to our readers, we ſhall firſt give ſome memoirs of that eminent French critic who tranſlated and made them public, and ſhall next give a ſuccinct account from the materials he has afforded us of the authors themſelves, the nature of their works, the circumſtances which peculiarly recommend them, the reaſons which induce us to believe they are genuine, and the credit which on that account is due to them.

It was Euſebius Renaudot who delivered theſe venerable remains of antiquity from the obſcurity in which they had been buried for ages, and ſent them abroad in the French language, with ſome very valuable notes and diſſertations of his own. He was a perſon whoſe family had been diſtinguiſhed for their learning through ſeveral deſcents. His grandfather, Theophraſtus Renaudot, eſtabliſhed the French Gazette in the year 1631,

1631, under the patronage of Cardinal Richlieu. His father was firſt phyſician to the Dauphin, ſon to Lewis XIV. This gentleman addicted himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of divinity and the oriental languages, which might have raiſed him to ſome eminent ſtation in the church, if, from his great modeſty and unaffected love of privacy, he had not ſtudiouſly declined it. He was very early taken notice of at court, where the politeneſs of his manners recommended him as ſtrongly to the principal miniſters, as the ſeverity of his ſtudies endeared him to moſt of the learned men of his time.

In the year 1689 he was choſen a member of the French Academy, and in 1691 became a member of that of Inſcriptions, and of the Belles Lettres. He accompanied Cardinal Noailles to Rome in 1700, and was with him in the Conclave in which Clement XI. was raiſed to the papal throne, by whom the Abbé Renaudot was ſo much eſteemed, that he kept him at Rome ſeven or eight months after the Cardinal's departure, and forced upon him a benefice, which he had the modeſty to refuſe, though his circumſtances were not ſuch as made it unneceſſary to him.

In his return to France, the Grand Duke of Tuſcany kept him a whole month at Florence, where he had an apartment in the palace; and during his ſtay there, was received into the famous academy of La Cruſca; after which the Grand Duke loaded him with preſents, and ſent him to Marſeilles in his own veſſel.

He publiſhed after his return to France many learned works, and particularly in the year 1713, "The Hiſtory of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, from St. Mark to the Cloſe of the Thirteenth Century," with an Appendix, containing the hiſtory of the Mohammedans in Egypt, from their own writers; which gained him great reputation. In 1716 he publiſhed, in two volumes in quarto, "The Hiſtory of the Oriental Liturgies," which was alſo much eſteemed. And in the year 1718 he ſent abroad theſe voyages and travels, which were likewiſe received with univerſal applauſe. Beſides theſe, he publiſhed many other learned treatiſes; and having for many years weakened his conſtitution by an aſſiduous application to his ſtudies, he died on the 1ſt of September 1720, of a ſevere fit of the cholic, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, with the reputation of being one of the moſt learned men, and one of the exacteſt critics of his time *.

2. As to the firſt of theſe voyages, we know not by whom it was written, the beginning of it being imperfect; but it appears clearly that it was written in the year of the Hegira 237, A. D. 851. The latter, which is no more than a commentary or diſcourſe upon the former, appears to have been the work of Abu Zeid al Haſan of Siraf, who penned it about the year of the Hegira 303, A. D. 915. It appears therefore, that both of them are, at leaſt, two centuries older than any accounts that had been publiſhed before. They were tranſlated from an original manuſcript in the library of the Count de Seignelay, the age of which was aſcertained by the character in which it was written. But there is ſtill a plainer proof of its being penned in the year of the Hegira 619, A. D. 1173, becauſe there are at the end of it ſome obſervations in the ſame hand, relating to the extent of the walls and fortifications of the city of Damaſcus, under the reign of the famous Sultan Noureddin, and of other cities under his dominion; in which the writer ſpeaks of him as ſtill living: and therefore as that monarch died the ſame year, this manuſcript is clearly between five and ſix hundred years old †.

It is alſo very apparent, that there is nothing in either of theſe works, that can create the leaſt ſuſpicion that they are later than theſe dates ſpeak them; but, on the contrary,

* Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. v. p. 384.
† See M. Renaudot's Preface to theſe Relations.

all

all the facts mentioned in them, which are capable of being examined and compared with other hiſtories, afford the cleareſt teſtimonies of their being genuine and authentic. The great value of theſe relations ariſes from their giving us a large account of China, above four hundred years earlier than the Travels of Marco Polo *, who, till theſe accounts were publiſhed, was always eſteemed the firſt author we had on that ſubject.

There are abundance of very curious and remarkable paſſages in both theſe writers, that inform us of cuſtoms and events not mentioned any where elſe; and, though it be true that ſome of theſe appear to be fabulous, yet it is no leſs true, that the greateſt part of them are confirmed and juſtified by the beſt writers in ſucceeding ages. But without ſpending time to little purpoſe in remarking on what will be obvious to the reader himſelf in the peruſal of theſe pieces, we ſhall proceed to the relations themſelves. Obſerving only, that the firſt of them begins abruptly, on account of there being a page or two wanting in the original manuſcript; which very probably contained the name and country of its author, and the occaſion of his voyage; the loſs of which there is great reaſon to regret.

3. The third of the ſeas we have to mention, is that of Herkend †. Between this ſea and that of Delarowi are many iſlands, to the number, as they ſay, of nineteen hundred; which divide thoſe two ſeas from each other ‡, and are governed by a Queen §. Among theſe iſlands they find ambergris in lumps of extraordinary bigneſs, as alſo in leſſer pieces, which reſemble plants torn up. This amber is produced at the bottom of the ſea, as plants upon earth: and when the ſea is tempeſtuous, the violence of the waves tears it up from the bottom, and waſhes it to the ſhore in the form of a muſhroom or truffle. Theſe iſlands are full of that kind of palm-tree which bears the cocoa-nut, and are from one to four leagues diſtant from each other, all inhabited. The wealth of the inhabitants conſiſts in ſhells, of which even the Queen's treaſury is full. They ſay there are no workmen more expert than theſe iſlanders; and that of the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make ſhirts all of a piece, as alſo veſts or tunics. Of the ſame tree they build ſhips and houſes, and they are ſkilful in all other workmanſhip. Their ſhells they have from the ſea at ſuch times when they riſe up to the ſurface, when the

* Marco Polo returned from his voyage, A. D. 1295.

† By the ſea of Herkend, in all probability, our author means the ſea about the Maldives; which, according to the eaſtern geographers, divides that part of the Indian Ocean from the ſea of Delarowi, which is the gulph called by the ancients Sinus Magnus. The eaſtern writers frequently ſpeak of the ſeven ſeas, which ſeems to be rather a proverbial phraſe, than a geographical definition. The ſeas, without comprehending the ocean, which they call Bah-Mahit, are the ſea of China, the ſea of India, the ſea of Perſia, the ſea of Kolzuma, or the Red Sea, ſo called from a town which is thought to be the Cyſma of the ancients; the ſea of Rum, or of Greece, which is the Mediterranean; the ſea called Al-Chozar, or the Caſpian; and the ſea of Pont, or the Pontus Euxinus; but theſe are not all the names they give them, for the ſea of India is very often called the Green Sea; that of Perſia, the ſea of Baſſora; and other names they have for particular parts of theſe ſeas.

‡ It is no wonder that the Arabs had but a very imperfect knowledge of theſe iſlands, ſince we are not very well informed about them to this day. The reader may probably think that our author has multiplied them, from the number he ſpeaks of; but the truth is, that he rather diminiſhes them; for the moſt accurate writers we have aſſure us that there are twelve thouſand of them; and this is ſaid to be the ſignification of their name in the Malabar tongue, viz. Male dive, i. e. a thouſand iſlands; that round number being put for the true number of them, let it be what it will. We ſhall hereafter give the reader a full account of theſe iſlands, and therefore ſhall inſiſt no longer on them here.

§ The ſubſequent accounts we have had of the Maldives do not juſtify this particular, if the intent of the author was to inform us that theſe iſlands were always governed by a woman. It might perhaps be ſo in his time, where, by accident, one woman might have ſucceeded another, as Queen Elizabeth did Queen Mary here.

inhabitants

inhabitants throw branches of the cocoa-nut tree into the ſea, and the ſhells ſtick to them. They call them Kaptaje in their language.

4. Beyond theſe iſlands, in the ſea of Herkend, is Serendib *, or Ceylon, the chief of all thoſe iſlands, which are called Dobijat. It is all compaſſed by the ſea, and on its coaſt they fiſh for pearl. In this country there is a mountain called Rahun, to the top of which it is thought Adam aſcended, and there left the print of his foot in a rock, which is ſeventy cubits in length; and they ſay that Adam at the ſame time ſtood with his other foot in the ſea. About this mountain are mines of rubies, opals, and amethyſts. This iſland, which is of great extent, has two Kings; and here are found lignum aloes, gold, precious ſtones, and pearls, which are fiſhed for on the coaſt; as alſo a kind of large ſhells, which they uſe inſtead of trumpets, and are much valued.

In the ſame ſea towards the Serendib, there are other iſles, but not ſo many in number, though of vaſt extent, and unknown. One of theſe iſlands, called Ramni *, is under ſeveral Princes, in which there is great plenty of gold. The inhabitants here have cocoa-nut trees, which ſupply them with food, and therewith alſo they paint their bodies, and oil themſelves.

The cuſtom of the country is, that no one may marry till he has ſlain an enemy in battle, and brought off his head. If he has killed two, he claims two wives; and if he has ſlain fifty, he may marry fifty wives. This cuſtom proceeds from the number of enemies which ſurround them; ſo that he amongſt them who kills the greateſt number is the moſt conſidered. Theſe iſlands of Ramni abound with elephants, red-wood, and trees called Chairzan, and the inhabitants eat human fleſh.

5. Theſe iſlands ſeparate the ſea of Herkend from the ſea of Shelahet, and beyond them are others called Najabalus, which are pretty well peopled; both the men and the women there go naked, except that the women conceal their private parts with the leaves of trees. When ſhipping is among theſe iſlands, the inhabitants come off in embarkations, and bring with them ambergris and cocoa-nuts, which they truck for iron; for they want no clothing, being free from the inconveniences either of heat or cold. Beyond theſe two iſlands lies the ſea of Andaman: the people on this coaſt eat human fleſh quite raw; their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful, their feet are very large, and almoſt a cubit in length, and they go quite naked. They have no ſorts of barks or other veſſels; if they had, they would ſeize and devour all the paſſengers they could lay hands on. When ſhips have been kept back by contrary winds, they are often in theſe ſeas obliged to drop anchor on this barbarous coaſt for the ſake of water, when they have expended their ſtock; and upon theſe occaſions they commonly loſe ſome of their men ‡.

6. Beyond this there is a mountainous and yet inhabited iſland, where, it is ſaid, there are mines of ſilver; but as it does not lie in the uſual track of ſhipping, many have

* This, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, is the Taprobana of the ancients; and I think ſcarcely any iſland has been called by more names than thoſe which have been beſtowed on this; but whereas in the ancient work of Coſmas Indopleuſtes, it is called Sielendiba, it is very eaſy to account for this, and to ſhew that it is only a Greek termination given to the true name; *ſ* or *b* is often put for *u*, and conſequently Sielendiba is the ſame with Sielendive; that is, Sielen Iſland; whence the modern name, as we uſually write it, viz. the Iſland of Ceylon.

† In ſome of the Arabian geographers, theſe are called the Iſlands of Rami; we ſhall give the reader ſome account of them in a ſubſequent voyage.

‡ It is moſt certain that, upon a ſtrict inquiry, moſt of the ſtories of man-eaters have been found to be fables void of all foundation; but it muſt be allowed, in regard to our author's account, that what he ſays has never yet been diſproved; for the very lateſt accounts we have of the Indies, give theſe people the ſame character that he does.

ſought for it in vain, though remarkable for a very lofty mountain, which is called Kathenai. It once ſo happened, that a ſhip ſailing in this latitude had ſight of the mountain, and ſhaped her courſe for it, and falling in with the land, ſent a boat on ſhore, with hands to cut wood: the men kindled a fire, and ſaw ſilver run from it, which plainly indicated there was a mine of this metal in that place; they ſhipped therefore as much of the earth or ore as they thought fit; but as they were proceeding on their voyage they met with ſuch a ſtorm, that to lighten their ſhip, they were under a neceſſity of throwing all their ore overboard.

Since that time the mountain has been carefully ſought, but it has never ſince been ſeen. To conclude, there are many ſuch iſlands in the ſea, more in number than can be ſet down, ſome inacceſſible by ſeamen, and ſome unknown to them. In theſe ſeas it often happens, that a whitiſh cloud at once ſpreads over a ſhip, and lets down a long thin tongue or ſpout, quite to the ſurface of the water, which then is turned round as by a whirlwind; and if a veſſel happens to be in the way, ſhe is immediately ſwallowed up thereby. But at length this cloud mounts up again, and diſcharges itſelf in a prodigious rain. It is not known whether this water is ſucked up by the clouds, or how this comes to paſs. All theſe ſeas are ſubject to great ſtorms, which makes them boil up like water over a fire. Then it is that the ſurf daſhes ſhips againſt the iſlands, and breaks them to pieces with unſpeakable violence; and then alſo it is that fiſh of all ſizes are thrown dead aſhore upon the rocks. The wind, which commonly blows upon the ſea of Herkend, is from another quarter, viz. from the north-weſt, but the ſea is alſo ſubject to as violent agitations as thoſe juſt mentioned, and then ambergris is torn up from the bottom, and particularly where it is very deep; and the deeper it is, the more valuable the ambergris.

It is likewiſe obſerved, with reſpect to that ſea, that when it is thus toſſed by the tempeſtuous winds, it ſparkles like fire, and that it is infeſted by a certain kind of fiſh called Lockham, which frequently preys upon men. This is probably no other than the ſhark, which is common enough on all the coaſts of the Indies. Here there is a part of the manuſcript loſt, wherein the author treated of the trade to China, as it ſtood in his time, and of the cauſes which had brought it into a declining condition. He then proceeds thus:

7. Amongſt others, the fires that frequently happen at Canfu are not the leaſt. Canfu is the port of all the ſhips of the Arabs who trade in China, and fires are there very frequent, becauſe the houſes are built with nothing but wood, or elſe with ſplit cane; beſides ſhips are often loſt in going and coming, or they are plundered, or obliged to make too long a ſtay in harbours, or to ſell their goods out of the country ſubject to the Arabs, and there make up their cargo. In ſhort, ſhips are under a neceſſity of waſting a conſiderable time in refitting, not to ſpeak of any other cauſes of delay.

Soliman, the merchant *, relates that at Canfu, which is the principal reſort of merchants, there is a Mohammedan appointed judge over thoſe of his religion, by the authority of the Emperor of China; and that he is judge of all the Mohammedans who reſort to thoſe parts. Upon feſtival days he performs the public ſervice with the Mohammedans, and pronounces the ſermon, or Kotbat, which he concludes in the uſual form, with prayers for the Sultan of Moſlems (or Muſſelmen). The merchants of Irak,

* As to this Soliman the merchant, it is very probable that ſome account was given of him in the page that is loſt; but as to the Mohammedan conſul, it is a very extraordinary fact, and deſerves particular notice, becauſe it plainly ſhews, that the Mohammedans had for ſome time carried on a regular and ſettled trade to China, which is what from other accounts we could never have ſuſpected.

i. e. Perſia,

i. e. Perſia, who trade thither, are no way diſſatisfied with his conduct or adminiſtration in this poſt, becauſe his deciſions are juſt and equitable, and conformable to the Koran.

8. As for the places whence ſhips depart, and thoſe they touch at, many perſons affirm, that the navigation is performed in the following order: moſt of the Chineſe ſhips take in their cargo at Siraff *, where alſo they ſhip their goods which come from Baſra, or Baſſora, Oman, and other ports; and this they do, becauſe in this ſea there are frequent ſtorms, and ſhoal water in many places. From Baſra to Siraff is an hundred and twenty leagues; and when ſhips have loaded at this laſt place, they there water alſo; and from thence make ſail for a place called Maſcat, which is in the extremity of the province of Oman, about two hundred leagues from Siraff. On the eaſt coaſt of this ſea, between Siraff and Maſcat, is a place called Naſis Bani al Safak, and an iſland called Ebn Kahowan; and in this ſea are rocks called Oman, and a narrow ſtrait called Dordur, between two rocks, where veſſels do venture, but the Chineſe ſhips dare not. There are alſo two rocks called Koſſir and Howare, which ſcarce appear above the water's edge: after they are clear of theſe rocks they ſteer for a place called Shitu Oman, and at Maſcat take in water, which is drawn out of wells; and here alſo they are ſupplied with cattle of the province of Oman: from thence ſhips take their departure for the Indies, and firſt they touch at Kaukammali; and from Maſcat to this place it is a month's ſail with a fair wind.

This is a frontier place, and the chief arſenal in the province of the ſame name: and here the Chineſe ſhips put in and are in ſafety: freſh water is to be had here, and the Chineſe pay a thouſand drams for duties, but others pay only from one dinar to ten dinars. From Maſcat to Kaukammali it is a month's ſail; and then having watered at this place, they begin to enter the ſea of Herkend, and having ſailed through it, touch at a place called Lajabalus, where the inhabitants underſtand not the Arabic, or any other language in uſe with merchants. They wear no clothes, are white, and weak in their feet.

9. It is ſaid their women are not to be ſeen †; and that the men, leaving the iſland in canoes, hollowed out of one piece, go in queſt of them, and carry them cocoa-nuts, canes, mouſa, and palm-wine. This liquor is white, and, if drank freſh, has the taſte of the cocoa-nut, and ſweet like honey; if kept ſomewhat longer, it becomes as ſtrong as wine; but if it is kept for ſeveral days it turns to vinegar. They give it in exchange for iron; and in like manner they truck the little quantity of amber, which is thrown on their coaſts, for bits of iron. The bargain is driven by motions of the hand. But they are very quick, and are apt to carry off iron from the merchants, and leave them nothing in return.

From hence ſhips ſteer towards Calabar, the name of a kingdom on the coaſt to the right-hand beyond the Indies. *Bar* ſignifies a coaſt in the language of the country; and this depends on the kingdom of Zapage. The inhabitants are dreſſed in thoſe ſorts of ſtriped garments which the Arabs call Fauta; and they commonly wear but one at a time, which is equally obſerved by perſons of every degree. At this place they com-

* It is a very difficult thing to diſtinguiſh, at this diſtance of time, the route laid down by our author, chiefly by reaſon of the changes of names; of which we have particularly an inſtance in this great port of Siraff, not to be met with in any of our maps, of which however we have ſome mention made in other Arabian writers, who ſay, that it lay ſixty leagues from Shiraz, that it ſtood in the Gulph of Perſia, and that when it decayed, the trade thereof was tranſported to the iſland of Ormuz.

† We ſhall have an opportunity of explaining this ſtrange ſtory, which is confirmed by Marco Polo and Nicolo di Conti, when we come to ſpeak of the travels of the former, who aſſures us that there were two iſlands, one entirely inhabited by men, the other by women, and that theſe people were Chriſtians.

monly take in water, which is filled from wells fed by ſprings, and which they like better than what is drawn out of ciſterns and tanks. Calabar is about a month's voyage from a place called Kaukam, which is almoſt upon the ſkirts of the ſea of Herkend. In ten days after this, ſhips reach Betuma; from whence, in ten days more, they come up with Kadrange.

It is to be obſerved, that in all the iſlands and peninſulas of the Indies, they find water when they dig for it. In this laſt mentioned place there is a very lofty mountain, which is peopled by none but ſlaves and fugitives; from thence in ten days they arrive at Senif. Here is freſh water, and hence comes the aromatic wood we call Had al Seneſi. Here is a King; the inhabitants are black, and wear two ſtriped garments. Having watered at this place, it is ten days' paſſage to Sanderfulat, an iſland where is freſh water; then they ſteer through the ſea of Sanji, and ſo to the gates of China; for ſo they call certain rocks and ſhoals in that ſea, forming a narrow ſtrait, through which ſhips paſs. It requires a month to ſail from Sanderfulat to China; and it takes up eight whole days to ſteer clear of theſe rocks.

10. When a ſhip has got through theſe gates, ſhe, with the tide of flood, goes into a freſh water gulph, and drops anchor in the chief port of China, which is that of Canfu; and here they have freſh water both from ſprings and rivers, as they have alſo in moſt of the other cities of China. The city is adorned with large ſquares, and ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for defence againſt an enemy, and in moſt of the other provinces there are cities of ſtrength, fortified in the ſame manner.

In this port it ebbs and flows * twice in twenty-four hours; but with this difference, that whereas from Baſra to the iſland called Bani Kahouan, it flows when the moon is at full, and ebbs when ſhe riſes and when ſhe ſets; from near Bani Kahouan quite to the coaſt of China, it is flood when the moon riſes and when ſhe is towards her height it is ebb; and ſo, on the contrary, when ſhe ſets, it is flowing water, and when ſhe is quite hidden under the horizon, the tide falls.

11. They ſay, that in the iſland of Muljan, which is between Serendib and Cala, on the eaſtern ſhore of the Indies, there are negroes quite naked, and that when they meet with a ſtranger, they hang him with his head downwards, and ſlice him in pieces, which they eat quite raw †. Theſe negroes have no King, and feed upon fiſh, mauſa, cocoa-nuts, and ſugar-canes; they have ponds and ſome lakes in the country. They report alſo, that in ſome parts of this ſea there is a ſmalliſh kind of fiſh, which flies upon the water, and which they call the ſea-locuſt; and that in another part there is a fiſh, which leaving the ſea, gets up to the cocoa-nut trees, and having drained them of their juice, takes to the ſea again. To all which they add, that in the ſea there is a ſort of fiſh like a lobſter, which petrifies as ſoon as taken out of its element; they pulverize it, and it is good for ſeveral diſeaſes of the eyes.

* It is very probable, or rather certain, from the account given by our author, that this muſt be the port of Canton, and the irregularity of the tide is a circumſtance that ſtrongly confirms it; and a circumſtance which ſhews, at the ſame time, that the Arabs were not ſo ignorant in thoſe matters as they are generally imagined.

† It muſt be allowed, that there are abundance of very odd accounts in theſe relations; but it muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that there are very few of them which have been diſproved. What follows about petrified crabs or lobſters, is a full proof that the port he ſpeaks of muſt be Canton; for Father Martini tells us the ſame thing; adding, that theſe crabs are found only on that part of the coaſt of China which is oppoſite to the iſland of Hainan, and that the Portugueze uſe the powder of theſe petrified crabs as an abſorbent in fevers. The ſtory of this fiſh is alſo reported by Father Martini.

They ſay alſo, that near Zaiage there is a mountain, called the Mountain of Fire, which no one can approach; that in the day-time it ſends forth a thick ſmoke, and in the night it throws out flames. At the foot of this mountain there are two ſprings of freſh water, the one hot, and the other cold.

12. The Chineſe are dreſſed in ſilk both winter and ſummer, and this kind of dreſs is common to the Prince and the ſubject. In winter they wear drawers of a particular make, which fall down to their feet. Of theſe they put on two, three, four, five, or more if they can, one over another, and are very careful to be covered quite down to their feet, becauſe of the damps, which are very great, and of which they are very apprehenſive. In ſummer they only wear a ſingle garment of ſilk, or ſome ſuch dreſs, but have no turbans.

Their common food is rice, which they often eat with a broth, like what the Arabs make of meat or fiſh, which they pour upon the rice. The Kings eat wheat-bread, and all ſorts of animals, not excepting ſwine and ſome others. They have ſeveral ſorts of fruits, apples, lemons, quinces, mouſats, ſugar-canes, citruls, figs, grapes, cucumbers of two ſorts, trees which bear a ſubſtance like meal, walnuts, almonds, filberts, piſtachies, plumbs, apricots, ſervices, and cocoa-nuts, but they have no ſtore of palms; they have only a few about ſome private houſes.

Their drink is a kind of wine made of rice; they have no other wine in the country, nor is there any brought to them: they know not what it is, nor do they drink of it. They have vinegar alſo, and a kind of comfit like what the Arabs call natef, and ſome others.

They are not very nice in point of cleanlineſs, and waſh not with water when they eaſe nature, but only wipe themſelves with paper; they eat of dead animals, and practiſe many other things like the Magians; and in truth, the religion of the one and the other is much the ſame. The Chineſe women appear uncovered, and adorn their heads with ſmall ivory combs, of which they wear ſometimes a ſcore together; the men are covered with caps of a particular make. The law they obſerve with regard to thieves is to put them to death as ſoon as they are caught.

Our author ſeems here to interrupt his narration, and to take occaſion from what he has before reported (and which in the main is confirmed by later writers), to compare the cuſtoms of the Indians and Chineſe, intermixing his diſcourſe alſo with other matters.

13. The Indians and Chineſe agree, that there are four great or principal Kings in the world; they all allow the King of the Arabs to be the firſt, and to be, beyond diſpute, the moſt powerful of Kings, the moſt wealthy, and the moſt excellent every way; becauſe he is the Prince and Head of a great religion, and becauſe no other ſurpaſſes him.

The Emperor of China reckons himſelf next after the King of the Arabs, and after him the King of the Greeks, and laſtly the Balhara, King of Moharmi al Adon, or of thoſe who have their ears bored *.

This Balhara is the moſt illuſtrious prince in all the Indies; and all the other Kings there, though each is maſter and independent in his kingdom, acknowledge thus far

* It is very highly probable, that this Balhara, or monarch of the nation which have their ears bored, which is plainly the Indians, was no other than the Samorin, or Emperor of Calicut, who, according to the reports of the moſt ancient Portugueze hiſtorians, was acknowledged as a kind of Emperor in the Indies, ſix hundred years before they diſcovered the paſſage to them by the Cape of Good Hope.

his pre-eminence. When he ſends ambaſſadors to them, they receive them with extraordinary honours, becauſe of the reſpect they bear him. This King makes magnificent preſents after the manner of the Arabs, and has horſes and elephants in great numbers, and great treaſures in money. He has of thoſe pieces of ſilver called Thartarian drams, which weigh half a dram more than the Arabian dram. They are coined with the dye of the Prince, and bear the year of his reign from the laſt of the reign of his predeceſſor.

They compute not their years from the æra of Mohammed, as the Arabs do, but only by the years of their Kings. Moſt of theſe Princes live a long time, and many of them have reigned above fifty years, and thoſe of the country believe, that the length of their lives and of their reigns is granted them in recompence for their kindneſs to the Arabs. In truth, there are no Princes more heartily affectionate to the Arabs, and their ſubjects profeſs the ſame friendſhip for us.

Balhara * is not a proper name, but an appellative common to all theſe Kings, as was Coſroes and ſome others. The country under the dominion of this Prince begins on the coaſt of the province called Kamkam, and reaches by land to the confines of China. He is ſurrounded by the dominions of many Kings, who are at war with him, and yet he never marches againſt them.

14. One of thoſe Kings is the King of Harez, who has very numerous forces, and is ſtronger in horſe than all other Princes of the Indies, but is an enemy to the Arabs; though he at the ſame time confeſſes their King to be the greateſt of Kings, nor is there a Prince in the Indies who has a greater averſion to the Mohammedan faith. His dominions are on a promontory, where are much riches, many camels, and other cattle. The inhabitants here traffic for ſilver, which they watch for, and they ſay there are mines of the ſame on the continent. There is no talk of robbers in this country any more than in the reſt of the Indies.

On one ſide of this kingdom lies that of Tafek, which is not of very great extent. This King has the fineſt white women in all the Indies; but he is awed by the Kings about him, his army being but ſmall. He has a great affection for the Arabs, as well as the Balhara.

Theſe kingdoms border upon the lands of a King called Rami, who is at war with the King of Harez, and with the Balhara alſo. This Prince is not much conſidered either for his birth, or the antiquity of his kingdom; but his forces are more numerous than thoſe of the Balhara, and even than thoſe of the Kings of Harez and Tafek. They ſay, that when he takes the field, he appears at the head of fifty thouſand elephants, and that he commonly marches in the winter ſeaſon; becauſe the elephants not being able to bear thirſt, he can move at no other time. They add likewiſe, that in his army there are commonly from ten to fifteen thouſand tents. In this ſame country they make cotton garments in ſuch extraordinary perfection, that no where elſe are the like to be ſeen. Theſe garments are for the moſt part round, and wove to that degree of fineneſs, that they may be drawn through a ring of a moderate ſize. Shells are current in this country, and ſerve for ſmall money, notwithſtanding that they have gold and ſilver, wood aloes, and ſable ſkins, of which they make the furniture for ſaddles and houſings.

* This is another good reaſon why the monarch here mentioned ſhould be taken for the Emperor of Calicut, ſince he likewiſe was not called by his proper name, but by ſuch an appellative as this; and if we could obtain an etymology of theſe words that could be depended upon, it is very likely that Balhara and Samorin would be found to mean the ſame thing.

In

In this fame country is the famous karkandan *, that is, the (rhinoceros, or) unicorn, who has but one horn upon his forehead, and thereon a round ſpot, with the repreſentation of a man. The whole horn is black, except the ſpot in the middle, which is white. The unicorn is much ſmaller than the elephant; from the neck downwards he pretty much reſembles the buffalo; his ſtrength is very extraordinary, for he excels therein all other creatures; his hoof is not cloven, and from his foot to his ſhoulder is all of a piece. The elephant flies from the unicorn, whoſe lowing is like that of an ox, with ſomething of the cry of the camel; his fleſh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it; there are great numbers of this creature in the fens of this kingdom, as alſo in all the other provinces of the Indies; but the horns of theſe are moſt eſteemed; and upon them are generally ſeen the figures of men, peacocks, fiſhes, and other reſemblances. The Chineſe adorn their girdles with theſe ſort of figures, ſo that ſome of their girdles are worth two or three thouſand pieces of gold in China, and ſometimes more, the price augmenting with the beauty of the figure. All the things we have here enumerated are to be purchaſed in the kingdom of Rahmi for ſhells, which are the current money of the country.

After this kingdom there is another, which is an inland ſtate diſtant from the coaſt, and called Kaſchbin; the inhabitants are white, and bore their ears; they have camels, and their country is for the moſt part deſart, and full of mountains; farther upon the coaſt there is a ſmall kingdom called Hitrange, which is very poor; but it has a bay, where the ſea throws up great quantities of ambergris; they have alſo elephant's teeth and pepper; but the inhabitants eat it green, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of the quantity they gather. Beyond theſe kingdoms here mentioned, there are others of number unknown, and among the reſt that of Mujet; the inhabitants are white, and dreſs after the Chineſe mode; their country is full of mountains, with white tops, and of very great extent; here are very great quantities of muſk, eſteemed the moſt exquiſite in the world. They have war with all the neighbouring kingdoms.

The kingdom of Mabed † is beyond that of Mujet; therein are many cities, and the inhabitants have a great reſemblance to the Chineſe, even more than thoſe of Mujet; for they have officers or eunuchs, like thoſe who govern the cities amongſt the Chineſe; the country of Mabed is bordering upon China, and is at peace with the Emperor, but not ſubject to him. The Mabed ſends every year ambaſſadors and preſents to the Emperor of China, who on his part ſends ambaſſadors and preſents to them. Their country is of great extent; and when the ambaſſadors of Mabed enter China, they are carefully watched, and never once allowed to ſurvey the country, for fear they ſhould form deſigns of conquering it, which would be no difficult taſk for them, becauſe of their great numbers, and becauſe they are divided from China only by mountains and rocks.

15. They ſay, that in the Kingdom of China there are above two hundred cities, with juriſdiction over others, and have each a governor, and an eunuch or lieutenant. Canfu is one of theſe cities, being the port for all ſhipping, and preſiding over twenty towns. A town is dignified with the title of city, when it is allowed ſome of thoſe great Chineſe trumpets, which are faſhioned after this manner: they are three or four cubits in

* We have already given ſo large an account of the rhinoceros, that we ſhall not trouble the reader with any thing on that ſubject here, but content ourſelves with obſerving, that it is evident this writer makes the unicorn and the rhinoceros the ſame creature, agreeable to what we have advanced elſewhere.

† It would be an endleſs thing to fatigue the reader with conjectures about theſe countries, the names of which are totally unknown to us; ſo that all we can ſay of them with certainty is, that they lie between Cape Comorin and China.

length, and as much about as can be grafped with both hands; but they grow narrow towards the end, which is fitted to the mouth; on the outfide they are coloured with Chinefe ink, and may be heard a mile off. Each city has four gates, at each of which are five of thefe trumpets, which the Chinefe found at certain hours of the day and of the night. There are alfo in each city ten drums, which they beat at the fame time; and this they do as a public token of their obedience to the Emperor; as alfo to fignify the hour of the day, and of the night, to which end they have alfo dials and clocks with weights.

They coin a great deal of copper money, like what the Arabs call falus: they have treafures like other Kings; but they have only this fort of fmall money, which is current all over the country; for though they have gold, filver, pearls, filk, and rich ftuffs in great abundance, they confider them only as moveables and merchandize, and the copper pieces are the only current coin: from foreign parts they have ivory, frankincenfe, copper in pigs, tortoife-fhells, and unicorns' horns, which we have mentioned, and with which they adorn their girdles. Of their own ftock, they have abundance of beafts of burden, horfes, affes, and dromedaries; but they have no Arabian horfes.

They have an excellent kind of earth, wherewith they make a ware of equal fineneſs with glafs, and equally tranſparent. When merchants arrive here *, the Chinefe feize on their cargoes, and convey them to warehoufes, where they remain fix months, and till the laft merchantman be arrived; then they take three in ten, or thirty per cent. of each commodity, and return the reft to the merchant. If the Emperor hath a mind for any particular thing, his officers have a right to take it, preferably to any other perfons whatſoever, paying for it to the utmoſt value. They diſpatch this buſineſs immediately, and without the leaſt injuſtice; they commonly take camphire, which they pay for after the rate of fifty fakuges per man, and the fakuge is worth a thouſand falus, or pieces of copper. When it happens that the Emperor does not take camphire, it fells for half as much again.

16. The Chinefe do not bury their dead till the day twelvemonth of their deceaſe. Till the expiration of this term they keep them in coffins; for having previouſly dried them with quick-lime that they may keep, they place them in ſome part of their houſes. The bodies of their Kings are embalmed with aloes and camphire. They mourn for three whole years; and whoſoever ſhould not do ſo would be chaſtized with the bamboo, a puniſhment both men and women are liable to; at the ſame time they are reproached, "What then, thou art not concerned at the death of thy parent?"

They bury their dead in deep pits, much like thoſe in uſe among the Arabs; till this is done they conſtantly ſet victuals before the corpſe; and as it is in the evening that they thus exhibit meat and drink to their dead, if the next morning they find nothing left, they imagine that they have conſumed all, and ſay, "The deceaſed hath eaten." They ceaſe not from bewailing their dead, nor from ſetting meat and drink before them as long as they are kept in the houſe, inſomuch that their expences upon thoſe occaſions, and in thus paying their laſt duties to their departed relations, are ſo exorbitant as often to ruin them, and conſume their wealth and eſtates. Formerly they, with the dead

* This account of the conduct of the Chineſe towards the merchants, correſponds ſo well both with ancient and modern relations, that it leaves no room for us to doubt either of the truth of them, or of it, and cannot but illuſtrate, and at the ſame time confirm in the opinion of the reader, many things delivered in our obſervations on the foregoing ſections.

bodies

bodies of their Kings, or others of the royal blood, buried very rich apparel, and thoſe ſorts of girdles which we have obſerved coſt ſo much; but this cuſtom is now out of date, becauſe it has happened that the bodies of ſome have been dug up by thieves, for the ſake of what was buried with them.

The Chineſe, poor and rich, great and ſmall, learn to read and write: the titles of their Kings or governors, are varied according to the dignity and rank of the cities under them. Thoſe of the ſmaller cities are called Tufang; and this word ſignifies the governor of a town; thoſe of the greater cities, as Canfu, for example, are ſtyled Difu; and the eunuch, or lieutenant, is ſtyled Tukam. Theſe eunuchs are elected from the inhabitants of the cities. There is alſo a ſupreme judge, and him they call Lakthimamakvan; other names they have for other officers, which we know not how properly to expreſs.

17. A man is not raiſed to the dignity of a Prince, or governor of a city, till he has attained his fortieth year; for then, ſay they, he hath experience. When one of theſe Princes, or Vice-Kings, keeps his court in a city, he is ſeated upon a tribunal, and receives the petitions or complaints of the people. Behind this tribunal there is an officer called Lieu, who keeps ſtanding, and according to the order he receives from the Prince, indorſes his anſwer on the petition, for they never anſwer otherwiſe than in writing, or admit of any applications, but what are committed to paper. Before the parties preſent their petitions to the Prince, they get them examined by an officer, who, if he diſcovers any fault, ſends them back again; for no man may draw up theſe writings which are to be preſented to the Prince, except a clerk verſed in buſineſs; and at the bottom of each writing they put, "Written by ſuch a one, the ſon of ſuch a one;" and if in this caſe there happen any blunder or miſtake, the clerk is bambooed *.

The Prince never ſeats himſelf on his tribunal till he has eaten and drank, for fear he ſhould be miſtaken in ſomething; and each of theſe princes or governors has his ſubſiſtence from the public treaſury of the city he commands. The Emperor of China, who is above all theſe Princes or petty Kings, never appears in public but once in ten months, fancying, that if he ſhewed himſelf oftener to the people, they would loſe the veneration they have for him; for he holds it as a maxim, that principalities cannot ſubſiſt but by force, and that the people know not what juſtice is; and that thus conſtraint and violence muſt be uſed to maintain amongſt them the majeſty of empire.

18. They have no duty impoſed upon their lands, but are ſubject to a poll-tax, which is levied upon men only, and that according to their condition and capacity. When any Arabs, or other ſtrangers, are in this country, the Chineſe tax them according to their ſubſtance. When any dearth makes neceſſaries dear, then the King opens his ſtore-houſes, and ſells all ſorts of proviſions much cheaper than they are to be had at market: and hence no dearth is of any long continuance among the Chineſe. The ſums that are gathered from this capitation-tax, are laid up in the public treaſury; and I believe, that from this tax fifty thouſand dinars are paid every day into the treaſury of Canfu alone, although this city is not one of the largeſt in China.

The Emperor reſerves likewiſe to himſelf the revenues which ariſe from the ſalt-mines, and from a certain herb which they drink with hot water, and of which great quantities

* This kind of practice is ſtill in uſe at China, ſo that there can be nothing clearer than that this account is both genuine and exact; ſince it is impoſſible to conceive how an Arabian author of the age in which this manuſcript was wrote, ſhould be maſter of theſe facts, none of which were known in Europe till ſome ages after.

are

are ſold in all the cities of China, to the amount of great ſums; they call it Ttcha, that is tea, and it is a ſhrub more buſhy than the pomegranate tree, and of a more pleaſant ſmell, but has a kind of bitterneſs with it. Their way is to boil water, which they pour upon this leaf; and this drink cures all ſorts of diſeaſes. Whatever ſums come into the treaſury, ariſe from the poll-tax, the duties upon the ſalt, and the tax upon this leaf *.

19. In each city there is a ſmall bell hung to the wall above the Prince's or Governor's head; and this bell may be rung by a ſtring, which reaches about three miles, and croſſes the highway to the end that people may get at it; when the ſtring is pulled, the bell ſtrikes over the governor's head, and ſtraight he commands that the perſon who thus demands juſtice, be brought before him; and accordingly the complainant ſets forth his caſe in perſon; and the ſame practice is in uſe throughout all other provinces.

If a man has a mind to travel from one place to another, he muſt take two paſſes with him, the one from the Governor, the other from the eunuch or lieutenant. The Governor's paſs permits him to ſet out on his journey, and takes notice of the name of the traveller, and of thoſe alſo of his company, the age and family of the one and the other; for every body in China, whether a native, or an Arab, or any other foreigner, is obliged to declare all he knows of himſelf, nor can he poſſibly be excuſed.

The eunuch, or lieutenant's paſs, ſpecifies the quantity of goods or money which the traveller and thoſe with him take along with them; and this is done for the information of the frontier places, where theſe two paſſes are examined; for whenever a traveller arrives at any of them it is regiſtered, that ſuch a one, the ſon of ſuch a one, of ſuch a family, paſſed through this place on ſuch a day, in ſuch a month, in ſuch a year, and in ſuch company; and by this means they prevent any one from carrying off the money or effects of other perſons, or their being loſt: ſo that if any thing hath been carried off unjuſtly, or the traveller dies on the road, they immediately know what is become of the thing, and they are either reſtored to the claimant or to his heirs †.

20. The Chineſe adminiſter juſtice with great ſtrictneſs in all their tribunals. When any perſon commences a ſuit againſt another, he ſets down his claim in writing, and the defendant writes down his defence, which he ſigns, and holds between his fingers. Theſe two writings are delivered in together; and being examined, ſentence is delivered in writing, and each party has his papers returned to him; but firſt they give back to the defendant his writing that he may acknowledge it.

When one party denies what the other affirms, he is ordered to return his writing: and if the defendant thinks he may do it ſafely, and accordingly delivers his paper a ſecond time, they alſo call for that of the plaintiff, and then they ſay to him who denies what the other affirms, Make it appear that your antagoniſt has no right to demand of you what is in debate; but take notice if he makes out what you deny, you ſhall undergo twenty ſtrokes of the bamboo upon the backſide, and pay a fine of twenty fakuges, which make about two hundred dinars. Now this puniſhment is ſuch, as the criminal could not ſurvive; it is ſo grievous, that no perſon in all China may, of his own authority, inflict it upon another, upon pain of death, and confiſcation of his

* It appears from hence, that the cuſtom of drinking tea in China, is much more antient than we have generally imagined it, for it muſt have prevailed long before our traveller went into this country, otherwiſe a tax upon it would have been ineffectual. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the remarks of the author are equally natural and judicious; for he inſiſts chiefly on thoſe things in which the Chineſe differed moſt from the Mohammedans, as that they did not circumciſe, were not vey exact in waſhing, and made no conſcience of eating blood.

† The reader will remember that this was a ſettled regulation among the antient Indians, ſo that it is very probable that the Chineſe derived a great part of their policy from the Indians.

goods,

goods, and ſo nobody is ever ſo hardy as to expoſe himſelf to ſo certain a danger; wherefore juſtice is well adminiſtered to every one. They require no witneſs, nor do they put the parties upon oath.

21. When any man becomes a bankrupt in this country, they throw him into priſon in the Governor's palace, and he is immediately put upon the declaration of his effects. After he has been a month in priſon, he is releaſed by the Governor's order, and proclamation is made, that ſuch a one, the ſon of ſuch a one, has conſumed the ſubſtance of ſuch a one; and that if he has any effects in the hands of any perſon, in any ſhape whatſoever, it muſt be made known in the term of a month. In the meantime the bankrupt is bambooed on the backſide, if diſcovery is made of any effects of his; and at the ſame time is upbraided with having been a month in priſon eating and drinking, though he had wherewithal to ſatisfy his creditors. He is chaſtiſed in the ſame manner, whether he makes any declaration of his effects or not. They reproach him, that he has made it his ſtudy to get by fraud the ſubſtance of private perſons into his hands, and embezzle it; and that he ought not ſo to defraud thoſe he had dealings with, by ſtripping them of their property. But after all, if they cannot diſcover him to have been guilty of any fraud, and if it is proved to the magiſtrate, that the man has nothing in the world, the creditors are called in, and receive a part of their debt out of the treaſury of the Bagbun. This is the ordinary title of the Emperors of China, and ſignifies the ſon of Heaven; but we commonly pronounce it after a different manner, and call him Magbun. Then it is publickly forbidden to buy of or ſell to this man upon pain of death, that he may not defraud any of his creditors by concealing their money. If diſcovery be made that he hath any ſums in the hands of another, and if the perſon he entruſts make no delaration within the time limited, he is bambooed to death, and nothing is ſaid to the proprietor or bankrupt. The ſums that they diſcover are divided among the creditors, and the debtor or bankrupt muſt never more concern himſelf with trade *.

22. The Chineſe have a ſtone which is ten cubits high, erected in the public ſquares of their cities, and on this ſtone are engraved the names of all ſorts of medicines, with the exact price of each; and when the poor ſtand in need of any relief from phyſic, they go to the treaſury, where they receive the price each medicine is rated at. There is in China no tax upon land; they only levy ſo much per head, according to the wealth and poſſeſſions of the ſubject. When a male child is born, his name is immediately entered in the King's books; and when this child has attained his eighteenth year, he begins to pay for his head; but they demand it not of the man who has ſeen his eightieth year; on the contrary he receives a gratification by way of penſion from the public treaſury; and in doing this, the Chineſe ſay, that they make this proviſion for him in his old days, in acknowledgment for what they received of him when he was young.

23. There are ſchools in every town for teaching the poor children to write and read, and the maſters are maintained at the public charge. The women wear nothing on their heads but their hair, whereas the men are covered. In China there is a certain town called Tayu, which has a caſtle advantageouſly ſeated on a hill, and all the fortreſſes in the kingdom are called by the ſame name. The Chineſe are generally handſome, of comely ſtature, fair, and by no means addicted to exceſſes of wine; their hair is

* This fact is likewiſe confirmed by later travellers; and though there ſeems to be a great deal of ſeverity in it, yet it is well adapted to the genius of the Chineſe, who would not fail to become bankrupts frequently, if they were allowed to trade afterwards; and perhaps the introducing this law in other countries, in caſe of a ſecond or third bankruptcy, might be found very effectual.

blacker than the hair of any other nation in the world; and the Chineſe women wear it curled.

24. In the Indies, when a man accuſes another of a crime puniſhable with death, the cuſtom is to aſk the accuſed if he is willing to go through the trial by fire; and if he anſwers in the affirmative, they heat a piece of iron till it is red-hot. This done, they bid him ſtretch forth his hand, and upon it they put ſeven leaves of a certain tree, and upon theſe leaves they put the red-hot iron, and in this condition he walks backward and forward for ſome time, and then throws off the iron. Immediately after this they put his hand into a leathern bag, which they ſeal with the prince's ſignet; and if at the end of three days he appears and declares he has ſuffered no hurt, they order him to take out his hand; when if no ſign of fire is viſible, they declare him innocent, and delivered from the puniſhment which threatened him, and his accuſer is condemned to pay a Man of gold as a fine to the Prince.

Sometimes they boil water in a cauldron *, till it is ſo hot that no one can touch it; then they throw an iron ring into it, and command the perſon accuſed to thruſt his hand down, and bring out the ring. I ſaw one who did this, and received no manner of hurt. The accuſer is in this caſe alſo to pay a Man of gold.

25. When a king dies in this iſland of Sarandib, they lay his body on an open chariot, in ſuch a manner that his head hangs backwards till it almoſt touches the ground, and his hair is upon the earth; and this chariot is followed by a woman with a broom in her hand, therewith to ſweep duſt on the face of the deceaſed, while ſhe cries out with a loud voice, "O man, behold your King, who was yeſterday your maſter, but now the empire he exerciſed over you is vaniſhed and gone; he is reduced to the ſtate you behold, having left the world, and the arbiter of death hath withdrawn his ſoul; reckon therefore no more upon the uncertain hopes of life."

This † proclamation or ſome other like it, they continue for three days; after which the dead body of the King is embalmed with ſandal wood, camphire and ſaffron, and is then burned, and the aſhes are ſcattered abroad to the wind. It is a univerſal cuſtom all over the Indies to burn the bodies of the dead. The iſland of Sarandib is the laſt of the iſlands of the Indies. When they burn a king, it is uſual for his wives to jump into the fire, and to burn with him; but this they are not conſtrained to do if they are not willing.

In the Indies there are men who profeſs to live in the woods and mountains, and to deſpiſe what other men moſt value. Theſe abſtain from every thing but ſuch wild herbs and fruits as ſpring in the woods, and put an iron buckle upon their natural parts, that they may not be able to have any commerce with women. Some of them are

* This manner of finding out the truth by appealing to God in ſo extraordinary a manner, was in uſe in moſt countries. Sophocles mentions it as practiſed by the antients. The Caffres on the coaſt of Moſambique, if they are accuſed of any capital crime, lick iron to prove their innocence. The Indians of Calicut decide their differences in the ſame manner. If a man is accuſed of theft, he and the accuſer are brought before the judge; a pint of oil is heated till it almoſt boils, and then the party accuſed dips in three of his fingers, which are immediately bound up, and opened on the third day; when, if it appears he is ſcalded, he ſuffers death; and if not, the ſame ſentence falls upon the accuſer. All this is the more probable, ſince this was once the common law of our own country, as the reader will perceive by conſulting any of our gloſſographers on the word *ordeal*.

† The author of Arabian Geography, and many others of the oriental writers, have tranſcribed this paſſage verbatim, from whence it appears evidently that they were acquainted with this work. The reader may remember, that the accounts given by the antients of the manners of the inhabitants of Taprobana agree perfectly well with this account.

quite naked, or have only a leopard's ſkin thrown over them, and in this plight keep ſtanding with their faces towards the ſun. I formerly ſaw one in the poſture I have deſcribed, and returning to the Indies about ſixteen years afterwards I found him in the very ſame attitude, and was aſtoniſhed he had not loſt his eye-ſight by the heat of the ſun *. In all theſe kingdoms the ſovereign power reſides in the royal family, and never departs from it; and the next heirs of this family ſucceed each other. In like manner there are families of learned men, of phyſicians, and of all the artificers concerned in architecture, and none of theſe are mixed with a family of a profeſſion different from their own. The ſeveral ſtates of the Indies are not ſubject to one king, but each province has its own king. The Balhara is nevertheleſs in the Indies as King of Kings. The Chineſe are fond of gaming, and all manner of diverſions; on the contrary, the Indians condemn them, and have no pleaſure in them. They drink no wine, nor make any uſe of vinegar, becauſe it is made of wine; and yet they abſtain not therefrom as a religious duty, but for another reaſon. They ſay, that if a king is given to wine, he ought not to be deemed a king: for, continue they, as there are frequent wars with the neighbouring ſtates, how ſhould a drunkard manage the affairs of his kingdom?

26. The wars, in which they engage with neighbouring princes, are not uſually undertaken with a view to poſſeſs themſelves of their dominions; and I never heard of any but the people bordering upon the pepper country, that have ſeized on the poſſeſſions of their neighbours after victory. When a prince makes himſelf maſter of ſome other principality, he confers the government thereof upon ſome perſon of the royal family of the conquered country; and thus he keeps it in ſubjection to himſelf, from a perſuaſion that the natives would never agree to be otherwiſe governed. When any one of the princes or governors of cities within the dominions of the Emperor of China is guilty of a crime, he is put to death, and eaten; and in general it may be ſaid that the Chineſe eat all thoſe that are put to death. When the Indians and Chineſe are about to marry, the parties come to an agreement; then preſents are made, and at laſt the marriage is celebrated with the ſound of many ſorts of inſtruments and drums. The preſents they ſend conſiſt of money, and in this every one does what he can afford.

27. If a man in the Indies runs away with a woman, and abuſes her body, they kill both him and the woman, unleſs it be proved that ſhe was forced; then the man only is puniſhed with death: but if the woman conſented to the evil deed, they are both puniſhed with death. Theft is always puniſhed capitally, as well in the Indies as in China, whether the theft be conſiderable or inconſiderable; and particularly in the Indies, where, if a thief has ſtolen but the value of a ſmall piece of money, or a thing of greater worth, they take a long, ſtrong, and ſharp ſtake, which they apply to his fundament, and thruſt it through till it comes out at his neck. The Chineſe are addicted to the abominable vice of ſodomy, and the filthy practice of it they number among the indifferent things they perform in honour of their idols.

The Chineſe buildings are of wood, with ſtone, plaſter, brick, and mortar. The Chineſe and Indians are not ſatisfied with one wife, but both nations marry as many as they pleaſe. Rice is the common food of the Indians, who eat no wheat; whereas the Chineſe eat of rice and wheat indifferently. Circumciſion is not practiſed either

* Theſe penances among the Indians, as ſurpriſing or as incredible as they ſeem to be, are confirmed by all the travellers that have written of thoſe countries, whether antient or modern, as we ſhall have an opportunity of ſhewing in the ſubſequent part of this chapter.

by the Indians or Chineſe. The Chineſe worſhip idols, pray to them, and fall down before them; and they have books which explain the articles of their religion. The Indians ſuffer their beards to grow, and I have ſeen one of them with a beard three cubits long; they wear no whiſkers; but the Chineſe, for the moſt part, have no beard and have all ſmooth. The Indians, upon the death of a relation, ſhave both head and face. When any man in the Indies is caſt into priſon, they allow him neither victuals nor drink for ſeven days together, and this with them anſwers the end of other tortures to extort from the criminal a confeſſion of the truth. The Chineſe have judges beſides the governors, who decide in cauſes between ſubject and ſubject, and the ſame they have in the Indies. Both in China and in the Indies there are leopards and wolves, but no lions. Highway robbers are puniſhed with death.

29. Both the Chineſe and the Indians imagine the idols they worſhip ſpeak to them and give them anſwers. Neither the one nor the other kill their meat by cutting the throat, as the Mohammedans, but by beating them on the mouth till they die. They waſh not with well-water; the Chineſe wipe themſelves with paper, whereas the Indians waſh every day before they eat.

The Indians touch not their wives while their diſeaſe is upon them, but turn them out of their houſes, and avoid them; the Chineſe behave in a quite contrary manner. The Indians waſh not only the mouth, but the whole body alſo before they eat, which the Chineſe obſerve not. The country of the Indies is larger in extent than that of China, and exceeds it by one half; the number of kingdoms is greater in the Indies than in China, but China is the more populous of the two.

It is not uſual to ſee palm-trees either in the Indies or in China, but they have alſo other ſorts of fruits and trees, which we have not. The Indians have no grapes, and the Chineſe have not many, but both abound in other fruits; though the pomegranate thrives more plentifully in India than in China.

The Chineſe have no ſciences, and their religion and moſt of their laws are derived from the Indians; nay, they are of opinion that the Indians taught them the worſhip of idols, and conſider them as a very religious nation; both the one and the other believe the Metempſychoſis *; but they differ in many points touching the precepts of their religions. Phyſic and philoſophy are cultivated among the Indians, and the Chineſe have ſome ſkill in medicine; but it almoſt wholly conſiſts in the art of applying hot irons or cauteries. They have alſo ſome ſmattering of aſtronomy, but therein alſo the Indians ſurpaſs the Chineſe. I know not that there is ſo much as one of either nation that has embraced Mohammediſm, or ſpeaks Arabic. The Indians have but few horſes, and there are more in China; but the Chineſe have no elephants, and cannot endure to have them in their country, for they abhor them. The Indian dominions furniſh a great number of ſoldiers, who are not paid by the King, but when they are rendezvouſed for war, take the field entirely at their own expence, and are no charge to the King; whereas the Chineſe allow their forces much the ſame pay with the Arabs.

China is a pleaſant and fruitful country; moſt of the Indian provinces have no cities, whereas in China there are many in number, great in extent, and well fortified: the climate of China is more wholeſome, and the country itſelf is leſs fenny. The air there is alſo much better, and there is ſcarce a blind perſon to be ſeen, or any one ſubject to the diſeaſes of the eyes; and the ſame advantages are enjoyed by ſeveral provinces of the

* Of this doctrine we have already ſpoken in our account of the philoſophy of the Brachmans; and in our notes upon the ſubſequent treatiſe, we ſhall take occaſion to ſhew when it was firſt embraced in China, and with what modifications it is ſtill taught there.

Indies:

Indies: the rivers of thoſe two countries are large, and ſurpaſs our greateſt rivers; much rain falls in both theſe countries. In the Indies are many deſert tracks, but China is inhabited and peopled throughout its whole extent. The Chineſe are handſomer than the Indians, and come nearer to the Arabs, not only in countenance, but in dreſs, in their way of riding, in their manners, and in their ceremonies: they wear long garments, and girdles in form of belts. The Indians wear two ſhort veſts; and the men, as well as the women, wear golden bracelets, adorned with precious ſtones.

30. Beyond the continent of China, there is a country called Tagazgaz, from the name of a nation of the Turks, who there inhabit, and alſo the country of Kakhan, or Tibet, which is bordering on the country of the Turks *. The iſlands of Sila are inhabited by white people, who ſend preſents to the Emperor of China, and who are perſuaded, that if they did not ſend him preſents, the rain of Heaven would not fall upon their country. None of our people have been there to inform us concerning them: they have white falcons.

As we are now arrived to the end of this work, it may not be amiſs to offer here ſome remarks that may tend to enlighten the foregoing diſcourſe, and prepare us at the ſame time for that which is come. We are informed that the date of this narration was of the Hegira 237, A. D. 851, which circumſtance, though preſerved to us in the enſuing diſcourſe, was very probably contained in the firſt leaf of this, which is wanting in the manuſcript. But though it was written then, yet it ſeems highly probable, that our author's firſt journey to the Indies was, at leaſt, twenty years before; becauſe he obſerves, that he made a ſecond journey there ſixteen years afterwards; and we may very well allow four years for the time ſpent in the firſt journey, and the ſpace that might intervene between his return and his compoſing this treatiſe. According to this calculation, his firſt voyage to the Indies was in the year of the Hegira 217, A. D. 833, and his ſecond An. Heg. 235, A. D. 849.

As to the occaſion of his voyages, there is nothing occurs in this account that can give us the leaſt light into it; however, it ſeems moſt probable, that he underwent theſe fatigues on the ſcore of commerce; for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that a man would have made ſo long a journey a ſecond time, purely out of curioſity, and to ſatisfy the deſire of being better acquainted with theſe people, which had been excited by his former intercourſe with them. There is not much to be obſerved with reſpect to the form of this treatiſe, or the ſtile in which it is written; and yet ſomething there is worth mentioning with reſpect to each of them. We cannot, indeed, boaſt much of the regularity of his method; and yet it would be unjuſt to condemn it entirely, becauſe, for want of having the introduction to it, we cannot determine exactly what was his plan, and conſequently cannot ſay how far he came up to or fell ſhort of it. One thing I think is manifeſt, which is, that the ſcope of his undertaking is a compariſon between the Indians and the Chineſe; at leaſt he falls into this immediately after he has deſcribed the uſual navigation from Siraf to China; and conſidered in this light, his treatiſe appears regular enough. As to his ſtile, it is extremely ſimple and plain, and has nothing

* We ſhall take another opportunity of acquainting the reader with the hiſtory of the ancient Turks, and ſhall only obſerve here, that the nations here mentioned are to be conſidered as dwelling in their native region, before they became famous by their irruption into Perſia, which is the country every where meant in this and in the ſubſequent treatiſe by the name of Irak, and before they became Mohammedans; which is the more neceſſary, becauſe from the preſent ſtate of things it is very natural to connect the ideas which we have of the modern Turks, with theſe accounts of their anceſtors.

of that ſwelling hyperbolical eloquence which is generally obſerved in oriental writers; upon which I beg leave to remark, that, with regard to the Arabs, as well as other nations, this was a vice that prevailed in later times, after poetry and rhetorick had been more cultivated than they were in the firſt ages of their empire, which has been the caſe in moſt other nations.

One cannot poſſibly doubt, that this piece was extremely well received when it firſt came abroad, and that it had maintained its reputation for a conſiderable ſpace of time, appears from the ſecond treatiſe, which we are about to give the reader. It ſeems, that when the affairs of China were better known, ſome Prince, or other perſon of diſtinction, deſired the author of the following pages to look over that diſcourſe, and to inform him, how far the facts contained therein had been confirmed or contradicted, by ſucceeding relations. What time this happened, we cannot with any certainty ſay, from the compariſon of the two pieces, or from the lights given us by the learned and accurate critick who publiſhed them. The manuſcript which the Abbé Renaudot made uſe of, was apparently older than the year of the Hegira 569, which anſwers to the year of Chriſt 1173; but the diſcourſe muſt certainly have been written long before that time. In our notes we have ſhewn that Eben-Wahab travelled into China, A. H. 185, A. D. 898; and the author of this laſt treatiſe informs us, that he had converſed with this man after his return, and had from him the facts which he has inſerted in his diſcourſe; ſo that the book itſelf muſt have been two centuries older than the manuſcript from which the Abbé Renaudot publiſhed it, and might probably be written ſixty or ſeventy years after the foregoing treatiſe. Theſe are all the lights which, from an aſſiduous ſtudy of theſe valuable fragments of antiquity, we have been able to give the reader, and therefore we ſhall detain him no longer from the piece itſelf, which in the original bears the following title.

The Diſcourſe of Abu Zeid al Haſan, of Siraf, concerning the Voyage to the Indies and China.

31. Having very carefully examined the book I was directed to peruſe, that I might confirm what the author relates, when he agrees with what I have heard concerning the affairs of the ſea, the kingdoms on the coaſt, and the ſtate of the countries; and that I might add upon this head, what I have elſewhere collected concerning them, which is not to be found in this book, I find it was written in the year of the Hegira 237, and that the accounts the author gives in regard to things at ſea, were in his time very true, and agreeable to what I have underſtood from merchants, who from Irak ſailed through thoſe ſeas. I find alſo, that all the author writes is agreeable to truth, except ſome few paſſages.

Speaking of the cuſtom of ſetting meat before the dead, which he attributes to the Chineſe, he ſays, when they have ſerved up the meat over night, and find nothing in the morning, they cry, The deceaſed hath eaten. We had been told the ſame, and believed it, till we met with a man of undoubted credit, who being aſked concerning this cuſtom, he anſwered, that the fact was not ſo, and that this notion was groundleſs, as well as what is vulgarly ſaid of the idolatrous nations, that they imagine their idols ſpeak to them.

He told us alſo, that ſince thoſe days the affairs of China wear quite another face; and ſince much is related to ſhew the reaſon why the voyages to China are interrupted, and

and how the country has been ruined, many cuſtoms aboliſhed, and the empire divided, I will here declare the cauſes I know of this revolution *.

32. The great troubles which have embroiled the affairs of this empire, which have put a ſtop to the juſtice and righteouſneſs there formerly practiſed, and which have, in fine, interrupted the ordinary navigation from Siraf to China, flowed from this ſource: An officer, who was conſiderable for his employment, though not of the royal family, revolted ſome time ago; this man's name was Baichu, and he began with committing hoſtilities in the country, marching his armies into many places, to the great loſs of the inhabitants, till winning a party over to him by his liberalities, he got together a multitude of vagabonds and abandoned people, whom he formed into a conſiderable body of troops.

His army thus ſtrengthened, and himſelf in a condition to undertake any thing, he diſcovered his deſign of ſubduing the empire, and marched ſtraight to Canfu, one of the moſt noted cities in China, and at that time the port for all the Arabian merchants. This city ſtands upon a great river ſome days diſtance from the entrance, ſo that the water there is freſh. But the citizens, ſhutting their gates againſt him, he reſolved to beſiege the place, and the ſiege laſted a great while. This was tranſacted in the year of the Hegira 264, and of Chriſt 877.

At laſt he became maſter of the city, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. There are perſons fully acquainted with the affairs of China, who aſſure us, that beſides the Chineſe who were maſſacred upon this occaſion, there periſhed one hundred and twenty thouſand Mohammedans, Jews, Chriſtians, and Parſees, who were there on account of traffick. The number of the profeſſors of theſe four religions, who thus periſhed, is exactly known, becauſe the Chineſe are exceedingly nice in the accounts they keep of them.

He alſo cut down the mulberry trees, and almoſt all the trees of other kinds: but we ſpeak of the mulberry in particular, becauſe the Chineſe cultivate it carefully, for the ſake of its leaf, on which their ſilkworms ſubſiſt. This devaſtation is the cauſe why ſilk has failed, and that the trade which uſed to be driven therein through all the countries under the Arabs, is quite at a ſtand. Having ſacked and deſtroyed Canfu, he poſſeſſed himſelf of many other cities, which he attacked one after another, the Emperor of China not having it in its power to ſtop his progreſs. He advanced then to the capital city, called Cumdan; and the Emperor left this, his royal ſeat, making a precipitate retreat to the city of Hamdu, on the frontiers, towards the province of Tibet.

The rebel, puffed up by theſe great ſucceſſes, and perceiving himſelf maſter of the countries, fell upon the other cities, which he demoliſhed, having firſt ſlain moſt of the inhabitants, with a view, in this general butchery, to involve all the ſeveral branches of the royal blood, that none might ſurvive to diſpute the empire with him. We had the news of theſe revolutions, and of the total ruin of China, which ſtill continues.

* The account here given by our author very plainly proves, that the trade to China was conſidered in his time as very ancient, and of very great conſequence, inſomuch that whatever affected the peace of that country, was looked upon as a thing of common concern to all the nations of the Eaſt. But till theſe travels were publiſhed, who could have imagined this? Who would have ſuſpected that the affairs of China were ſo well known to the Arabs? And therefore when theſe things are maturely weighed, who can doubt that we had reaſon to advance it as a thing highly probable, that long before this, the empires of China and the Indies were in the moſt flouriſhing condition, as well in point of foreign commerce, as of domeſtic œconomy.

Thus

Thus were affairs ſituated, and the rebel ſtood uncontrolled by any diſadvantage that might abaſe his authority *.

33. At laſt the Emperor of China wrote to the King of Tagazgaz, in Turkeſtan with whom, beſides the nearneſs of his dominions, he was, in ſome degree, allied by marriage; and at the ſame time, ſent an embaſſy to him, to implore his aſſiſtance for reducing this rebel. Upon this, the King of Tagazgaz diſpatched his ſon, at the head of a very numerous army, to fight this oppreſſor; and after many battles, and almoſt continual ſkirmiſhes, he utterly defeated him. It was never known what became of the rebel: ſome believe he fell in battle, while others thought he ended his days in another manner.

The Emperor of China returned then to Cumdan, and although he was extremely weakened, and much diſpirited, becauſe of the embezzlement of his treaſures, and the loſs of his captains and beſt troops, and becauſe of all the late calamities, he nevertheleſs made himſelf maſter of all the provinces which had been conquered from him. However he never laid hands on the goods of his ſubjects, but ſatisfied himſelf with what was yet left in his coffers, and the ſmall remainders of public money, his condition indiſpenſably obliged him to take up with what his ſubjects would give him, and to require nothing from them but obedience to his mandates, forbearing to ſqueeze money from them, becauſe the King's governors had exhauſted them already.

Thus China became almoſt like the empire of Alexander after the defeat and death of Darius †, when he divided the provinces he took from the Perſians amongſt ſo many chiefs, who erected themſelves into ſo many kings; for now each of theſe Chineſe Princes joined with ſome other to wage war againſt a third, without conſulting the Emperor; and when the ſtrongeſt had ſubdued the weakeſt, and was become maſter of his province, all was waſted and unmercifully plundered, and the ſubjects of the vanquiſhed Prince were unnaturally devoured, a cruelty allowed by the laws of their religion, which even permit human fleſh to be expoſed to ſale in the public markets.

Then aroſe, as was natural from theſe confuſions, many unjuſt dealings with the merchants who traded thither, which having gathered the force of a precedent, there was no grievance, no treatment ſo bad, but they exerciſed upon the Arabs, and the maſters of ſhips; they extorted from the merchants what was uncuſtomary, they ſeized upon

* It is a very difficult thing to pretend to ſettle the chronology of the Chineſe empire; and the very learned editor of theſe travels confeſſes that he is not able to give any ſatisfactory account of this revolution. It ſo falls out, however, that Father du Halde, in his Hiſtory of China, lately publiſhed, has enabled us to ſet this matter right, or at leaſt very nearly right. He informs us, that in the reign of the Emperor Hi Tſong, who was the eighteenth of the dynaſty of Tang, the affairs of China fell into very great diſorder, from the heavy taxes laid upon the people, and a great famine cauſed by the inundation of rivers, and infinite numbers of graſs hoppers that deſtroyed their harveſts. While things were in this ſituation, there happened ſeveral revolts in the provinces, which encouraged a certain rebel, whoſe name was Hoan Tſia, to put himſelf at the head of the malcontents, and that with ſuch ſucceſs, as to drive the Emperor from the imperial city, of which he made himſelf maſter; but he was afterwards defeated, and the Emperor reſtored. It muſt be owned that there is about twenty years difference between the time mentioned by our author, and the date of this revolution, aſſigned by Father du Halde. I ſhall not take upon me to decide where the miſtake lies; but I conceive that the reader will be of the ſame opinion with me, in concluding this to be the revolution mentioned in the text.

† All the oriental writers agree in giving a different account of the diviſion of the empire of Alexander the Great, from that which is given us by the Greeks; and that this notion of theirs was ancient, appears from what we are told by the author of the firſt book of Maccabees, who, having related the conqueſt of the Perſian empire by Alexander the Great, adds the following remarkable words, 1 Maccab. i. 5, 6. "And after theſe things, he fell ſick and perceived that he ſhould die. Wherefore he called his ſervants, ſuch as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them while he was yet alive."

their

their effects, and behaved towards them in a manner directly oppoſite to ancient uſages, and for theſe things has God puniſhed them, by withdrawing his bleſſing from them in every reſpect; and particularly by cauſing the navigation to be forſaken, and the merchants to return in crowds to Siraf and Oman; agreeable to the all-ruling will of the Almighty Maſter, whoſe name be bleſſed!

34. The author, in his book, notes ſome cuſtoms and laws of the Chineſe, but mentions not the puniſhments inflicted on married perſons, when convicted of adultery; this crime, as well as homicide and theft, is puniſhed with death, and they execute the criminal in this manner; they bind both the hands together, and then force them backwards over the head, till they reſt upon the neck; they then faſten the right foot to the right hand, and the left foot to the left hand, ſo that both hands and feet are ſtrongly bound behind the back; and thus bundled up, it is impoſſible for the criminal to ſtir, nor wants he any body to hold him. This torture disjoints the neck, makes the joints ſtart out of their ſockets, and diſlocates the thighs; in ſhort, the patient is in ſo miſerable a condition, that were he to continue therein but a few hours, there would be no need of any thing elſe to make an end of him: but when they have bound him as we have ſaid, they give him ſo many ſtrokes with a bamboo, which they always uſe upon the like occaſions, and which alone were ſufficient to kill the criminal, and leave off when he is at the very laſt gaſp of life, abandoning the body to the people, who eat it *.

35. There are women in China who refuſe to marry, and chuſe rather to live a diſſolute life of perpetual debauchery. The cuſtom is for theſe women to preſent themſelves in full audience before the commanding officer of the garriſon in the city, and declare their averſion to marriage, and their deſire to enter into the ſtate of public women; they then deſire to be regiſtered in the uſual form amongſt theſe proſtitutes, and the form is this; they write down the name of the woman, her family, the number of her jewels, the ſeveral particulars of her attire, and the place of her abode; thus ſhe is admitted a public woman: after this, they put about her neck a ſtring, at which hangs a copper ring with the King's ſignet, and deliver to her a writing which certifies that ſhe is received into the liſt of common proſtitutes, and entitles her to a yearly penſion of ſo many falus, to be paid her out of the public treaſury, and threatens with death the perſon who ſhould take her to wife. They every year give public notice of what is to be obſerved with regard to thoſe women, and turn out thoſe who have worn out their charms. In the evening theſe women walk abroad in dreſſes of different colours, without any veil, and proſtitute themſelves to all new comers that love debauchery; but the Chineſe themſelves ſend for them to their houſes, whence they depart not till the next morning †.

36. The Chineſe coin no money beſides the little pieces of copper, like thoſe we call falus, nor will they allow gold or ſilver to be coined into ſpecie, like the dinars and drams that are current with us; for, ſay they, if a thief goes with an evil intent into the houſe of an Arab, where is gold and ſilver coin, he may carry off ten thouſand pieces

* As barbarous as this cuſtom may appear, and as ſeemingly inconſiſtent as it may be with the politeneſs of the Chineſe, yet it is very certain that our authors are not the only writers that have mentioned it, as appears from the travels of Marco Polo.

† This account of their public women is confirmed by a great number of writers ancient and modern, ſo that there appears to be no reaſon for calling the truth of it in queſtion. In the hiſtory of the Dutch embaſſy to the Emperor of China, there is a print of one of theſe ladies, as ſhe is conducted through the city on an aſs, attended by a perſon, who cries her price, as he would that of any other commodity.

of gold, and almoſt as many pieces of ſilver, and not be much burdened therewith, and ſo be the ruin of the man who ſhould ſuffer this loſs: whereas, if a thief has the ſame deſign on the houſe of a Chineſe artificer, he cannot at moſt take away above ten thouſand falus, or pieces of copper, which do not make above ten meticals or dinars of gold. Theſe pieces of copper are alloyed with ſomething of a different kind, and are of the ſize of a dram, or piece of ſilver called bagli; in the middle they have a pretty large hole to ſtring them by: a thouſand of them are worth a metical of gold, or a dinar, and they ſtring them by thouſands, with a knot between every hundred. All their payments in general are made with this money, whether they buy or ſell lands, furniture, merchandize, or any thing elſe. There are ſome of theſe pieces at Siraf, with Chineſe characters upon them.

I need ſay nothing as to the frequent fires which happen in China, or the Chineſe manner of building. The city of Canfu is built in the manner he deſcribes, that is, of wood with canes, interwoven juſt like our works of ſplit cane; they waſh the whole over with a kind of varniſh, which they make of hemp ſeed, and this becomes as white as milk; ſo that when the walls are covered therewith they have a wonderful gloſs. They have no ſtairs in their houſes, nor do they build with different ſtories, but put every thing they have into cheſts which run upon wheels, and which in caſe of fire they can eaſily draw from place to place without any hindrance from ſtairs, and ſo ſave their things preſently.

As for the inferior officers in the cities, they commonly have the directions of the cuſtoms and the keys of the treaſury: ſome of theſe have been taken on the frontiers and caſtrated, others of them have been cut by their own fathers, who have ſent them as a preſent to the Emperor. Theſe officers are at the head of the principal affairs of ſtate, of the Emperor's private affairs, and of his treaſures; and thoſe particularly who are ſent to Canfu, are ſelected from this body *.

37. It is cuſtomary for them, as well as the kings or governors of all the cities, to appear abroad from time to time, in ſolemn proceſſion; at ſuch times they are preceded by men, who carry great pieces of wood like thoſe the Chriſtians of the Levant uſed inſtead of bells: the noiſe they make is heard a great way, and as ſoon as it is heard nobody ſtands in the road of the eunuch, or prince: if a man is at his door, he goes into his houſe, and keeps his door ſhut till the prince or eunuch of the city is gone by; ſo no ſoul is to be ſeen in the way; and this is enjoined, that they may be held in the greater veneration, and to ſtrike a dread, that the people may not ſee them often, and that they may not grow ſo familiar as to ſpeak to them.

The eunuch, or lieutenant, and the principal officers, wear very magnificent dreſſes of ſilk, ſo fine that none of this ſort is brought into the country ſubject to the Arabs, the Chineſe keep it up at ſo high a rate. One of the chief merchants, whoſe words cannot be called in queſtion, relates, that he waited on an eunuch, whom the Emperor had ſent to Canfu, in order to purchaſe ſome things he wanted out of the goods carried thither from the country of the Arabs; and that upon his breaſt he perceived a ſhort veſt, which was under another ſilk veſt, and which ſeemed to be under two other veſts of the ſame kind; that the eunuch, obſerving him to look ſtedfaſtly upon his breaſt, ſaid, "I ſee you keep your eyes fixed upon my ſtomach, what may be the meaning of it?" The merchant immediately cried out, "I am ſurpriſed at the beauty of that little veſt, which appears under your other garments." The eunuch laughed, and held out

* All theſe facts are atteſted by later writers, ſo that notwithſtanding they ſeem at firſt ſight very ſtrange and improbable, yet it muſt be owned there is as good evidence for them as for any other facts in the ſeveral relations we have heard of the cuſtoms and manners of theſe people.

his ſhirt ſleeve to him; "Count, ſays he, how many veſts I have above it:" he did ſo, and counted five, one on another; and the waiſtcoat, or ſhort veſt was underneath. Theſe garments are wove with raw ſilk, which has never been waſhed or fulled; and what is worn by the princes or governors, is ſtill more rich, and more exquiſitely wrought.

The Chineſe ſurpaſs all nations in all arts, and particularly in painting; and they perform ſuch perfect work as others can but faintly imitate. When an artificer has finiſhed a fine piece, he carries it to the Prince's palace to demand the reward he thinks he deſerves for the beauty of his performance; and the cuſtom is, for the Prince to order him to leave his work at the palace gate, where it ſtands a whole year. If, during that time, no perſon finds a fault therein, the artificer is rewarded, and admitted into the body of artiſts; but if the leaſt fault be found, it is rejected, and the workman ſent away empty.

It happened once, as the ſtory goes, that one of theſe painters drew an ear of corn, with a bird perched on it, upon a piece of ſilk; and his performance was ſo admirable, that all who beheld it were aſtoniſhed. This piece ſtood expoſed to public view, till one day a crooked fellow paſſing by the palace, found fault with the picture, and was immediately conducted to the Prince or Governor of the city, who at the ſame time ſent for the painter. Then he aſked this crooked fellow what fault he had to find with this piece; to which he anſwered, "Every body knows that a bird never ſettles upon an ear of corn but it bends under him, whereas this painter has repreſented his ear bolt upright, though he has perched a bird upon it; this is the fault I have to find." The objection was held juſt, and the Prince beſtowed no reward upon the artiſt. They pretend by this, and ſuch other means, to excite their workmen to perfection, by engaging them to be extremely nice and circumſpect in what they undertake, and to apply their whole genius to what is to go out of their hands *.

38. There was formerly a man of the tribe of Korkiſh, whoſe name was Ebn Wahab, deſcended of Hebar the ſon of Al Aſud, and he dwelt at Baſra; this man left Baſra when that city was ſacked, and came to Siraf, where he ſaw a ſhip ready to ſail for China. The humour took him to go on board of this ſhip, and in her he went to China, where in the ſequel he had the curioſity to travel to the Emperor's court; and leaving Canfu, he reached Cumdam, after a journey of two months; he ſtaid a long time at the Emperor's court, and preſented ſeveral petitions; wherein he ſignified that he was of the family of the prophet of the Arabs. Having waited a conſiderable while, the Emperor at laſt ordered him to be lodged in a houſe appointed for him, and to be ſupplied with every thing he wanted. This done, the Emperor wrote to the Governor of Canfu, commanding him carefully to inform himſelf among the merchants concerning the relation this man pretended to bear to the prophet of the Arabs; and the Governor, by his anſwers, confirming the truth of what he had ſaid, touching his extraction, the Emperor gave him audience, and made him rich preſents, wherewith he returned to Irak †.

This

* There is nothing very ſurpriſing in this account, for the very ſame method had been in uſe among the Greeks long before, and has been ſince practiſed in Italy and elſewhere; and without doubt it is the true method of coming at the juſt knowledge of the value of ſuch performances; and therefore ſomething of this ſort is annually practiſed at Paris.

† It ſeems a little ſtrange, that the learned Abbé Renandot did not endeavour to ſettle the time when this Arabian traveller went to China, eſpecially when there is a circumſtance which ſeems to fix it, viz. the plundering of Baſſora, upon which it is ſaid he took a reſolution of going to Siraff. In order to ſupply this defect, I have conſulted Abul-Pharajus, who informs us, that A.H. 285, which anſwers to A.D.

This man, when we ſaw him, was much advanced in years, but had his ſenſes perfectly, and told us, that when he had his audience, the Emperor aſked him many queſtions about the Arabs, and particularly how they had deſtroyed the kingdom of the Perſians. Ebn Wahab made anſwer, that they did it by the aſſiſtance of God; and becauſe the Perſians were immerſed in idolatry, adoring the ſtars, the ſun, and moon, inſtead of worſhipping the true God.

To this the Emperor replied, that the Arabs had conquered the moſt illuſtrious kingdom of the whole earth, the beſt cultivated, the moſt opulent, the moſt pregnant of fine wits, and of the moſt extenſive fame. Then ſaid he, "What account do the people in your parts make of the other kings of the earth?" To which the Arab replied, that he knew them not. Then ſaid the Emperor to the interpreter, "Tell him we eſteem but five kings; that he whoſe kingdom is of the wideſt extent, is the Maſter of Irak, for he is in the midſt of the world, and ſurrounded by the territories of other kings; and we find he is called the King of Kings. After him we reckon our Emperor here preſent, and we find that he is ſtiled the King of mankind, for no king is inveſted with a more abſolute authority over his ſubjects, nor is there a people under the ſun more dutiful and ſubmiſſive to their ſovereign than the people of this country. We therefore, in this reſpect, are the Kings of the human race; after us the King of the Turks, whoſe kingdom borders upon us, and him we call the King of lions. Next is the King of the elephants, who is the King of the Indies, whom we alſo call the King of wiſdom, becauſe he derives his origin from the Indians. And laſt of all the King of Greece, whom we ſtyle the King of men; for upon the face of the earth, there are no men of better manners, nor of comelier preſence, than his ſubjects. Theſe, added he, are the moſt illuſtrious of all kings, nor are others to compare with them."

Then ſaid Ebn Wahab, he ordered the interpreter to aſk me, "If I knew my maſter and my lord, meaning the prophet (Mohammed), and if I had ſeen him?" I made anſwer, "How ſhould I have ſeen him who is with God?" He replied, "That is not what I mean, I aſk you, what ſort of a man he was in his perſon?" I replied, "That he was very handſome." Then he called for a great box, and opening it, he took out another contained therein, which he ſet before him, and ſaid to the interpreter, "Shew him his maſter and his lord;" and I ſaw in the box the images of the prophets; whereat I moved my lips, praying to myſelf in honour of their memory.

The Emperor did not imagine I ſhould know them again, and ſaid to the interpreter, "Aſk him why he moves his lips?" I anſwered, "I was praying in memory of the prophets;" "How do you know them?" ſaid the Emperor. I replied, that I knew them by the repreſentation of their hiſtories. "There, ſaid I, is Noah in the ark, who was ſaved with thoſe that were with him at the ſame time;" and I made the uſual ſalute to Noah and his company. Then the Emperor laughed, and ſaid, "Thou art not miſtaken in the name of Noah, and thou haſt named him right; but as for the univerſal deluge, it is what we knew not. It is true, indeed, that a flood covered part of the earth, but it reached not our country, nor even the Indies." I made my

898, there was one Ahu Said, who revolted againſt the Khaliff, and ruined Baſſora, which occaſioned the walling and fortifying that city, which coſt fourteen thouſand pieces of gold. The Khaliff then reigning was Al Mohated, in whoſe time Elmacinus informs us, things were in great confuſion; and he likewiſe takes notice of this rebellion. The date agrees very well with the reſt of this hiſtory, and particularly with the account given by this man, of the reaſons which induced him to quit his country in his conference with the Emperor of China.

anſwer to this, and endeavoured to remove his objections the beſt I could; and then ſaid again to him, "There is Moſes with his rod, and the children of Iſrael." He agreed with me as to the ſmall extent of their country, and the manner how the ancient inhabitants were deſtroyed by Moſes. I then ſaid to him, "He there, is Jeſus, upon an aſs, and here are his Apoſtles with him." "He," ſaid the Emperor, "was not long upon earth, ſeeing that all he did was tranſacted within the ſpace of ſomewhat better than thirty months."

After this the ſame Ebn Wahab ſaw the hiſtories of the other prophets preſented in the ſame manner we have already declared; and he fancied that what was written in great characters, under each figure, might be the names of the prophets, the countries whence they were, and the ſubjects of their prophecies. Then ſaid the ſame Ebn Wahab, I ſaw the image of Mohammed riding upon a camel, and his companions about him on their camels, with ſhoes of the Arabian mode on their feet, and leathern girdles about their loins. At this I wept, and the Emperor commanded the interpreter to aſk me, why I wept? I anſwered, "There is our prophet and our lord, who is alſo my couſin." He ſaid I was right, and added, that he and his people had ſubdued the fineſt of all kingdoms; but that he had not the ſatisfaction of enjoying his conqueſts, though his ſucceſſors had.

I afterwards ſaw a great number of other prophets, ſome of them ſtretching forth their right hand, and with their three fingers bent down between the thumb and the fore-finger, juſt like thoſe who hold up the hand to make oath; others were ſtanding, and pointed to the heavens with their finger, and others were in different poſtures. The interpreter took them to be the figures of their prophets, and thoſe of the Indians. The Emperor then aſked me many queſtions concerning the Khaliffs, their uſual dreſs, and concerning many precepts and injunctions of the Mohammedan religion, and I anſwered him the beſt I could.

41. After this, he ſaid, "What is your opinion concerning the age of the world?" I made anſwer, that opinions varied upon that head; that ſome were for ſix thouſand years, and others would not allow ſo many, and that others reckoned it at a ſtill higher rate; but that it was, at leaſt, as old as I had ſaid. At this the Emperor and his firſt miniſter, who was near him, broke out into laughter, and the Emperor made many objections to what I had advanced. At laſt, ſaid he, "What does your prophet teach upon this ſubject, does he ſay as you do?" My memory failed me, and I aſſured him that he did.

Hereupon I obſerved that I had diſpleaſed him, and his diſpleaſure appeared plainly in his countenance. Then he ordered the interpreter to ſpeak to me in the following terms: "Take heed of what you ſay, for kings never ſpeak but to be informed of the truth of what they would know. What did you mean by giving the Emperor to underſtand, that there are among you various opinions concerning the age of the world? If ſo it be, you are alſo divided upon the things your prophet has ſaid at the ſame time, that no diverſity of opinions are to be admitted on what the prophets have pronounced, all which muſt be revered as ſure and infallible; take heed then how you talk at ſuch a rate any more *."

To this he ſubjoined many other things, which, through length of time, have eſcaped my remembrance. At laſt he aſked me, "How is it that thou haſt forſaken thy

* This plainly ſhews, that the Chineſe were formerly well acquainted with the hiſtory of other nations, and affords us good grounds to believe that their records muſt have been deſtroyed in ſome ſubſequent revolution; for, otherwiſe, it is impoſſible to account for their ignorance in matters of this nature in ſucceeding times.

King,

King, to whom thou art nearer, not only by the place of thy abode, but by blood alſo, than thou art to us?" In return to which, I informed him of the revolutions which had happened at Baſſora, and how I came to Siraf, where I ſaw a ſhip ready to ſail for China; and that having heard of the glory of his empire, and its abundance in all neceſſaries, curioſity excited me to a deſire of coming into his country, that I might behold it with mine own eyes; that I ſhould ſoon depart for my own country and the kingdom of my couſin, and that I would make a faithful report of what I had ſeen of the magnificence of the empire of China, and the vaſt extent of the provinces it contains, and that I would make a grateful acknowledgment of the kind uſage I there met with, which ſeemed to pleaſe him very much. He then made me rich preſents, and ordered that I ſhould be conducted to Canfu upon poſt-horſes. He alſo wrote to the Governor of the city, commanding him to treat me with much honour, and to furniſh me with the like recommendations to the other governors of the provinces, that they might entertain me till the time of my departure. I was thus treated every where during my ſtay, plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries of life, and honoured with many preſents till the time of my departure from China.

42. We aſked Ebn Wahab many queſtions concerning the city of Cumdan, where the Emperor keeps his court; he told us that the city was very large and extremely populous, that it was divided into two parts by a very long and very broad ſtreet; that the Emperor, his chief miniſters, the ſoldiery, the ſupreme judge, the eunuchs, and all belonging to the Imperial houſhold, lived in that part of the city which is on the right hand eaſtward; that the people had no manner of communication with them; and that they were not admitted into the places watered by canals from different rivers, the borders of which were planted with trees, and adorned with magnificent palaces. The part on the left hand weſtward, is inhabited by the ordinary people and the merchants, where are alſo great ſquares, and markets for all the neceſſaries of life. At break of day, the officers of the King's houſhold, with the inferior ſervants, the purveyors, and the domeſtics of the grandees of the court, come ſome on foot, others on horſeback, into that diviſion of the city, where are the public markets, and the habitations of ſuch as deal in all ſorts of goods, where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the ſame place till their occaſions call them thither next morning. It is by the ſame traveller related, that this city has a very pleaſant ſituation in the midſt of a moſt fertile ſoil, watered by ſeveral rivers, and hardly deficient in any thing except palm-trees, which grow not there.

43. In our times diſcovery has been made of a thing quite new and unknown to thoſe who lived before us. No body imagined that the great ſea, which extends from the Indies to China, had any communication with the ſea of Syria, nor could any one apprehend the poſſibility of any ſuch thing. Now behold what has come to paſs in our days, according to what we have heard. In the ſea of Rum, or the Mediterranean, they found the wreck of an Arabian ſhip which had been ſhattered by tempeſts; for all her men periſhing, and ſhe being daſhed to pieces by the waves, the remains of her were driven by wind and weather into the ſea of Chozars, and from thence to the canal of the Mediterranean Sea, and at laſt were thrown on the ſhore of Syria *.

This

* This is one of the moſt curious paſſages in this treatiſe, inaſmuch as it plainly proves, that the Arabians had the ſame notions in geography with the Greeks, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, had their notions of geography from them. Our author ſays plainly, that, according to his judgment, the Indian Ocean waſhed the coaſt of Great Tartary, and ſo fell into the Caſpian Sea, by which paſſage he ſuppoſes that this ſhip was driven from the Indian Sea into the Mediteranean. The conjecture was wrong;

This renders it evident, that the ſea ſurrounds all the country of China and Cila, or Sila, the uttermoſt parts of Turkeſtan, and the country of the Chozars; and that then it enters at the ſtrait till it waſhes the ſhore of Syria. The proof of this is deduced from the conſtruction of the ſhip we are ſpeaking of; for none but the ſhips of Siraf are ſo put together, that the planks are not nailed or bolted, but joined together in an extraordinary manner, as if they were ſewn. Whereas the planking of all ſhips of the Mediterranean Sea, and of the coaſt of Syria, are nailed, and not joined together in that way*.

We have alſo heard it reported, that ambergris has been found in the ſea of Syria, which ſeems hard to believe, and was unknown to former times. If this be as is ſaid, it is impoſſible that amber ſhould have been thrown up in the ſea of Syria, but by the ſea of Aden, and of Kolzum, which has communication with the ſeas where amber is found; and becauſe God has put a ſeparation between theſe ſeas, if this ſtory be true, it muſt neceſſarily have been, that this amber was driven firſt from the Indian Sea into the others, and ſo from the one to the other, till it at laſt came into the ſea of Syria †.

44. We will now begin to ſpeak of the province of Zapage, which is oppoſite to China, and diſtant from thence a full month's ſail by ſea, or leſs, if the wind be fair. The King of this country is ſtiled Mehrage, and they ſay his dominions are nine hundred leagues in circumference, and that this King is maſter of many iſlands which lie round about. Thus altogether this kingdom is above a thouſand leagues in extent; among thoſe iſlands there is one called Serbeza, which is ſaid to be four hundred leagues in circuit; and another called Rahmi, which is eight hundred leagues in compaſs, and produces redwood, camphire, and many other commodities. In this ſame kingdom is the iſland of Cala, which is the mid paſſage between China and the country of the Arabs.

This iſland, they ſay, is fourſcore leagues in circumference; and hither they bring all ſorts of merchandize, wood-aloes of ſeveral ſorts, camphire, ſandal-wood, ivory, the wood called cabahi, ebony, redwood, all ſorts of ſpice, and many other things too tedious to enumerate. At preſent the commerce is carried on between this iſland and that of Oman. The Mehrage is the ſovereign over all theſe iſlands; and that in which he makes his abode is extremely fertile, and ſo very populous, that the towns

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wrong; but there is ſtill ſomething in it very bold, and well imagined, and at the bottom ſomething of truth too; for though it was impoſſible that this ſhip ſhould come into the Mediterranean in the manner our author imagines, yet it is not impoſſible but it might have come through the north-eaſt paſſage, agreeable to the firſt part of his ſuppoſition; and if by the ſea of Chozars, we underſtand that of Muſcovy, he would be quite right.

* I very much doubt, whether the conſtruction of this veſſel, as our author deſcribes it, be ſufficient evidence of its coming from the Indies. It is very poſſible that it might have been a boat belonging to the inhabitants of Greenland, or of ſome other country bordering upon Hudſon's Bay; ſince it is very certain that there are ſuch veſſels in theſe parts, and it is not at all impoſſible that this might have come from thence. I do not pretend, however, abſolutely to contradict him, but only to ſhew that the argument he uſes is not concluſive, though I think, as things then ſtood, he had ſufficient grounds to believe it was concluſive.

† It is moſt evident, from our author's way of reaſoning, that he had no notion of any paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope; for if he had, he would moſt certainly have taken this opportunity of inſinuating it. At the ſame time, however, I leave it to the reader's conſideration, whether this veſſel, ſuppoſing it to have been built in the Eaſt Indies, might not have come this way into the Mediterranean, more probably than by the north-eaſt paſſage. It is likewiſe clear from what our author has delivered, that the Arabians knew no more of Japan, which they called Sila, than they learned from the Chineſe, ſince by the teſtimony of the oldeſt of our authors no Arab had yet ſet foot there in the year of the Hegira 230, A.D. 844.

almoſt

almoſt crowd one upon another. A perſon of great probity relates, that when the cocks crow at their accuſtomed hours, juſt as with us when at rooſt, upon trees, they anſwer each other a hundred leagues round and more, becauſe of the proximity of the villages which almoſt touch each other; and he adds, that no part of it is uninhabited, nor any of its land uncultivated. Thoſe who travel in this country may ſtop at every ſtep, and find ſhelter from the beams of the noon-day ſun; and if they are tired, they may repoſe themſelves every day at noon, go which way they will.

45. Yet what follows from the teſtimony of ſeveral perſons, is the moſt remarkable particular we have heard concerning the iſland of Zapage. There was formerly a King, or, as he is there called, Mehrage; his palace is ſtill to be ſeen on a river as broad as the Tygris at Bagdad, or at Baſſora. The ſea intercepts the courſe of its waters, and drives them back again with the flood; and during the ebb, it ſtreams out freſh water a good way into the ſea. This river is let into a ſmall pond cloſe to the King's palace; and every morning the officer, who has charge of his houſhold, brings an ingot of gold wrought in a particular manner, which is thrown into the pond in the preſence of the King. The tide riſing, covers it with the reſt, and quite conceals them from ſight. But low water diſcovers them, and they appear plain by the beams of the ſun. The King comes to view them as often as he repairs to an apartment of ſtate, which looks upon this pond. This cuſtom is very ſcrupulouſly obſerved; and thus they every day throw an ingot of gold into this pond as long as the King lives, not touching them upon any account, but regarding this as a ſacred treaſure.

When the King dies, his ſucceſſor cauſes them all to be taken out, and not one of them is ever miſſing. They count them, and melt them down; and this done, the ſums ariſing out of this great quantity of gold are diſtributed to thoſe of the royal houſhold, men, women, and children, to the ſuperior and inferior officers, each in proportion to the rank he bears; and the ſurplus is given away to the poor and infirm. Then they reckon up the number of ingots, and what they weigh, and ſay, ſuch a Mehrage reigned ſo many years; for he left ſo many ingots of gold in the pond of the kings, and they were diſtributed after his death to the people. It is accounted a felicity with them to have reigned a long while, and to have thus multiplied the number of thoſe ingots given away at their death.

46. Their ancient hiſtory relates, that one of the kings of Komar would have waged war with him in this iſland. This country of Komar is the ſame from whence they bring the wood-aloes called *Ilud al Komari*, nor is there any kingdom more populous in proportion than that of Komar. The inhabitants are all very courageous, and the boundleſs commerce with women, and the uſe of wine, are forbidden among them; nor have they any wine in their country. This kingdom was at peace with that of Zapage, where reigned the Mehrage. They are divided from each other by a paſſage of ten or twenty days ſail, with a very eaſy gale. They ſay, that in former days there was a very young and high ſpirited Prince in this iſland of Komar. This King was one day in his palace, which looks upon a river much like the Euphrates at the entrance, and but a day's journey from the ſea; his prime miniſters were with him, and in the diſcourſe they had together, notice was taken of the kingdom of the Mehrage, and its glory, how well it was peopled and cultivated, and the crowd of iſlands which depended thereupon.

Then ſaid the King of Komar to his miniſter, I am ſeized with a deſire which I earneſtly wiſh to ſee accompliſhed. The miniſter, who was a wiſe and a prudent man, and no ſtranger to the levity of his maſter, anſwered, My Lord, what is your deſire?

deſire? I could wiſh, replied the King, to ſee in a diſh the head of the Mehrage of Zapage. The miniſter, well aware it was jealouſy that inſpired him with this impetuous fury, rejoined, My Lord, I wiſh you would not diſturb your mind with ſuch thoughts, ſince nothing ever fell out between thoſe people and us, to furniſh matter of complaint; they never offended us by word or deed, or ever did us the leaſt injury; beſides, they are divided from us, and have no manner of communication with our country, nor do they diſcover any inclination of making a conqueſt of this kingdom. No one therefore ought to hearken to ſuch diſcourſe, or make a word of anſwer upon this head. The King was enraged at this reply, and ſaid not a word thereto; but without any regard had to the good advice of his firſt miniſter, he opened the ſame thing to the principal officers of ſtate, and to ſuch of his courtiers as he thought proper.

47. This matter being rumoured about, at length reached the ears of the Mehrage. He, who then reigned, was a wiſe and an active prince, of conſummate experience, and in the flower of his age. He called for his firſt miniſter, and having acquainted him with what he had heard, ſaid to him, it is by no means proper to publiſh the behaviour of this giddy Prince, or to betray how little we eſteem him, becauſe of his youth and ſlender experience; nor is it expedient to divulge what he ſaid againſt me; for ſuch ſpeeches cannot but be prejudicial to the dignity of a King. Having thus enjoined his miniſter to conceal what had paſſed between them, he commanded him to prepare a thouſand ſhips of no extraordinary ſize, and to equip them with all things neceſſary, arms and ammunition, and to man them with as many of his beſt forces as they could tranſport. Then he gave out that he would make a voyage through the neighbouring iſlands under his dominion, to divert himſelf. He wrote alſo to all the tributary princes of thoſe iſlands, to acquaint them, that he deſigned them a viſit; and this being a public talk, each of thoſe kings prepared for the reception of the Mehrage.

When every thing was in readineſs as he had ordered, he went on board his ſhips, and with a powerful army ſailed over to the kingdom of Komar. The King and thoſe belonging to his court were effeminate creatures, who all the day long did nothing but view their faces and rub their teeth, with mirrors and tooth-picks in their hands, or if they moved, had them carried after them by ſlaves. So the King of Komar diſcovered nothing of the Mehrage's purpoſe, till he appeared in the mouth of the river, on which ſtood the palace of the King of Komar, and till he had landed his troops, who immediately inveſted the capital, and there took him. The King was taken in his palace, and all that belonged to him fled without fighting.

Then the Mehrage cauſed proclamation to be made, that he granted entire ſecurity of life and effects to all the inhabitants of the country, and ſeating himſelf on the throne of the King of Komar, now a captive, he ordered him to be brought into his preſence, together with his firſt miniſter. Then addreſſing himſelf to the King of Komar, he ſaid, Who was it filled your head with a project unequal to your ſtrength, and abſolutely impoſſible for you to compaſs? What would you have done if you had gained your point? This Prince, who had nothing to ſay for himſelf, made no anſwer. Then, continued the Mehrage, if you had enjoyed the pleaſure you wiſhed, of ſeeing my head in a diſh before you, you would have ſpoiled my kingdom, and retained it after you had committed all ſorts of violence. I will not ſo behave with regard to you, but yet I will execute upon you what you wiſhed concerning me, and then will I return into my kingdom, without touching any thing in your dominions, and without carrying away ought of great value or ſmall, deſirous only that you may be recorded an

example, for the inſtruction of thoſe who ſhall come after you, that none may exceed the bounds of his power, that each may be contented with his own, and that thoſe you have diſturbed may be reſtored to perfect ſecurity*.

This ſaid, he ordered them to ſtrike off his head, and then turning to the miniſter, he ſaid, You have done all a good miniſter could do; I know you offered good advice to your maſter, and that he hearkened not unto you. Conſider who may beſt ſucceed this fool for the good of the kingdom, and ſet him immediately upon the throne. This done, the Mehrage departed for his own territories, and neither did he or any of his lay hands on the leaſt thing in the kingdom of Komar. When he arrived in his own kingdom, he ſat down upon the throne, and being in the palace which looked upon the pond before mentioned, he cauſed the head of the King of Komar to be put into a baſon and ſet before him, and calling in the chiefs of his kingdom, he acquainted them with all he had done, and with the reaſons which had induced him to the expedition we have related, and they approved the deed with acclamations and prayers for his proſperity. Then he ordered the head of the King of Komar to be waſhed and embalmed, and put it into a coffer, and ſent it back to the King of Komar, who had been elected in the room of him he had put to death; at the ſame time writing a letter to this new Prince in the following terms: What inclined us to do what we did to your predeceſſor, and your Lord, was, his known malevolence towards us; and that we might ſet an example to his equals, we have been ſo happy as to treat him as he would have treated us. But we think it convenient to ſend his head back to you, having had no deſign of detaining it, or of arrogating any glory to ourſelves, from the advantage we obtained over him. The news of this action being reported to the Kings of the Indies and of China, it added to the reſpect they before had for the Mehrage, and from that time it has been a cuſtom with the kings of Komar, every morning they riſe, to turn towards the country of Zapage, to proſtrate themſelves on the ground, and to make the moſt profound inclinations in honour of the Mehrage.

48. All the kings of the Indies and of China believe the metempſychoſis or tranſmigration of ſouls, and make it an article of their religion. A perſon of credit relates, that one of theſe princes being newly recovered of the ſmall-pox, and beholding himſelf in a glaſs, was deeply troubled to ſee how ſadly his face was diſfigured, and that turning himſelf towards one of the five ſons of his brother, he ſaid to him, ſure it never happened to any man as to me, to remain in his body after ſuch a change? but this body is only a veſſel puffed up with wind, and when the ſoul leaves it, ſhe paſſes inſtantly into another. Go mount you upon the throne, for I am about to ſeparate my body from my ſoul, until I return into another body: at the ſame time he called for a ſharp and keen cangiar, with which he commanded his nephew to cut off his head, which the other did, and he was afterwards burnt, as is the cuſtom of the country †. Our author here quits his ſubject ſomewhat abruptly, in order to return again

* This is a very pleaſant ſtory, and well related; but with reſpect to the country in which it happened, I think it very difficult to ſay any thing with certainty, and yet this does not at all leſſen the credibility of the fact. It is not impoſſible, however, that this hiſtory might relate to ſome of the iſlands which are now called Philippines, or perhaps ſome of the iſlands in the ſtraits of Sonda. I pretend to determine nothing in ſuch doubtful points, but leave the reader to decide for himſelf, according to the lights given him by the author, who appears to have written with great caution and fidelity.

† This doctrine of the metempſychoſis is generally held among the Chineſe. Their hiſtories ſay, that one Xekia, or Shekia, an Indian philoſopher, who lived about a thouſand years before Chriſt, was the firſt that taught this doctrine of tranſmigration; and our authors add, that the Chineſe had it from the Indians. It over-ran China in the year of Chriſt 65, and the chiefs of this ſect have to this day their abode

again to the country of China and the manners of its inhabitants. The reaſon of this is not at firſt ſight very evident, but if we conſider that he follows the former writer, we ſhall very eaſily diſcern that this was the true cauſe of his making ſo ſudden a tranſition. What he had before ſaid was in conſequence of the facts delivered by the firſt author in regard to the Indies, and having diſcuſſed theſe, it was natural for him to follow that author in what he ſays of China and the Chineſe, and indeed it muſt be allowed, that notwithſtanding theſe ſmall interruptions, there are ſcarce any books of travels of ſo ancient a date, written in a clearer or better method than theſe.

49. The Chineſe were wonderfully regular in all things relating to government, before the laſt revolution deſtroyed and reduced them to the ſtate they are in at preſent. There was a certain merchant, a native of Choraſſan, who coming into Irak, there dealt to a conſiderable amount, and having brought up a quantity of goods went to China. This man was extremely ſelfiſh and of incredible avarice; it happened that the Emperor of China had ſent one of his eunuchs to Canfu, the city of all the Arabian traders, there to purchaſe what he wanted, and was to be had on board of the ſhip that was arrived. This eunuch was one of thoſe who had the largeſt ſhare in his maſter's good opinion and confidence, and was keeper of his treaſure and of all that he eſteemed precious.

A diſpute aroſe between this eunuch and the before mentioned merchant, about ſome pieces of ivory and other goods, and it ran ſo high that the merchant refuſed to deal with him. But this affair making a great noiſe, the eunuch puſhed it ſo far, that he forced from him the choice of his goods, deſpiſing whatever the other could ſay to him. The merchant withdrawing himſelf, went privately to Cumdan where the Emperor reſides, and which is two months journey from Canfu, and being arrived he went to the ſtring of the bell mentioned in the former book. The cuſtom was, that whoever pulled it was thereupon ſent ten days journey from thence, into a kind of baniſhment; it was ordered alſo that he ſhould be committed to priſon, there to remain for two whole months; which expired, the vice-king or governor of the province releaſed him, and ſaid you have involved yourſelf in an affair which may turn to your utter ruin, and to the loſs of your life if you ſpeak not real truth; foraſmuch as the Emperor hath appointed miniſters and governors to diſtribute juſtice to you and to all ſtrangers, nor is there any one of them that would not right you, if when you appear before the Emperor your wrongs are not ſuch as may entitle you to have recourſe to him, it will moſt certainly coſt you your life, to the end that every man who would preſume to do as you have done, may be deterred from the ſame. Withdraw therefore immediately, and begone about your buſineſs. Now if the party endeavoured to fly, he was chaſtiſed with fifty ſtrokes of the bamboo, and was then ſent back to the country whence he came; but if he perſiſted in his demand of redreſs, he was admitted to an audience of the Emperor.

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abode on or near the mountain Tientai in the province of Chekiang. This Xekia, according to the Chineſe tradition in Navarette, has been born eight thouſand times over, the laſt time in the form of a white elephant. It is he that was called Fohee after his apotheoſis. The ſect of Xekia, as we are told by father Martini, hold the metempſychoſis; but this ſect is divided into two branches, the one believing the exterior metempſychoſis, or that the ſouls of men paſs after death into other bodies, and theſe worſhip idols, and abſtain from every thing that has life, while the other ſect has faith in an interior metempſychoſis, which is the principal foundation of their morality, which conſiſts in the ſuppreſſing the paſſions, which are as ſo many different animals proceeding from man; but neither the one nor the other expect rewards or dread puniſhments in the world to come.

The Choraſſanian ſtrenuouſly perſiſted in his demand of juſtice, and of leave to be admitted to the Emperor, which was at length granted him. The interpreter aſking him his buſineſs, he related what had befallen him with the Emperor's officer, and how he had forced from him a part of his effects. This thing was ſoon divulged and noiſed about at Canfu; in the mean time the Emperor commanded the merchant to be caſt into priſon, and that care ſhould be there taken that he wanted not for either victuals or drink.

At the ſame time he ordered his prime-miniſter to write to the Governor of Canfu, charging him to inform himſelf concerning the complaints of this merchant, and to examine into the grounds thereof; at the ſame time alſo three principal officers received the ſame order. Theſe officers are called of the right, of the left, and of the midſt, according to their rank, and have the command of the Emperor's forces under the prime-miniſter. He truſts them with the guard of his perſon, and when he takes the field for ſome military enterprize, or on any other account, each of them, according to his rank, marches near him. Theſe three officers wrote each apart what they had upon the ſtricteſt enquiry diſcovered of the matter, and aſſured the Emperor that the merchant's complaint was juſt and well founded.

Theſe firſt informations were followed and confirmed by many more ſent to the Emperor from divers parts, and the eunuch was cited to appear. He no ſooner arrived than the Emperor ſeized on all his effects, and deprived him of his office as treaſurer, and then ſaid to him, Death ought to be thy doom for giving this man, who is come from Choraſſan on the frontiers of my kingdom, cauſe of complaint againſt me. He hath been in the country of the Arabs, whence he came into the kingdoms of the Indies, and at laſt to my city, ſeeking his advantage by trade, and thou wouldſt have had him return croſs theſe kingdoms, and have ſaid to all the people in his way, I have been abuſed in China, where they have ſtripped me of my ſubſtance. I grant thee thy life in conſideration of thy former ſervices in the rank thou heldeſt in my houſe, but I will confer on thee a command among the dead, foraſmuch as thou haſt not been able to acquit thyſelf of thy duty in that thou holdeſt over the living, and he ordered him to be ſent to the tombs of the kings, to have the cuſtody of them, and there to remain for life *.

50. One thing moſt worthy admiration in China before the late commotions, was the good order they obſerved in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the majeſty of their tribunals; to fill them, they made choice of ſuch men as were perfectly verſed in their laws, and ſuch conſequently as were never at a loſs, when they were to paſs judgment, men of ſincerity, zealous in the cauſe of juſtice upon every occaſion, not be biaſſed by what the great could offer to embroil a diſpute, ſo that juſtice was always adminiſtered to him who had right on his ſide.

In a word, they made choice of upright men, of men who neither oppreſſed the poor, or accepted preſents from the rich. When they deſigned to promote any man to the office of principal judge, they previouſly ſent him to all the chief cities of the empire, in each of which he ſtaid a month or two. During this ſpace it was his bu-

* This was a very extraordinary act of juſtice in the Chineſe Emperor, and very agreeable to the maxims of that empire, in which they are very fond, upon particular occaſions, of doing things of this nature, eſpecially where ſtrangers are concerned, for two reaſons: the firſt is, that theſe ſtories may be blazed abroad and create an high idea of the equity of their judgments, a thing very agreeable to the natural vanity of theſe people: the other, that it may have a good effect at home, and ſerve to make even the greateſt and moſt powerful perſons in China afraid of committing exceſſes in their reſpective offices.

ſineſs

ſineſs moſt minutely to enquire into the affairs of the people, into all that paſſed in the city, and into the various cuſtoms. He informed himſelf of all ſuch as deſerved to be believed upon their teſtimony, and this knowledge was of uſe to him in the ſequel, as occaſion required. After he had gone through all the cities in the manner aforeſaid, and made a ſtay of ſome time in the moſt conſiderable of them, he repaired to the imperial court where he was inveſted with the dignity of ſupreme judge.

To him therefore the Emperor referred the nomination of all the other judges, and by him were they appointed, after he had acquainted the Emperor with thoſe who in his whole dominions were moſt worthy of exerciſing juriſdiction, each in his own city, or in others; for he knew who were commendable for their underſtanding; and ſo no one was raiſed who poſſeſſed not adequate endowments, or who bore not teſtimony according to the truth when he was interrogated. The Emperor allows none of his judges to write to him upon any affair when he is informed that he has done injuſtice, and even deprives them of their office. The ſupreme judge cauſes proclamation every day to be made before his gate by his officers, and in his name they cry out, If any man hath been wronged by the Vice-King, or Governor, who is not to be ſeen of the people, or by any one of his relations, or officers, or by any one of the body of the people I will do him ample juſtice, ſo ſoon as the offender is put into my hands, and that I have charge of him. This proclamation is thrice repeated.

It is an ancient cuſtom with them never to degrade a vice-king or governor of a city, but by virtue of letters iſſued out of the council or divan of kings; and this is commonly executed for ſome flagrant malverſation, or when judgement is ſuſpended or delayed: but when the governor avoids theſe two things, it is ſeldom he is diſturbed with letters of revocation, which are never drawn up but on a legal account. The poſts of judicature are conferred on none but perſons of probity, and lovers of juſtice, and ſo good order is maintained in the kingdom.

51. The province of Choraſſan is almoſt on the borders of China. From China to Sogd, it is of about two months journey through almoſt impaſſable deſarts, and through a country all covered with ſand, where no water is to be found. It is not refreſhed by any rivers, nor is there any habitation in this province; and for this reaſon it is that the Choraſſanians can make no irruptions into China. That part of this empire which lies fartheſt weſtward, is the province of Medu, which borders upon Tibet, ſo that on this ſide the two nations are at war with each other.

Among thoſe of our time who have travelled into China we were acquainted with one, who told us, he had ſeen a man that had a veſſel with muſk in it on his back, and had travelled on foot from Samare, and to Canfu, the port for all merchants from Siraf. He had by land travelled through all the cities of China one after another; which he might eaſily do, becauſe the provinces of China and Tibet, where the creature that affords muſk is met with, are contiguous. The Chineſe carry off as many of theſe creatures as they can; and thoſe of Tibet, on their part do the ſame *.

* As to this country of Tibet, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of it here, becauſe it will occur in the ſubſequent part of this work. It makes at this day a part only of the great kingdom of Tangut, which, according to the beſt accounts that I have met with, is thus ſituated. It has the empire of China on the eaſt. The kingdom of Ava, or of Brama, on the ſouth. The dominions of the Great Mogul on the weſt, and thoſe of the Contaiſch, or Great Khan of the Talmuc Tartars on the north. This kingdom is divided into two parts; that which lies to the north is the kingdom of Tangut properly ſo called; and the ſouth part is the country of Tibet. Both taken together, make the patrimony of that famous eccleſiaſtical prince the Grand Lama, who is the pope or ſovereign pontiff of the Tartars that are not Mohammedans; but whether they or he ought to be eſteemed Pagans or Chriſtians is a point that admits of much diſpute, and ſhall therefore be diſcuſſed in another place.

But

But the muſk of Tibet is far preferable to that of China for two reaſons; firſt, in Tibet this creature feeds on aromatic paſtures, while in China he has nothing to ſubſiſt him but what is common; ſecondly, the inhabitants of Tibet preſerve their bladders or cods of muſk in the pure natural ſtate, while the Chineſe adulterate all that come into their hands. They dip them alſo into the ſea, or elſe expoſe them to the dew; and having kept them ſome time, they take off the outward membrane, and then cloſe them up; and this muſk paſſes in the country of the Arabs for muſk of Tibet, becauſe of its excellence.

The moſt exquiſite of all the ſorts of muſk is what the roebucks that yield it leave behind them when they rub themſelves againſt the rocks on the mountains; for the humour whence it is generated, falling down towards the navel of the creature, it there gathers into a quantity of turbid blood exactly like biles, and ſuch-like tumours; when this ſwelling is ripe, the creature, ſenſible of a painful itching, ſeeks out for ſtones, and rubs himſelf againſt the ſame, till he opens his ſore, and the contents run out. Now as ſoon as this matter falls from the creature, it coagulates, the wound cloſes, and the ſame kind of humour gathers to a head again as before.

In Tibet there are men who make it their buſineſs to collect this muſk, and are very ready in knowing it; and having found it, they carefully collect it, and put it up in bladders, and it is carried to their Kings. This muſk is moſt exquiſite, when it has ripened in the bladder of the creature which bears it. It ſurpaſſes all others in goodneſs, juſt as fruit is better when it is gathered ripe from the tree, than when it is pulled green.

There is ſtill another way of getting muſk; they inſnare the creature in toils, and ſhoot him with arrows; but it often happens, that the hunters cut the tumours of the creature before the muſk is elaborated; and in this caſe it has at firſt an ill ſcent, that prevails till the matter is thickened, which ſometimes does not happen in a great while; but ſo ſoon as it coagulates, it turns to muſk. This muſk is a creature like our roebuck, his ſkin and colour the ſame, with ſlender legs, a ſplit horn, ſmooth, but ſomewhat bending withal; on each ſide he has two ſmall white teeth, which are ſtraight, and riſe above his muzzle, each half a finger, or ſomewhat leſs in length, and in their form not unlike the teeth of the elephant; and this is the mark which diſtinguiſhes this creature from other roebucks *.

53. The emperors of China write to the kings or governments of cities, to the eunuchs, or lieutenants, and their letters are conveyed by poſt-horſes, with a cut tail, diſpoſed almoſt like the poſts among the Arabs, in ſuch order as every body knows.

* We have formerly mentioned the animal which produces muſk, the manner in which it is prepared, and the value of that rich perfume. At preſent we ſhall only remark, that the beſt writers, ancient and modern, agree perfectly with our author in opinion, that the richeſt and higheſt flavoured muſk is that of Tibet, or, as others call it, Tumgage; and this becauſe of the aromatic paſtures in that land, ſuch as are no where elſe to be found. That the Indian muſk comes next in degree of fineneſs, if ſo we may term it, with what was brought to Cabul, and the other trading towns of the Indies by merchants, who carried it from China by land, and diſpoſed of it throughout the eaſt. That the Chineſe muſk is worſt of all, not only becauſe the Chineſe adulterate it ſeveral ways, but alſo becauſe what is produced naturally in that kingdom is not comparable to what is in Tibet. All this is confirmed by the teſtimony of the learned Golius; and Father Martini Teixeira ſays, the muſk that does not come from China is always the beſt; and that the reaſon is, becauſe the Chineſe cannot find in their hearts to let that or any thing elſe that paſſes through their hands eſcape unadulterated. At preſent the kingdom of Boutan is the greateſt mart for muſk; and thence it is, that the Indian merchants fetch the beſt ſort of this perfume, whether in the cod, or out of it.

Beſides

Beſides what we have here related concerning the Chineſe cuſtoms, it is uſual for the princes, and even the people to make water ſtanding. Perſons of dignity, as the vice-kings, and the principal officers, have gilded canes, a cubit long, which are bored through; and theſe they uſe as often as they make water, ſtanding upright all the time, and by this means the tube carries the water to a good diſtance from them. They are of opinion, that all pains in the kidneys, the ſtrangury, and even the ſtone, are cauſed by making water in a ſitting poſture; and that the reins cannot free themſelves abſolutely of theſe humours, but by ſtanding to evacuate; and that thus this poſture contributes exceedingly to the preſervation of health. They ſuffer their hair to grow, for the men will not round the head of a child when he comes into the world, as the Arabs do, for they ſay it cauſes a conſiderable alteration in the brain, and that their ſenſes are very ſenſibly impaired thereby. They ſuffer the head then to be all covered with hair, which they carefully comb.

As for their marriages, they obſerve the degrees of conſanguinity after this manner: they are divided among themſelves into families and tribes, like the Arabs, and ſome other nations; and they know each other by the difference of their deſcents. No man ever marries in his own tribe, juſt as the children of Thummin among the Arabs take not to wife a daughter of the ſame race of Thummin; and a man of one family eſpouſes not a woman of the ſame. But, for example, a man of the family of Robayat marries into that of Modzar; and in like manner a Modzar marries with a Robayat; they are of opinion, that ſuch alliances add to the nobility of the children by increaſing their alliances, and rendering their families more powerful.

Here our author makes, as it were, another break in his work, in order to paſs once more to the Indians, and their cuſtoms. In ſpeaking of the method purſued by the firſt author, we obſerved that the main deſign of his work was, by comparing the manners of the Indians with thoſe of the Chineſe, to render them both better known to and more fully underſtood by his countrymen. His commentator therefore, with great propriety, follows the ſame track; and as he had conſulted both books and travellers to illuſtrate what had been ſaid of China, we ſhall find him as diligent in what regards India.

54. In the kingdom of the Balhara, and in all the other kingdoms of the Indies, there are certain perſons who burn themſelves. This cuſtom proceeds from their notion of a Metempſychoſis or tranſmigration, which they firmly believe as a truth never to be diſputed. There are kings, who, upon their acceſſion, obſerve the following ceremony: they dreſs a great quantity of rice, and pour it upon leaves of the Mouſa in ſight of the King; then three or four hundred perſons come of their own accord without the leaſt conſtraint on the part of the king, and preſent themſelves before him; after he has eaten ſome of this rice, he gives a little of it to ſome of them as faſt as they come up to him one after another, and they eat it in his preſence *. By eating of this rice, they all engage to burn themſelves on the day the king dies, or is ſlain; and they punc-

* This was a very old cuſtom in other parts of the world, as appears from what Cæſar tells us of the Ambacti amongſt the Gauls. In the Indies this notion generally prevailed; for in the iſland of Ceylon the King had always about him certain noblemen, who ſtiled themſelves faithful to the King in this world, and in the next, and whoſe cuſtom it was to burn themſelves when he died. Barboſa obſerves the ſame thing with reſpect to the Naires, a ſort of Indian ſoldiers, who always periſhed with their chief. In the kingdom of Tonquin, when the King died, many of his nobles deſired to be buried with him. In a word, all the Portugueſe writers confirm this, and give us many inſtances in ſupport of it. The term they make uſe of in their writings, to expreſs this act of devoting themſelves in ſuch a manner to a Monarch, is *Fazer ſe Amoucos*.

tually fulfil their promiſe, throwing themſelves into the fire from the firſt to the laſt, ſo that not one of them is left behind.

When a man is determined to burn himſelf, he firſt goes to the King's palace to aſk leave ſo to do, and having obtained it, he goes round the public ſquares of the city, and proceeding afterwards to the place where the pile is heaped up with dry wood, while round about it ſtand many perſons who feed the fire, ſo that it is very violent, and blazes prodigiouſly. At laſt the perſon comes preceded by a number of inſtruments, and moves round the place in the midſt of his friends and relations; during which ſome put upon his head a garland of ſtraw, or dry herbs, which they fill with burning coals, whereon they pour ſandarac, which catches fire as ſtrongly as naphtha; nevertheleſs, he continues the proceſſion although the crown of his head be all on fire, and the ſtench of his burnt fleſh be ſmelt, not ſo much as changing countenance in the leaſt, or betraying the ſmalleſt ſenſe of pain: at laſt he comes to the pile, throws himſelf into it, and is ſoon reduced to aſhes *.

55. A certain perſon, to whom we give entire credit, ſays, he beheld one of theſe Indians burn himſelf, and avers, that when he came near to the pile, he drew out a cangiar, and with it ripped down his breaſt to the rim of his belly, and that this done he with his left hand pulled out a flap of his liver, and with the cangiar cut a piece of it which he gave to one of his brothers, talking all the time, and diſcovering an invincible contempt of death, and a wonderful patience under his torments, till at laſt he leaped into the fire in his paſſage to hell.

56. The perſon who affirmed this added, that in the mountains of this country there are Indians, who in opinions and manners differ but little from thoſe we call Kaniſians and Jelidians, and who are addicted to all manner of ſuperſtition and vice. There is a great emulation between theſe mountaineers and the people on the coaſt, the latter continually going up to the mountains to dare the inhabitants there to do as they do, and the mountaineers on their part as frequently coming down to the coaſt with defiances of the ſame nature.

Among others, there once came down a man on this errand, and having gathered a number of the inhabitants of the coaſt about him, who came as well out of curioſity to ſee the fight, as with intent to imitate him, he told them to do what he was about to perform, or if they deſpaired of doing it, to acknowledge themſelves overcome. He ſat himſelf down then in a place planted with canes, and directed them to bend one of them down to the ground. Theſe canes are like our ſugar canes, bend like them, and have a very large ſtem; when they are pulled down they lie along, but when let go they riſe again with prodigious violence. One of the largeſt of theſe he cauſed to be bowed down to his height, and faſtened his hair ſtrongly thereto, when taking in his hand his cangiar, which ſparkled like fire, he ſaid to thoſe about him, I am going to cut off my head with this cangiar. As ſoon as it is ſevered from my body, let go the cane, and when it flies up with my head, I will laugh and you ſhall hear me. The people of the coaſt had not courage enough to imitate him. The perſon who related

* There are many modern authors who atteſt every circumſtance mentioned in this account; but it muſt be acknowledged, few beſides women burn themſelves; and that the Bramins, who were wont to behave with ſo much conſtancy on ſuch occaſions, are now content to die in the ſame way with other men; and even the women, generally ſpeaking, are far enough from that ſpirit of heroiſm for which they were ſo famous in former ages. They burn themſelves, indeed, with the dead bodies of their huſbands, as in times paſt, but not with ſo good a will; nor would they do it at all, but that the cuſtom of their country and the power their relations have over them, oblige them to it.

times theſe facts are very generally known, for this part of the Indies is in the neighbourhood of the country of the Arabs, and we hear from thence every day.

57. It is a cuſtomary thing alſo for men and women of the Indian blood, to deſire thoſe of their family to throw them into the fire, or drown them when they are grown old, or perceive themſelves ſink under the weight of their years, firmly believing that they are to return in other bodies. They burn their dead. It has often times happened in the iſle of Sarandib, where there is a mine of precious ſtones in a mountain, a pearl fiſhery, and other rare and extraordinary things, that an Indian would come into the Buzar, or market-place, with his Kris, as they call a kind of cangiar they wear, made after a very particular manner, and ſeize on the moſt wealthy merchant there preſent, and holding his Kris to his throat, leading him by the veſt out of the city in the midſt of a throng of people, while not a ſoul of them dared attempt his reſcue; for if any attempt of this kind was made, the Indian was ſure to kill the merchant, and make away with himſelf: when he had got him out of the city, he obliged him to redeem himſelf with a ſum of money. This outrage continuing, the kings ordained that ſuch Indians ſhould be ſeized; but when they came to execute this order, the Indian killed the merchant firſt, and then himſelf: the ſame misfortune befel many other merchants; and after this manner a number both of Arabs and Indians periſhed: the merchants therefore ſought after other means to ſecure themſelves and the Indians were no longer apprehended.

58. In the mountain of Sarandib they find precious ſtones of various colours, red, green, and yellow, moſt of which are at certain times forced out of caverns and other receſſes by rains and torrents. In theſe places the king has his officers to keep an eye over thoſe who pick them up: many times alſo they are dug out of mines in the ſame manner as metals; and they ſometimes find precious ſtones in the ore, which muſt be broken to get at them.

The King of this iſland makes laws, which are the fundamentals of the religion and government of the country; here are doctors and aſſemblies of learned men, like thoſe of the Hadithis among the Arabs. The Indians repair to theſe aſſemblies, and write down what they hear of the lives of their prophets, and the various expoſitions of their laws. Here is a very great idol of the fineſt gold, but concerning the weight thereof travellers are not agreed. Here alſo are temples, where great ſums of money are expended in incenſe *.

In this ſame iſland there is a very great multitude of Jews, as well as of many other ſects, even Tanouis, or Manichees, the King permitting the free exerciſe of every religion. At the end of this iſland are vallies of great length and breadth, which extend quite to the ſea. Here travellers ſtay two months and more in that called Gab Sarandib, allured by the beauty of the country, chequered with groves and plains, water and meads, and bleſſed with a wholeſome air. This valley opens upon the ſea called Harkand, and is tranſcendently pleaſant. You there buy a ſheep for half a dram, and for the ſame you purchaſe as much of their drink as may ſuffice many perſons.

* It appears, that this iſland, which is that of Ceylon, has been in all ages famous for its immenſe wealth and riches. As to the idol that our author mentions, it is not impoſſible that the prieſts of this country might practiſe the ſame art, which has been uſed at Siam, where they have a monſtrous idol of clay and bricks, very artificially gilt, which was for many ages ſuppoſed to be pure gold; though it muſt be allowed, that there are few countries where ſuch a golden image might be looked for with greater probability, than in this iſland, the people having been always equally remarkable for their wealth and ſuperſtition.

This drink is made of palm-honey, boiled and prepared with Tari (Toddi), or juice which runs from the tree.

59. Gaming is the uſual diverſion of the inhabitants here; they play at draughts, and their principal paſtime is fighting of cocks, which are very large in this country, and better provided with ſpurs than cocks commonly are; and beſides this, the Indians arm them with blades of iron in the form of cangiars. Upon theſe combats they bet gold, ſilver, lands, and farms, which are won by the owner of the cock that beats. They play alſo at draughts, and venture great ſums upon this game, but with ſuch fury, that thoſe who have not wherewithal, debauchees, and deſperate people, often play away the ends of their fingers.

While they are at play they have a fire by them, and thereon a pot of walnut or ſeaſame oil, (they have no oil of olives,) and they place a little but very ſharp hatchet between them; when one of them has won a game, the other lays his hand upon a ſtone, and the winner cuts off the end of the loſer's finger with the hatchet, and the patient dips the injured part into the boiling oil to cauteriſe the wound, and yet they cannot ſhake off this evil habit of gaming; on the contrary, they ſometimes perſiſt in it ſo obſtinately and ſo long, that before they part, they have all their fingers thus mutilated. Some of them will take a wick, and ſoaking it in oil, apply it to ſome member, ſet fire to it, and let it burn, ſo that the ſcent of the burnt fleſh is ſmelt by thoſe who play with them, while the parties themſelves betray not the leaſt ſenſe of pain.

There is much debauchery in this country, as well among the women as among the men, for they are laid under no reſtraint. It runs ſo high, that ſometimes a foreign merchant, juſt arrived from ſea, ſhall ſend for the daughter of a King of the country, and ſhe ſhall come to him to the fiſhing grounds, with her father's conſent and privity; wherefore the Mohammedan doctors of Siraf ſtrictly warn young people not to go that way *.

60. In the Indies there are heavy rains, which the people of the country call Jafara; they laſt three whole months during ſummer, inceſſantly, night and day, and ſcarce does the winter ſtop them. The Indians, to the beſt of their abilities, prepare themſelves againſt theſe rains ſome time before they fall; and no ſooner do they come on, than they ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, made of wood and cane, interwoven, and thatched with leaves; they ſtir not out during all this time, and no ſoul is ſeen abroad, no, not even the artificers, who now do their work at home; and during this ſeaſon, they are ſubject to ſeveral ſorts of ulcers in the ſoles of their feet, cauſed by the damps. The rains are the life of the Indians; were they to fail, they would be reduced to the utmoſt want, for their fields, ſown with rice, are watered only by rains, and are rendered fruitful thereby; for if great ſtore of water lie upon the rice-grounds, they need no other help either from induſtry or art; but when the rains are plentifully poured down, the rice flouriſhes abundantly, and even becomes much better in kind. It never rains in this country in the winter.

62. The Indians have devout men, or doctors, known by the name of Bramins. They have poets alſo, who compoſe verſes, ſtuffed with flattery, in praiſe of their kings. They have alſo aſtrologers, philoſophers, ſoothſayers, and men who obſerve the flight

* This is very agreeable to that ſeverity of manners, for which the Mohammedans were remarkable in theſe early ages; and it ſhews how careful they were to preſerve the morals of the younger ſort of people uncorrupted. It was upon the ſame principle that the old Spartans did not admit of any commerce at all, as deſiring rather to be known to poſterity by the fame of their virtues than of their wealth; and being more aſſiduous to tranſmit to their deſcendants freedom, and the power of maintaining it, than fine palaces; and that ability of living luxuriouſly, which ends ſooner or later in abject poverty.

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of birds; and others who pretend to the calculation of nativities, particularly at Kanuge, a great city in the kingdom of Gozar *.

In the Indies there are certain men called Bicar †, who go all their lifetime naked, and ſuffer their hair to grow till it hides their hinder parts, and the reſt of their body. They ſuffer alſo their nails to grow ſo that they become pointed, and ſharp as ſwords; nor do they ever cut them, but leave them to break and fall off as it happens; and this they obſerve as a religious duty: each of them has a ſtring about his neck, to which hangs an earthen porringer, and when they are preſſed by hunger, they ſtop at the door of ſome Indian houſe, and thoſe within immediately, and with much ſatisfaction bring out rice to them, believing there is great merit in ſo doing, while they eat out of the porringer and withdraw, never returning to make the ſame requeſt, if not urged thereto by downright want.

62. The Indians have many laws and religious precepts, by which they imagine they pleaſe God; of ſuch as theſe it is written in the Koran, "The wicked are mighty in pride." One part of their devotion conſiſts in building of Kans, or inns upon the highways, for the accommodation of travellers, where alſo they ſet up a ſort of pedlars, of whom the paſſengers may purchaſe whatever they may happen to want ‡.

They there alſo ſettle public women, ſuch as are in the Indies, who expoſe themſelves to travellers; all which the Indians number among their meritorious deeds. But they have beſides theſe in the Indies public women, called Women of the Idol, the origin of whoſe inſtitution is this: when a woman has laid herſelf under a vow, that ſhe may have children, if it happens that ſhe brings forth a handſome daughter, ſhe carries the child to the Bod (ſo they call the idol they worſhip), and there leaves her. When the girl has attained a proper age, ſhe takes an apartment in this public place, and ſpreads a curtain before the door, and waits the arrival of ſtrangers, as well Indians, or men of other ſects, to whom this debauchery is made lawful; ſhe proſtitutes herſelf at a certain rate, and delivers her gains into the hands of the idol's prieſt, to be by him diſpoſed of for the uſe and ſupport of the temple §. We praiſe the almighty and glo-

* The reader has been ſo fully informed of the ſtate of the Brachmans among the ancient Indians, and of the communities formed by them for the promoting of ſcience, that there is no need of inſiſting long upon this ſettlement of the Bramins, which, without doubt, was a remnant of ſome ancient univerſity in the ſame place. Some of the Arabian geographers aſſure us, that this city of the Kanuge lies between two branches of the river Ganges in the latitude of 27°, and in the longitude of 131°. Other eaſtern writers inform us, that Kanuge is alſo a royal city, the King of which is ſtyled the Kanuge, according to the common cuſtom of the Indies. It is very difficult to ſay when or how this kingdom and univerſity was ruined; but at preſent it is very clear, that there is no ſuch eſtabliſhment as in the text is mentioned.

† Theſe are no other than the aſſociated Bramins, or Indian pilgrims, or penitents, mentioned by moſt travellers, who relate very extraordinary things with reſpect to the auſterity of their manners, and the ſeverity of their penances, as the reader will ſee in the ſubſequent part of this work.

‡ There are many foundations of this ſort in the Indies, as well as in Turky, Perſia, and Moguliſtan; not to mention the many hoſpitals in the Indies for ſick animals. Thevenot obſerves, that the charity of the Indians of Cabul conſiſts in digging of pits, or ſinking of wells, and in erecting a number of ſmall receptacles on the highways, for the accommodation of travellers.

§ This infamous practice is of old ſtanding in the eaſt. Herodotus has a ſtory of this kind, of women who proſtituted themſelves in honour of Mylittia, who, by the analogy of the Chaldee, muſt be Venus; and the tents or tabernacles of theſe women were much like thoſe deſcribed by our author. In Marco Polo we read, that the people of the province of Cainda did the ſame thing, expoſing their women in honour of their idols. Tavernier ſpeaks of a Pagod near Cambaya, whither moſt of the courtezans of the Indies repair, to make their offerings; and adds, that old women who have ſcraped together a ſum of money, buy young female ſlaves, whom they train up to wanton ſongs and dances, and all the allurements of their infamous calling; and that when the girls have attained their eleventh or twelfth year, their miſtreſs conducts them to this Pagod, under a notion that it is a happineſs for them to be offered and delivered up to the idol.

rious God, who hath choſen us to be free of the ſins which defile the man involved in infidelity!

Not very far from Almanſin, there is a famous idol called Multan, whither they reſort in pilgrimage from the remoteſt parts, even from diſtances of ſeveral months journey: ſome of the pilgrims bring with them ſome of the odoriferous wood Hud al Camruni, ſo called from the city of Camrun; where they have an excellent wood-aloes, which they offer to this idol, delivering it to the prieſt of the temple, that he may burn it before his god. Some of this wood is worth two hundred dinars the man *, and is commonly marked with a ſeal to diſtinguiſh it from another ſort of the ſame wood, but of leſs value: it is uſual for merchants to buy it of the idolatrous prieſts.

63. There are likewiſe among the Indians certain men who make profeſſion of piety, and whoſe devotion conſiſts in ſeeking after unknown iſlands, or ſuch as are newly diſcovered, there to plant cocoa-nut trees, and to ſink wells of water for the uſe of ſhips that ſail to thoſe parts. There are people at Oman who croſs over to the iſlands that produce cocoa-nuts, carrying with them carpenter's tools, and having felled as much wood as they want, they let it dry, and then ſtrip off the leaves, and with the bark of the tree they ſpin a yarn, wherewith they ſew the planks together, and ſo build a ſhip; of ſame wood they cut and round away a maſt; of the leaves they weave their ſails, and the bark they work into cordage; having thus completed their veſſel, they load her with cocoa-nuts, which they bring and ſell at Oman. Thus it is, that from this tree alone ſo many articles are derived, as ſuffice not only to build and rigg out the veſſel, but to load her alſo when ſhe is completed, and in a trim fit to ſail †.

64. The country of the Zinges or Negroes is of vaſt extent; they there commonly ſow millet, which is the chief food of the negroes. Sugar canes alſo they have, and other ſorts of trees, but their ſugar is very black. Theſe people have a number of kings, who are always at war with each other. About their kings they have certain men called Moharamin, becauſe each of them bore their noſe, and wear therein a ring: they have chains alſo faſtened about their necks, and when they are at war and going to fight, they each take one end of his companion's chain, and paſs it through the ring that hangs under his noſe; two men hold this chain, and ſo prevent the reſt from advancing towards the enemy, till deputies have been from ſide to ſide to negotiate a peace; which, if it is concluded, they take their chains about their necks again, and retire without fighting: but when they once begin to unſheath the ſword, not one ſoul of them quits his poſt, but remains there till he is ſlain.

* As this kind of money is very often mentioned, both in the former treatiſe and in this, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of its value: the dinar is of very fine gold, and, according to the proportion which that metal bears now to ſilver, that coin ought to be rekoned at about nine ſhillings; from whence we conceive at once the value of the copper money of China, ſince a thouſand of theſe copper pieces were equal only to one dinar; from whence it follows, that nine of theſe pieces of copper money, called by the Arabs Falus, were worth about one penny.

† This paſſage is very ſingular, but the facts contained therein are inconteſtably true; the cocoa-tree furniſhes every thing neceſſary for building and rigging ſuch ſhips as are uſed in the Indies, and for a cargo of conſiderable value when built. The body of the tree furniſhes plank, maſts, anchors, and oars. That ſubſtance like thread, which covers the nut, and which may be drawn out and ſpun, makes the moſt excellent cordage in the world, inaſmuch as it never decays in the water. The anchors are not to be boaſted of, but they ſerve well enough for ſuch veſſels. The liquor in the nut when fermented, becomes a kind of wine; when ſour, it is an excellent vinegar, and diſtilled, it affords a ſoft, pleaſant brandy. It is certain, that the inhabitants of the Maldives, ſubſiſt chiefly on their trade in cocoa-nuts, cocoa plank, and the cordage made from this tree; the manufacture of which they are better ſkilled in than any other people in the Indies.

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They have all of them a profound veneration for the Arabs, and when they chance to ſee any of them, they fall down before him, and cry, "This man comes from the kingdom where flouriſhes the date-bearing palm," for they are very fond of dates. Among theſe people there are preachers who harangue them in their own tongue, nor may the Catebs or orators of any other nation whatſoever be compared with them. Some of theſe profeſs a religious life, and are covered with the ſkin of a leopard or ape. One of theſe men with a ſtaff in his hand ſhall preſent himſelf before them, and having gathered a multitude of people about him, preach all the day long to them. He ſpeaks of God, and recites the actions of their countrymen who are gone before them. From this country they bring the leopard ſkins called Zingiet, ſpotted with red and black, very great and broad.

65. In this ſame ſea is the iſland of Socotra, whence come the Socotrin aloes. This iſle lies near the land of Zinges, and near alſo to the country of the Arabs, and moſt of its inhabitants are Chriſtians, which is thus accounted for: When Alexander ſubdued the kingdom of the Perſians, his preceptor Ariſtotle, to whom he had by letters communicated his conqueſts, wrote back to him to deſire, that by all means he would ſeek after the iſland of Socotra, which afforded aloes, an excellent drug, and without which they could not make up the famous medicament called Hiera: that the beſt way would be to remove the inhabitants thence, and inſtead of them plant a colony of Greeks, that they might ſend aloes into Syria, Greece, and Egypt. Accordingly Alexander gave the neceſſary orders to diſpoſſeſs the inhabitants, and to ſettle a colony of Greeks in their ſtead. Then he commanded the Kings of the nations who divided his empire after he had ſlain the Great Darius, to execute the orders he had iſſued out for the preſervation of theſe Greeks: they remained then as a garriſon upon this iſland, till God ſent Jesus Christ into the world. When the Greeks of this ſame iſle being informed thereof, embraced the Chriſtian faith as the other Greeks had done before them, and in the profeſſion of this faith have they perſevered to this day, as well as all the inhabitants of the other iſles.

In the former book, no mention is made of the ſea which ſtretches away to the right, as ſhips part from Oman and the coaſt of Arabia, to launch into the great ſea; but the author deſcribes only the ſea on the left, and in which is comprehended the ſeas of India and China, which he ſeems to have particularly had in his eye. In this ſea, which is as it were on the right of the Indies as you leave Oman, in the country of Sihar or Shihr, where frankincenſe grows, and the other countries poſſeſſed by the nations of Cedd, Hamyer, Joſham, and Theoteba. The people in this country have the Sonra in Arabic of very antient date, but in many things different from what is in the hands of the Arabs, and containing many traditions to us unknown: they have no villages, and they lead a hard and a very miſerable life *.

The country they inhabit extends almoſt as far as Aden and Judda, upon the coaſt of Yaman, or Arabia the Happy; from Judda it ſtretches up into the continent as far as the coaſt of Syria, and ends at Kolzum. The ſeas in this part divide by a ſlip of land, which God has fixed as a line of ſeparation between theſe two ſeas, as it is written in

* The Arabs, beſides the Koran, have made traditions relating to the Mohammedan religion, which they received from the companions of their Prophet and his diſciples; from theſe traditions and ſtories they form the body of their Sonna, which therefore is very different in different places; ſo that not only the Sonna of the Perſians differs from that of the Arabians, but that of the Africans varies from that of Mecca, and the Arabians of the Deſert: in a word, the Sonna, with reſpect to the Mohammedans, is pretty near the ſame thing with the Talmud among the Jews; and it is owing to both, that there are ſo many different ſects, and ſuch a variety of fabulous notions amongſt the people of both religions.

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the Koran: from Kolzum the ſea ſtretches along the coaſt of the Barbarians to the weſt coaſts, which is oppoſite to Yaman, and then along the coaſt of Æthiopia; from whence you have the leopard ſkins of Barbary, which are the beſt of all, and moſt ſkilfully dreſſed; and laſtly, along the coaſt of Zeilah, whence you have amber and tortoiſe-ſhell.

When the Siraf ſhips arrive in this ſea, which is to the right of the ſea of India, they put into Judda, where they remain, for their cargo is thence tranſported to Kehira (or Cairo) by ſhips of Kolzum, who are acquainted with the navigation of the Red Sea, which thoſe of Siraf dare not attempt, becauſe of the extreme danger, and becauſe this ſea is full of rocks at the water's edge; becauſe alſo, upon the whole coaſt there are no kings, or ſcarce any inhabited place; and, in fine, becauſe ſhips are every night obliged to put into ſome place of ſafety, for fear of ſtriking upon the rocks. They ſail in the daytime only, and all night ride faſt at anchor. This ſea moreover is ſubject to very thick fogs, and to violent gales of wind, and ſo has nothing to recommend it either within or without.

66. It is not like the ſea of India or of China, whoſe bottom is rich with pearls and ambergris, whoſe mountains of the coaſt are ſtored with gold and precious ſtones, whoſe gulphs breed creatures that yield ivory, and among the plants of whoſe ſhores are ebony, red-wood, and the wood of Hairzan, aloes, camphire, nutmegs, cloves, ſandal-wood, and all other ſpices and aromatics; where parrots and peacocks are birds of the foreſt, and muſk and civet are collected upon the lands: in ſhort, ſo productive are thoſe ſhores of ineſtimable things, that it is impoſſible to reckon them up *.

Ambergris, which is thrown upon the coaſt of this ſame ſea, is waſhed to ſhore by the ſwell: it begins to be found in the Indian ſea, but whence it comes is unknown. We only know that the beſt of it is thrown upon the Barbary coaſt, or upon the confines of the land of Negroes, towards Sihar, and places thereabouts: it is of a bluiſh-white, in round lumps. The inhabitants of this country have camels trained up to the buſineſs, which they mount, and go in ſearch of it by moonſhine, and ride for that purpoſe along the ſhore. The camels are broke to this, and as ſoon as they perceive a piece of ambergris they bend their knees, and their rider picks it up †.

There is another ſort, which ſwim in great lumps upon the ſurface of the ſea, almoſt like the body of an ox, or a little leſs, and weigh a great deal. When a certain fiſh of the whale kind, called Tal, ſees theſe floating lumps, he ſwallows the ſame, and is killed thereby: then they ſee the whale floating upon the ſurface, and inſtantly the men who are accuſtomed to this kind of fiſhery, and know when theſe whales have ſwallowed amber, go out to him in their boats, and darting him with iron harpoons, they tow him to ſhore, where they ſplit him down the back, and take out the amber; what they find about

* This is at once a very magnificent, and a very juſt account of the wealth of the Indies, and it proves very plainly, that ſcarce any part of its riches were concealed from the Arabs at this time; ſo that what ſome writers report of the deſigns formed by the Khaliffs and Sultans of Egypt, for making themſelves maſters of the coaſts of India, and even of its iſlands, hath nothing in it abſurd or incredible.

† Amber-gris, or as it ought to be wrote, amber griſe, is a very rich perfume, and it is certain that there is more of it, and in greater perfection in the Indian ſea, than in any other of the whole world. How it is formed, or from whence it comes, is as great a ſecret to us as it was to the Arabs. It is of different colours, viz. dark grey, light grey, black, and red; but the firſt is the moſt eſteemed, as having by far the richeſt ſcent. What our author reports of its being found in this manner by camels, is not very improbable; for the beſt ambergris in the world is driven on the ſhore of the iſland of Prince Maurice, and the Dutch aſſure us, that their hogs ſmell it out at a great diſtance, and run furiouſly to the ſhore in order to devour it.

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the belly of the creature is commonly ſpoiled with the wet, and contracts an unpleaſant ſcent *.

You may buy the bones of this fiſh of the druggiſts of Bagdat and Baſſora. The amber which has not been infected by the ordure in the belly of the whale, is perfectly good: it is a uſual thing to make ſtools of the vertebræ of the back-bone of this whale, called Tal. They ſay, that in a village ten leagues from Siraf, called Tain, there are old houſes neatly enough built, the lintels of whoſe doors are of the rib of this whale. I have heard a perſon ſay, that formerly one was thrown upon the coaſt not very far from Siraf, and that going to view him, he ſaw people getting upon the back of this creature with ladders, and that the fiſhermen expoſed him to the ſun, ſliced away his fleſh, and having digged a pit, gathered up the greaſe which was melted by the ſun, and that having drained off all the oil, they ſold it to the maſters of ſhips. This oil mixed up with another kind of ſtuff, in uſe with ſeamen, ſerves for caulking of ſhips to ſecure the ſeams of the planking, and to ſtop up leaks. This whale oil is a valuable commodity, and produces great ſums of money.

67. Our author propoſing next to ſpeak of pearls, breaks out firſt, according to the cuſtom of the Arabs, into the following pious ſoliloquy, which I would not omit, becauſe it is a kind of characteriſtic in their manner of writing, and may enable the reader to account for ſuch apoſtrophes in other pieces of this nature. Let us, before we ſpeak of pearls, and the manner of their formation, magnify the great God, who in wiſdom has created all things out of earth, and ſo faſhioned living creatures, as that they produce their like. Wherefore for theſe things which we know, and for many more which we know not, all glory be unto the Almighty, and all reverence paid unto his moſt holy and tremendous name.

Pearls begin to be formed of a ſubſtance at firſt ſomewhat like the plant called Anjedana, being in ſize the ſame, in colour and figure pretty much alike, ſmall, thin, and tender, juſt like the leaves of this plant; at firſt it ſwims feebly on the ſurface and ſticks to the ſides of ſhips under water, where in time it hardens, grows and gets covered with a ſhell. When theſe oyſters become heavy, they fall down to the bottom of the ſea, where they ſubſiſt after a manner to us unknown. They appear no other than a piece of red fleſh, like the tongue towards the root, without bones, ſinews, or veins.

But there are various opinions touching the production of pearls, for ſome ſay when it rains the oyſters riſe up to the ſurface, and that gaping, the drops of water they catch turn to pearls. Others hold, they are generated in the oyſters themſelves, which is moſt likely, and is confirmed by experience; for moſt that are found in oyſters are fixed, and move not. When they are looſe, the merchants call them ſeed pearl: God alone knoweth how this matter is.

68. Now this is the moſt wonderful thing we have heard concerning the ſubſiſtence of oyſters. A certain Arab came formerly to Baſſora, and brought with him a pearl worth a great ſum of money; he ſhewed it to a druggiſt of his acquaintance, and, ignorant of the value thereof, aſked him what he thought of it? The merchant telling him it was a pearl, the Arab aſked him what he thought it might be worth? and he valued it at a hundred pieces of ſilver. The Arab much aſtoniſhed at his words, aſked if any

* The Abbé Renaudot, in his notes upon this treatiſe, ſpeaks very ſlightly of this ſtory, and ſeems to think it fabulous. There is however no ſort of cauſe for this ſuſpicion; ſince this ſort of whale is very often found in the Weſt Indian ſeas, and eſpecially on the coaſt of Bermudas, and vaſt quantities of ambergris are taken out of its guts. It is alſo very certain, that though the beſt of this perfume is found in the Indian ſeas, yet ambergris has been frequently found on the ſhore even of our own iſlands, as well as in ſome other parts of Europe, and in America it is very common.

perſon would be willing to give him what he had ſaid it was worth: upon which the merchant counted him out a hundred drams, and with this money the Arab purchaſed corn to carry back into his own country. The merchant, on the other hand, brought the pearl to Bagdad, and ſold it at a very high rate, which enabled him afterwards to deal very conſiderably. This ſame merchant declared that he had examined the Arab touching the origin of pearls, and that he delivered himſelf to the following effect: "I was going along," ſaid he, "by Saman in the diſtrict of Bahrein, not very far diſtant from the ſea, and upon the ſand I ſaw a dead fox, with ſomething at his muzzle that held him faſt. I drew near, and ſaw a white glittering ſhell, in which I found the pearl I took. Hence he gathered, that the oyſter was upon the ſhore, driven thither by tempeſt, which very often happens. The fox paſſing by and leering at the meat of the oyſter, as the ſhell ſtood open, jumped thereon, and thruſt in his ſnout to ſeize the fiſh, which in its defence cloſing, locked him faſt, as has been ſaid; for it is a property of theirs never to let go their hold of any thing, except forcibly opened by an iron inſtument at their edges."

This is the oyſter that breeds pearls, which it as carefully keeps as a mother her child; when therefore it was ſenſible of the fox, it withdrew, as to avoid an enemy, and the fox feeling himſelf ſqueezed, beat the ground on each hand, till it was ſtifled, and ſo died. The Arab found the pearl, and God would have it that he ſhould apply himſelf to the merchant; a very happy thing for him *.

69. The Kings of the Indies wear ear-rings of ſtones ſet in precious gold. They wear alſo collars of great price, adorned with precious ſtones of different colours, but eſpecially green and red; yet pearls are what they moſt eſteem, and their value ſurpaſſes that of all other jewels; they at preſent hoard them up in their treaſures with their moſt precious things. The grandees of their court, the great officers and captains wear the like jewels in their collars †; they dreſs in a half veſt, and carry an umbrella of peacock's feathers to ſhade them from the ſun, and are ſurrounded by thoſe of their train.

There are certain Indians who never eat two out of the ſame diſh, or upon the ſame table, and would eſteem it a very great ſin if they ſhould. When they come to Siraf, and are invited by any of the conſiderable merchants who are in that city, they muſt, though they are a hundred in number, each have a ſeparate diſh, and without the leaſt communication with the reſt. The Kings and perſons of high quality have freſh tables

* I muſt confeſs this ſtory ſeems to me by far the meaneſt paſſage in the whole work, and all the remarks upon pearls are very low and trifling: but at the ſame time it muſt be allowed, that we know very little more about them than either the ancients or the Arabs. What ſeems moſt probable is, that pearls are not the natural produce of any oyſters; by which I mean, that they are an irregular and accidental production, occaſioned by ſome infirmity or diſeaſe in the fiſh. I am led to this notion from two reaſons: the firſt is, that when animal ſubſtances begin to corrupt, they commonly ſhine, which perhaps may be the effect of ſome inteſtine motion; the other, that pearl oyſters are not eatable, but tough, taſteleſs, and very unwholeſome.

† The princes and chief inhabitants of theſe countries were by this time better acquainted with the nature and value of all ſorts of precious ſtones than formerly they had been, and of theſe they had of all kinds from the mines in the iſland of Ceylon. It is remarkable that the Arabs have but one word to ſignify coloured ſtones, which is Yacut, or Jacut, which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſignifies a jacinth; but to vary this, and to render it expreſſive of rubies. emeralds, and ſapphires, they add the name of the colour to the ſtone. It will be proper to make two remarks upon this ſubject before we leave it: the firſt is, that our author is perfectly in the right in his obſervation, that pearls are more eſteemed in India than many other parts of the world, and that they are more valued there in proportion than any other kind of jewels. Our ſecond obſervation is, as to the carrying emeralds thither from Egypt, which is a very plain proof of the truth of what we have often aſſerted, viz. that theſe ſtones are not ſtrictly ſpeaking oriental, though they may, and indeed do, very often come to us from the eaſt.

made for them every day, together with little diſhes and plates wove of the cocoa-nut leaf, in which they eat what is prepared for their ſubſiſtence; and their meal once over, they throw the table, the diſhes and plates into the water, together with the fragments they have left. Thus at every meal they have a new ſervice. To the Indies they formerly carried the dinars, called Sindiat, or gold pieces of the Sind and the Dinar, which there paſſed for three of ours and even more. Thither alſo are carried emeralds from Egypt, which are ſet for rings.

70. Theſe two authentic pieces are of very great uſe in filling up this period of Indian hiſtory, of which, till they appeared, we had no memoirs at all. It is plain enough from the account given us by the firſt author, that voyages from Siraf to China were not very frequent, till about this time, for otherwiſe he would not have deſcribed that navigation ſo particularly. But it appears no leſs clearly from the ſecond treatiſe, that theſe long voyages were grown into much greater uſe between the time the firſt voyage was made, and this commentary upon it was drawn up; for otherwiſe the ſecond writer would have been but indifferently furniſhed with materials, whereas we find that he ſtood in no ſort of want of them, but was able to mention the voyages and travels of four or five different perſons into China and the Indies, excluſive of the author, whoſe voyage gave occaſion to this diſcourſe.

The moſt remarkable of theſe was Eben Wahab, whoſe adventures are equally ſingular and inſtructive, ſince from them it is very evident that the Chineſe Emperor, to whoſe preſence he was admitted, had, as we obſerved, very perfect intelligence as to the Jewiſh, Chriſtian, and Mohammedan religions, and as to the hiſtory of their founders and propagators. We might indeed ſuſpect the truth of this, if there were not ſome other circumſtances in this diſcourſe which render them not only probable but certain. I mean the deſtruction of the capital of China at that time, which our author calls the city of Cumdan, and which without doubt was no other than Nankin, and Canfu, or Canton, in which ſo many thouſand Jews, Chriſtians, and Mohammedans were ſlain; a clear demonſtration that multitudes of all theſe religions had been long before ſettled in that empire, and conſequently the Chineſe monarch had it fully in his power to be well acquainted with all the particulars before mentioned.

Neither does this fact ſtand entirely upon the credit of this treatiſe, ſince an ancient monument has been diſcovered in China, which plainly proves that Chriſtians from Syria were ſettled there in ancient times *, though none were to be found when the firſt travellers from Europe went thither, which is as ſtrong a confirmation of the truth of what our author relates, as in the nature of things can poſſibly be expected. The miſſionaries alſo that were firſt ſent to China found there viſible marks of Chriſtianity, though they found no Chriſtians. The Jews have been ſettled in that empire for time immemorial, and many of them for the ſake of riches and preferment have abjured their own religion, and embraced the opinions of the Chineſe, which is alſo an unqueſtionable argument of the truth of theſe relations.

We may add to this the conformity between the accounts given by our travellers and the beſt Chineſe hiſtories, which never could have happened, if the former had not been

* This ancient monument was firſt mentioned by the famous Jeſuit Kircher, who made many miſtakes about it, and from thence there grew ſome queſtions as to the matter of fact, which however upon inquiry has been ſince clearly made out, and from thence it is evident, that the Chriſtian religion was ſettled in China in A.D. 636, that is, upwards of two hundred years before the maſſacre at Canton, mentioned by the laſt of our authors. We have no certain accounts of the Chriſtians in China beyond the tenth century, and when the Portugueſe came firſt to Canton under Don Fernand Perez d'Andrada, which was A. D. 1517, there was no ſort of remembrance of Chriſtianity preſerved in that empire; ſo that it is impoſſible to diſcover how this religion was exterminated there, otherwiſe than for want of paſtors.

in every reſpect agreeable to truth. All this is not only ſupported by our knowledge of many of the cuſtoms of theſe people, which remain to this day the ſame with thoſe reported in theſe relations, but they are ſtill more plainly verified by ſuch are now no longer in uſe, becauſe many Chineſe writers, and Chriſtian miſſionaries from them, take notice of ſuch obſolete cuſtoms, and inform us when they were laid aſide or began to grow into diſuſe. On the whole, therefore, we may ſafely affirm, that theſe treatiſes are free from all juſt grounds of ſuſpicion, and ought to be regarded as the earlieſt and beſt accounts we have of this empire and its inhabitants.

They are, conſidered in this light, of very great uſe in many reſpects, but more eſpecially in correcting thoſe errors that have been introduced by authors who depended more upon their own conjectures, than on any light they received from experience, endeavouring to impoſe upon their readers their notions of things as facts of undoubted credit, of which it may not be amiſs to give a few inſtances. Our author is the oldeſt, and indeed almoſt the only Arabian writer that mentions the Chineſe drink, ſo univerſally uſed in our days all over Europe, and known by the name of Tea. He ſays that it is an herb or ſhrub, more buſhy than the pomegranate-tree, and of a more pleaſant ſcent, but ſomewhat bitter to the taſte. That the Chineſe boil water and pour it in ſcalding hot upon this leaf, and that this infuſion preſerves them from all diſtempers. This, to be ſure, is an imperfect deſcription; but it is plain enough to evince, that nothing can be meant but the plant we know by the name of tea; the ſame with the Tcha Catyai, or Sini of the orientals.

The tree which bears this leaf is but ſmall, and ought to be reckoned among ſhrubs. It has a pleaſant kind of violet ſcent, is bitter to the taſte, and it is common for them who are fond of it to imagine it doth them good, and preſerveth their health. It is certain then, that Father Trigaut * is miſtaken, when he imagines it is but of late date among the Chineſe, becauſe there is not, as he ſays, any character in their tongue to ſignify this drink; for by the teſtimony of the oldeſt of our authors (who does not ſpeak of it as any new thing, but as a herb very much in vogue with them; nay, to that degree, that the Emperor thought fit to lay a duty upon it) it appears, that the Chineſe have been addicted to it above eight hundred years. Nor is it poſſible to believe with Piſo †, that it grew a long time wild and uncultivated, or that the Chineſe, or Japoneſe, have been but lately acquainted with its virtues and the manner of preparing it; which, he ſays, he was told by ſome Dutch commander, who had been a long time in the country.

Father Martini, who has written more accurately of China than almoſt any other perſon, ſays no ſuch thing. He aſſures us, that it grows particularly in the province of Kiangnan, or Nankin, where the beſt of it is. It is, adds he, a ſmall leaf, perfectly like that of the Rhus Coriarius, or Sumac of the curriers. It grows not wild, but is domeſtic, and cultivated; nor is it a tree but a ſhrub, which ſpreads out in little branches, with a bloſſom very much like that of the Sumac, except that the former inclines more to a yellow than the latter. It blows firſt in ſummer, when it emits no great ſcent; then it puts out a berry, which is firſt green, and afterwards blackiſh. In the ſpring it is when they gather the leaf to make their Tcha, for then it is moſt ſucculent and tender. The preparation of theſe leaves conſiſts in gathering them, drying

* Lib. i. p. 16. It is inconceivable how differently writers have repreſented the ſhrub that bears this herb; for ſome ſay it is like a roſe, others like a currant-buſh.

† Addit. ad Hiſt. Medicin. Bont. i. 6. Of like credit, perhaps, is another report current among the Dutch, as if they ſold the ſage of Europe to the Japoneſe at as high a price as they gave for their tea, and which has been received as an undoubted truth by the vulgar here.

them by a ſmall fire, rolling them upon a cotton mattreſs, and packing them up in tin-cheſts or boxes, for the ſake of preſerving them, and the conveniency of tranſporting them. Such is the account given us by this learned and accurate writer, whoſe work is ſtill deſervedly eſteemed, after ſo many later accounts of China *.

But as it is natural to ſuppoſe that every man is the beſt judge of what regards his own profeſſion, I perſuade myſelf that my readers will not be diſpleaſed at my inſerting here a very curious paſſage from the writings of the celebrated Doctor Kæmpfer †, wherein he gives us a very entertaining account of the manner in which the virtues of tea were firſt diſcovered; neither is this at all foreign to my ſubject, ſince it is an additional proof of the varacity of our author, and clearly points out the time when this plant came firſt into uſe among the Chineſe, and at the ſame time, fully refutes the objection that had been raiſed from this herb's not having a proper character aſſigned it by the learned.

"This herb, ſays he, which the Japoneſe call Tsjaa, has as yet no character aſſigned it by the Literati, but there are ſeveral in uſe, ſome expreſſing only the ſound of the word, and others alluding to its virtues. Among the latter, that is to be accounted which gives it the likeneſs of the eye-lids of Darma, a holy man, much famed among them. There is ſomething very witty in this alluſion, and the explanation of it deſerves the greater notice, becauſe it very plainly points out the time when this herb firſt came into uſe. Thus then the ſtory is told.

"This Darma was the third ſon of an Indian king, whoſe name was Koojuwo, and was the head of a religious order inſtituted by a famous Indian ſaint, called Sjaka, who flouriſhed in the year before Chriſt 1028, and to whom this Darma was the twenty-eighth ſucceſſor in a regular order. It ſo fell out, that in A. D. 519, he was driven into China, where he applied himſelf intirely to the teaching of mankind the knowledge of God, and, as he called it, of the only true religion, and the ſole means of acquiring happineſs. He was not content to enlighten the world only by his doctrine, but ſtudied to do it ſtill more by his example, ſtriving by the purity of his life, the afflicting his body and bringing all his paſſions under perfect ſubjection, to ſecure the aſſiſtance of the divine grace. He eat nothing but the wild herbs of the field, and, which is eſteemed the very perfection of holineſs in man, ſpent his nights without ſleep in the contemplation of the Supreme Being; for he conſidered it as the higheſt degree of piety to forego eaſe and reſt, that his thoughts might be wholly employed in meditating upon God.

"It fell out, that after many years watching, he was ſo overcome as to fall faſt aſleep; his vow thus violated, he was ſo afflicted when he awaked, that partly to expiate his crime, and partly to ſecure himſelf from falling again into what he eſteemed ſo great a weakneſs, he cut off his eyelids, as the inſtruments of his offence, and threw them in a fit of holy zeal upon the ground. The next day, coming to the place where he had inflicted this puniſhment upon himſelf, he ſaw, with amazement, a moſt wonderful transformation, for behold each of his eye-lides had taken root, and had ſprung

* He reſided long in China, was a man of great fidelity and candour, one who did not love to contradict others, or to impoſe his own ſenſe of things upon his reader, in a dogmatic ſtyle. His Chineſe Atlas is an admirable performance, in which he has explained Marco Polo, corrected Father Kircher, and informs us of a multitude of things relating to the hiſtory of China, which, till the publication of his book, were utterly unknown.

† Amœnitat. Exotic. p. 608. We ſhall have an opportunity of inſerting this learned writer's travels to Japan in another part of this work; but the paſſage here cited is from another work of his, which is excellent in its kind, notwithſtanding what ſome French critics have inſinuated to the contrary.

up into the ſhrub called tea, which hitherto the world had never ſeen, or at leaſt mankind were unacquainted with its virtues.

" By taking the leaves of this herb, but whether the chewing them, or prepared by infuſion, I cannot ſay, he found a wonderful chearfulneſs of mind, and a diſpoſition perfectly ſuited to his divine meditations. As he recommended the uſe of this herb to his diſciples, and as the benefits derived therefrom were every-where publiſhed, the cuſtom of drinking tea grew quickly into uſe among all ſorts of people; and the mighty virtues of this wonderful herb became univerſally known and admired. Hence it is, that as hitherto no certain character has been aſſigned for expreſſing the herb tea, and its virtues, the cuſtom of diſtinguiſhing it by the figure of Darma's eye-lids has grown into practice." So much ſays my author for the name of this plant. The ſtory is plainly fabulous and extravagant *; but, like the extravagances of the eaſt, full of fire, and of that ſort of enthuſiaſtic eloquence which conveys ideas with ſuch force as prevents their impreſſions from ever wearing out of mind.

We learn likewiſe from the firſt of our travellers, that at the time he viſited their country the Chineſe were perfectly well verſed in the art of pottery, and made a kind of porcelain, as fine, as beautiful, and almoſt as tranſparent as glaſs. It is certain that for many ages after this we had very dark and confuſed accounts of this matter; and the ſtories we are told in almoſt all the accounts we have of China upon this ſubject have apparently the air of fables, and look as if they were impoſed upon their authors by the Chineſe, on purpoſe to conceal from them the truth. It is a point now univerſally agreed, that the porcelain formerly made in this country was infinitely better than what has come from thence of late years; but the Chineſe themſelves carry this much farther, and maintain that the old China we ſo much admire is very far inferior to what was made in theſe early ages.

Doctor Kæmpfer † tells us from the Chineſe hiſtorians, that this moſt excellent porcelain was made in a certain iſland not far from Formoſa, or at leaſt of the earth found in that iſland, which, for the ſame crimes in its inhabitants, has long ago ſhared the fate of Sodom, and lies now buried in the ſea. Yet it ſeems it is not ſunk ſo deep, but that their fiſherman and divers frequently bring up veſſels of this old porcelain, which are ſold at a moſt extravagant price in China and Japan, from a perſuaſion that they not only keep tea better, but even heighten its quality, and reſtore its flavour when loſt by long keeping in other veſſels.

* Father Charlevoix, in his hiſtory of Japan, blames Doctor Kæmpfer for inſerting this ſtory, which he calls a ridiculous fable; but I beg leave to ſay, that he had not well conſidered the intention of the parable, the genius of the eaſtern nations, or the eaſtern languages; for if he had, he would probably have been of another opinion. There is a wide difference between fables in religion and fables in natural philoſophy, eſpecially when they are known to be ſuch, and introduced with no other view than to convey uſeful knowledge in an eaſy, familiar, and effectual manner, all which were viſibly conſulted in the framing of this ſtory or parable, which declares the virtues of this herb, by whom diſcovered, and when brought into uſe.

† Amœnitat. Exotic. p. 621 Our learned author tells us, that the Japoneſe name of this fine porcelain is Maats ubo, and that the iſland in which it was made was Mauri ga Sima. He aſſures us, that theſe veſſels are of different ſizes, and conſequently of different prices; the ſmalleſt are worth from twenty to one hundred Theils; but the largeſt and fineſt, which are generally bought for the uſe of the Emperor of Japan, coſt three, four or five thouſand Theils or Thaels, of which there are about three in a pound ſterling. This is very moderate in compariſon of what we are told by Mandeſloe in his travels, p. 156, where he ſays that the Japoneſe have tea-pots that coſt them between ſix and ſeven thouſand pounds. There ſeem to be two miſtakes in this; the firſt is as to the veſſel, which was not a tea-pot, but a tea-caniſter, the ſecond, as to the ſum, which was not pounds, but Thaels.

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I do not pretend to make myſelf anſwerable for the truth of theſe facts; but I mention them only to ſhew, that in the opinion of theſe prople, who are undoubtedly the beſt judges of their own manufactures, the porcelain made at the time our author ſpeaks of was really ſuperior in quality to any that has been made ſince. But if it ſhould be demanded, whether any proof can be had of the truth of this fact, excluſive of what our author delivers, I anſwer, there is. For in a manuſcript preſerved in the French King's library, the credit of which cannot be doubted among the articles of a noble preſent ſent Noureddin by Saladin, ſoon after he became maſter of Egypt, mention is made of a ſervice of China-ware, conſiſting of forty pieces of ſeveral kinds *. It is very true, that this preſent was not ſent till the year of the Hegira 567, which anſwers to the year of our Lord 1171, which is ſome ages after the time in which our author wrote; but then it is to be conſidered, that this China-ware had been long before brought to Egypt; and if it had not been much ſuperior in beauty to what was brought from the ſame country, even at that time when the trade to Baſſora was in a flouriſhing condition, it would not have been thought worthy the acceptance of ſo great a prince; and therefore, when thoroughly conſidered, this objection proves, at leaſt in its neceſſary conſequences, a confirmation of the fact.

I have dwelt the longer upon theſe inſtances, and have taken the more pains to ſupport and confirm the truth of them, becauſe I am perſuaded that an intire credit is due to the matters of fact aſſerted by both of our authors, and that conſequently we may abſolutely depend upon what they have delivered us to the ſtate of China and the Indies, within this period of time; that is to ſay, from A. D. 833 to 950, or thereabouts. This being clearly eſtabliſhed, let us ſee what will follow from it. In the firſt place, it is moſt evident that theſe eaſtern countries were in a very happy and flouriſhing condition, were governed by their own princes, and knew not, generally ſpeaking, what it was to ſuffer by ſuch ſudden and violent revolutions as have ſince happened in thoſe parts. It muſt, however, be at the ſame time obſerved, that though their ſtate was far better than it is now, yet both our authors agree that it was beginning to decline, that the dignity of their princes began to ſink, the ſeverity of their diſcipline to relax, and the manners of their people to become much more corrupt than they had been.

In the next place, it is very evident, that in China, a country ſtill more remote than the Indies, the people were in this period very well acquainted with the condition of their neighbours, to whom they muſt alſo have been tolerably well known; and yet within the ſpace of two hundred years, the face of things was ſo entirely changed, that the Chineſe loſt almoſt all knowledge of us in Europe, and we of them, as from the ſubſequent part of this chapter will clearly appear.

Laſtly, we ought to conclude from the conſideration of theſe facts, from the ſtate of things in China and the Indies, and eſpecially from the ſuperiority of their manufactures, that this empire was in every reſpect in a much better ſituation than in ſucceeding times; that is to ſay, was better governed, more populous, the induſtry of the people better conducted, and their foreign commerce far more extenſive than in the ages immediately preceding the diſcovery of the paſſage thither from Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. The fixing all this firmly in the reader's mind, will contribute to his apprehending rightly

* The title of this Arabian manuſcript is Makrizi, which was probably the ſurname of its author: but as to the particular ſubject of the book I can ſay nothing, the paſſage I have mentioned from it being related by the Abbé Renaudot, in his notes on our authors, p. 200.

all

all that follows, and will prevent his running into the oppoſite vice of incredulity, to avoid being thought credulous.

He will not be amazed when he hears of potent princes that governed in the Indies, or in China, many hundred years before we knew any thing with certainty of thoſe countries; he will not be aſtoniſhed at the extent of their territories, or what is reported of their prodigious revenues; he will not be at a loſs to account for the different condition of places, when firſt viſited by the Europeans, from that reported either by their own hiſtories, or traditions. On the contrary, he will plainly perceive, by comparing the facts laid down in the ſeveral ſections of this work, that all this is not only probable, but certain, and that the notions which ſome great critics have advanced to the contrary, were not ſo much founded in greater learning, or ſuperior abilities, as in ſtrong prejudices in favour of their own countries, and in high conceits of their own abilities.

In things of this nature, all abſtracted reaſoning ought to be laid aſide, and we ought to draw our concluſions from facts only. If the Indians ſtopped the progreſs of the Aſſyrian, Perſian, Greek and Parthian empires, this is a ſtrong, or, to ſpeak fairly, an invincible argument to prove, that their government was then in its full vigour. If we ſee the Indians now for the moſt part a broken, diſperſed, dejected, and deſpiſed people, preſerving, however, ſtill, in their manners and cuſtoms, viſible marks of that policy aſcribed to them by the Greek and Roman, as well as theſe Arabian writers, we ought to conclude, that this difference has been owing to mighty revolutions in theſe parts; after the hiſtory of which we muſt enquire, and not pretend to take up with the aſſurances given us by fanciful men, that theſe people were never in a better condition.

I do not however pretend by this to eſtabliſh by any means the opinions entertained by ſome very great men as to the learning of the Chineſe; with regard to which our travellers ſpeak very freely, and I think there is reaſon to believe very truly, affirming, that in regard to the ſciences the Chineſe had very little knowledge, that is, in compariſon of the Arabs, who at the time the laſt of our authors wrote were very ſkilful in moſt ſciences; and though their famous commander Muſa, who conquered Spain, was the firſt that delivered it in the form of a maxim, yet it is very probable that the Arabians had long before this time thoſe ſentiments of the progreſs of ſcience which he ſo happily expreſſed. Wiſdom, ſaid he, deſcending from above, ſettled in the heads of the Greeks, in the hands of the Chineſe, and on the tongues of the Arabs. It plainly appears from hence, that what they moſt admired in China was the induſtry of its inhabitants, which was chiefly the effect of their wiſe government, derived to them, as indeed every thing of conſequence they knew ſeems to have been, from the Indies *. All therefore that from the authority of our authors I infer is, that the political ſtate of China was at leaſt as perfect anciently as it is at preſent in all its branches; and not that they were better acquainted with ſciences than they are now.

* The progreſs of ſcience from the Indies to China, and from thence to Japan, is very natural and agreeable to ancient hiſtory; but it does not at all follow from thence, that the Indians received their learning from the Egyptians. It is far more probable that they had it from the Chaldeans; for mankind ſpread originally from that country, as Moſes informs us, and as all ancient hiſtory plainly proves. From Chaldea to the Indies theſe firſt colonies might have eaſily proceeded by land; whereas their own writers allow, that the firſt attempts by the Egyptians towards the conqueſt of India were by fleets fitted out by the Red Sea.

THE EMBASSY

OF

PETER DE GOYER AND JACOB DE KEYZER

FROM THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA IN 1655.

By JOHN NIEUHOFF, Steward to the Embaſſadors.

[Tranſlated from the DUTCH.]

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH China was diſcovered over land by Marco Polo the Venetian, towards the end of the thirteenth century, yet it was very little known to Europeans, till the Portugueze arrived there by ſea towards the end of the fifteenth, and the Romiſh miſſioners found admittance into the empire. In 1517, they eſtabliſhed a trade at Quan-tong, commonly called Kanton: afterwards they ſettled a factory alſo at Ning Po, called by them Liampo, on the eaſtern part of China, and drove a conſiderable trade along the coaſt, between thoſe two famous ports, till their unſufferable pride and inſolence brought on their deſtruction every where but at Ma-kau, or Makao, an iſland in the mouth of the river of Kanton, which they ſtill hold, though under great reſtrictions.

The Dutch being arrived in India to the height of power chiefly on the ruins of the Portugueze, endeavoured to get acceſs into China to trade with the natives. This they had long attempted in vain, having ſtill met with oppoſition, as was ſuppoſed, ſays Nieuhoff, from an old prophecy among them, *that a remote nation of whites cloathed all over, ſhould one day conquer their country.* But upon advice brought from Makaſſar by the jeſuit Martini, (who had concealed himſelf ten years in China propagating) that the Manchew Tartars had conquered that empire, it was concluded by the government of Batavia, to renew their attempt. This was performed by ſending certain merchants to try the pulſe of the Chineſe at Kanton, upon whoſe report ambaſſadors were diſpatched from Batavia to the court of Pe-king, there to ſolicit liberty to trade.

An account of this embaſſy was drawn up by John Nieuhoff, (famous for his voyages into ſeveral parts of the world,) who was ſteward to the ambaſſadors, which has been publiſhed in different languages and forms. In 1665, there appeared a French relation of this embaſſy, printed at Leyden, in folio, by Jacob de Meurs. It is called a tranſlation, and ſeems to have been made from Nieuhoff's manuſcript, by John de Carpentier. It is divided into two parts, the firſt containing a narrative of the embaſſy, in two hundred and ninety pages; the ſecond a general deſcription of China, in an hundred and thirty-four, beſides the preface and dedication to M. Colbert, miniſter of ſtate to Louis the XIV. of France. But Nieuhoff's relation is only the baſis of this large work, which de Carpentier has formed by the addition of almoſt all the ſecond part, and at leaſt one half of the firſt.

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The cuts, which are very numerous, are finely engraved, and, as the editor affirms, from the author's own draughts; conſiſting of the habits of the Chineſe, proceſſions and ſtate of the magiſtrates, proſpects of the cities and temples, animals, birds, vegetables, &c. Moſt of theſe are ſmall plates printed on the reſpective pages of the book. The large ones are in ſeparate ſheets, and are chiefly the proſpects of cities, palaces, or great proceſſions. In the firſt part, An-hing or Anking. Viceroy of Kanton's feaſt. Batavia. Hoay-gan (Whay-gan). Hu-kow. Kanton. Plan of the ſame. Ka yu tſiu. Kan cheu. Kin-nun-gan. Ku-ching. Makow, or Makaw. Nam-hun, or Nan-hung. Nan-chang, or Kyang-ſi. Nan-gan. Nan-kang. Nan-king. Pau-lin-ſhi. Pe-king. Plan of the imperial palace there. Inſide of the palace. The porcelain tower. Single. Tyen ſyen way. Tong lieu, or Tong lou. Tung chang. Tung ling. V-fu. Van nun gan, or Van gan. Shan tſui. Shaw chew. Yam ſe fu. In the ſecond part the inſide of a temple. Muſa fruit. Order of the horſe in marching.

The year following, M. de Thevenot publiſhed Nieuhoff's relation of the embaſſy in his French collection of voyages and travels, taking up ſixty folio pages. Theſe are accompanied with thirty-three figures, in fourteen or fifteen half ſheet plates. It is followed by a journal of the route of the Dutch from Kanton to Pe-king, an exact deſcription of theſe two cities, the way of making china, &c. conſiſting of twenty-ſeven pages; with a large draught of the road, twenty-three inches long, made by the author.

Thevenot informs us that this tranſlation is conformable to two Dutch copies, of which he had the manuſcripts, one of them ſigned Nieuhoff, and that he has neither changed nor added any thing from other authors. He judged it wrong to have mixed the deſcription of the provinces with Nieuhoff's remarks, ſince it appeared from his own confeſſion, that the Dutch never ſtirred out of their lodgings either at Kanton or Pe-king.

Whether theſe deſcriptions were inſerted in Nieuhoff's manuſcripts, as they are in his printed relation in Dutch, or Thevenot ſaid this by way of cenſure on Carpentier's work, we cannot determine; but it is certain, that the manuſcripts were accompanied with cuts. Nieuhoff declares, that he made accurate maps and plans of the countries and towns, beſides draughts of the beaſts, birds, fiſhes, plants, and other rarities. He might have added of the inhabitants and the magiſtrates, their ſtate and proceſſions. But Thevenot has omitted thoſe of all the cities except Pe-king and Nan-king, becauſe he ſays he found they did not tally at all with the deſcription he gives of them, and ſuſpected they were merely the fruits of invention. He alledges another reaſon for this omiſſion, that the cities of China being all alike, (according to the Chineſe geographers) when one has ſeen one, he has ſeen all. How far this plea would juſtify ſuch a proceeding, were the draughts genuine, we cannot ſay; ſince, let the uniformity in building and laying out the ſtreets be what it will, there would always be a conſiderable variety in the proſpects, ariſing from the different ſituation of the places, and diſpoſition of the objects. As for the figures of plants and animals, which Thevenot has likewiſe left out, moſt of them are inſerted in his general deſcription of China, taken from Martini.

The cuts which he has retained are engraved the ſize of the originals, being generally much larger than thoſe in Carpentier's edition, and more correct, perhaps, though not ſo well finiſhed, or ſet out to advantage. The following is a liſt of them. 1. A map of the ambaſſador's journey through China. 2. The young Viceroy of Kanton. 3 A Tartar horſeman armed. 4. Tartar woman. 5. Garden of pleaſure. 6. A Mandarin. 7. Chineſe lady. 8. Two religious cloathed in yellow, with each a large

pair of beads. 9. Religious dreſſed in black, with beads like thoſe uſed by papiſts. 10. Religious mendicant, with a large brimmed hat. 11. A beggar with his head ſhaped like a ſugar loaf. 12. Sepulchre of a great lord. 13. Beggar carrying fire on his head to extort alms. 14. Another with a lump on his forehead as big as one's fiſt, made by beating it againſt a ſtone. 15. Puniſhment of a religious taken in company with lewd women. 16. A woman of pleaſure riding through the ſtreets on an aſs, with a man before her to hire her out. 17. Two beggars knocking their foreheads together to extort alms. 18. City of Nan-king, very ſmall view. 19. Streets of Nan-king in perſpective. 20. Porcelain tower of Nan-king. 21. View of the city of Peking, very ſmall. 22. A triumphal arch. 23. Temple of Shan-ti-ou. 24. Floating village on the rivers. 25. A great junk, or veſſel with mat ſails. 26. Serpent veſſel. 27. Emperor's court, where the Dutch had audience. 28. A Tartar who with a ſtrap of leather makes as great a noiſe as the report of three piſtols fired one after the other. 29. A ſorcerer, who ſells wind to mariners with a bodkin through his cheek. 30. A waggon which carries three people very ſwiftly, though puſhed on by only one man. 31. A Tartar with his wife behind him. 32. A ſhip with a ſort of wheel or low net inſtead of ſails. 33. The ordinary dreſs of the Chineſe.

In 1670, a Dutch relation of the ſame embaſſy was publiſhed at Amſterdam in folio, under the name of Nieuhoff, embelliſhed with a great number of cuts, and augmented with a deſcription of the provinces in the manner of Carpentier's edition, but not ſwelled ſo much with foreign matter.

Soon after Ogilby publiſhed an account of the ſame embaſſy in Engliſh. The title agrees more with the Leyden than the Amſterdam edition; nor is it mentioned whether the tranſlation was made from the Dutch or the French: however, as it appears from the manner of introducing and relating things (not to mention its being free from a great number of ſuperfluities with which the latter abounds) that it was not done from thence, we conclude that it is a verſion from the Dutch copy. The cuts which are of the ſame kind with thoſe in the French edition, but not near ſo well engraved, are, doubtleſs, the cuts of the Amſterdam impreſſion, taken from the original plates; for the explanations are given both in Dutch and Engliſh.

Of theſe ſeveral editions of this work, we think that of Thevenot to be both the moſt exact and genuine. For which reaſon we have uſed it as a check upon the Engliſh tranſlation, and have often ſupplied it from thence; which additions, for diſtinction's ſake, are placed between hooks.

SECT. I.—*Attempts of the Dutch to ſettle in China previous to the Embaſſy.—Schedel ſails to Kanton.—Lands there: ſent for by the Vice Roy: is well received: oppoſed by the Portugueze.—Free Trade granted him, and revoked.—Waggenaar's attempt.—Portugueze arts.—The Deſign miſcarries a ſecond Time.*

MARTINI the jeſuit having reported, among other things, that the Tartars had proclaimed a free trade in the city of Kanton to all foreigners, the government of Batavia reſolved to know the truth of this report, by ſending a ſhip thither from Taywan in Formoſa.

Accordingly, (the twentieth of January, 1653) Frederick Schedel, a merchant, ſet ſail in a frigate called the Brown-fiſh, richly freighted, to the value of forty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty ſeven crowns,) and in nine days landed at Hey-ta-men in Kanton river.

There the Hayto-nu, or admiral of the ſea, came aboard to ſalute him in behalf of the magiſtrates of Kanton. Schedel treated him handſomely, and then accompanied him aſhore: but coming near the city, he landed in great ſtate, without ſpeaking a word to Schedel, who was put into another veſſel in a very ſlighty manner, and carried to the farther end of the city. There he was ſearched and treated with ill language by Emanuel de Lucifierro, a Portugueze, and others.

Towards night ſeveral Tartars came to viſit him, who after awhile carried him to an idol temple, where the prieſts had ſpent all the night at their devotions to foretel the ſucceſs which theſe ſtrangers were to have. In his abſence ſome mandorins, by order of the two viceroys, who rule in Kanton, with equal power, came and opened his cheſts, where the preſents lay. After taking an account of them, they flung them ſcornfully about. They were likewiſe carrying off the general of Batavia's letter to the viceroys, but meeting Schedel, flung it in his face, reproaching him as if the Hollanders came only to betray their country.

Schedel finding himſelf thus unhandſomely dealt with by the Kantonians, began to conſider which way to pacify and undeceive them. Having bethought himſelf of ſome bottles of rare wine among the preſents, he called for one, and deſired the mandorins to taſte of it. The liquor pleaſing their palates, they toſſed off their cups freely; and at length became ſo well reconciled to the Dutch merchant, that they begged his pardon for what had paſſed: acknowledging that the Portugueze had infuſed thoſe notions into their heads; but that now they were convinced they were falſe, and he might depend on civil uſage for the future.

Next day, by ſun riſe, Schedel was ſent for by the old viceroy Pig-na-mong. He was followed by crowds of mob, giving him ill language. Some cried, *How finely iron fetters would become his legs;* others pointed at him with their fingers, and ſome blew lice upon his followers: at length two mandorins brought him to the court. The viceroy was ſeated on his throne, which ſtood in the midſt of the palace on an high, ſquare platform, and was covered with rich ſilk. Round him ſtood about two hundred gentlemen, with the admiral, all cloathed in the Tartar faſhion. The viceroy having received the letter and preſents from Schedel, as well as heard what he had to ſay againſt the calumnies laid to the charge of the Dutch, he was ſo well ſatisfied, that he cauſed him to ſit down next his throne among his chief grandees, and invited him to a ſplendid dinner prepared on purpoſe. The table appointed for Schedel and his company was covered with thirty-two ſilver diſhes, heaped with dainties; and drink was ſerved in gold cups.

During the entertainment, the viceroy ſent to aſk ſeveral queſtions concerning the condition and government of Holland: after which he was diſmiſſed with great reſpect, and conducted by the Hay-to-nu, with the letter and preſents, to the young viceroy Sig-na-mong, who received him likewiſe very politely, and invited him to dinner, but ſeemed rather to ſide with the Portugueze. His mother, but newly arrived from Tartary, being deſirous to ſee the Dutch, ſent for Schedel and his followers; who broke off abruptly in the middle of his ſpeech, and went. He found her with her attendants waiting for him in an open hall, and was courteouſly received. During his ſtay, he ordered his trumpets to ſound, which much delighted and obliged the ladies. After this he returned to the viceroy, and finiſhed his diſcourſe. From thence he was conducted in great ſtate by the Hay-to-nu to the great mandorin, Tu-tang, who was the third perſon in the government (of the province): but this officer was content to take a view of Schedel through a window, and ſuffered him to depart without offering him the

the leaſt civility in his houſe, ſo that he was forced to provide another lodging for himſelf and his company.

The governor and council of Ma-kaw, to ſtifle this negotiation in its birth, not only endeavoured to corrupt and prejudice the Hay-to-nu, but ſent a formal embaſſy to Kanton, in order to repreſent the Dutch as a faithleſs people, and kind of pirates; who, having no proper reſidence on land, had made themſelves formidable by ſea, had taken Hay-tay mon, at the mouth of Kanton river, made peace with the Chineſe pirate Koxinga, plundered their merchants, and were now come to force their way into China. The Pori, or philoſophers, alſo at Kanton joined in repreſenting them as fraudulent dealers.

But the viceroys, by the advice of the Hay-to-nu, whom Schedel had engaged, returned for anſwer, thad notwithſtanding reports, they had a good opinion of the Dutch, and judged that China would receive much benefit from a commerce with them. Hereupon they publiſhed in writing their conſent to a free trade; and gave Schedel leave to erect a factory. Matters were at this paſs, when a commiſſioner, newly arrived from Pe-king, diſſuaded the viceroy againſt what he had done; alledging, that although he might grant a port for trade to foreigners, he ought not to allow them a conſtant reſidence in the country without the Emperor's conſent. This remonſtrance ſo much perplexed the viceroy, that he adviſed Schedel forthwith to depart for that time; leſt, as he ſaid, the King of Batavia (meaning the general) might think they were kept priſoners at Kanton. Schedel accordingly, two days after, ſet ſail, with two letters from the viceroys to Nicholas Verburgh, commander at Tay-wan; wherein they offered the general their friendſhips, and adviſed him, in caſe he deſired a free trade in China, to ſend an ambaſſador with rich preſents to the Great Khan.

The government of Batavia hereupon wrote to their principals in Holland for directions; and in the mean time, to keep the buſineſs on foot, ſent Zacharias Waggenaar to China with two loaden veſſels, the Shellfiſh and Brownfiſh. (To him Schedel was joined as an aſſiſtant.) Being arrived at Wang-ſu, within three miles of Kanton, they remained three days without ſending any aſhore; but finding none came aboard, they ſent one of the company (Schedel) to land, who applied himſelf to the Hay-to-nu. This officer referred him to the Tu-tang, whoſe ſecretary acquainted him, that the Portugueſe had obtained a letter from Pe-king to the magiſtrates of Kanton, adviſing them to have a watchful eye over the Dutch, eſpecially if they came without an ambaſſador, for that they were a treacherous lying people; and that for fear of being known in China, durſt not appear at Pe-king.

At the ſame time there came an officer from Ma-kaw with a requeſt, that an embargo might be laid on the Dutch ſhips there, under pretence that they had formerly, in a piratical way, taken ſeveral of their ſhips. The Portugueſe likewiſe, to prevent the Hollanders from obtaining a liberty of trade, paid an arrear of four years tax. In ſhort Waggenaar deſpaired of ſucceſs, although the men in power flattered him with hopes: meantime nobody was ſuffered to paſs to or from him, by two or three of the viceroy's veſſels. At laſt the meſſenger came back with the Tou-tang's ſecretary, and two mandorin's; with orders for the ſhips to come within half-a-mile of the city, and lie there till the Portugueſe officer, (who was to know nothing of the arrival of the Dutch) was gone. On this occaſion, Waggenaar was preſented with ſeveral rarities, to ſhew that they were received as friends; but none of his company were ſuffered to go aſhore.

Afterwards the Hay-to-nu came aboard to conduct Waggenaar to court. But juſt as he was taking horſe, there came two mandorins to know his buſineſs, and if he had

brought any letters for the Great Khan, or the Tou-tang. They added that the Portugueſe were the cauſe of this miſunderſtanding; and that if the Dutch would appear before the viceroy, they muſt be very liberal to all about him. Waggenaar made anſwer, that he was willing to bribe the viceroy or his courtiers to take the letters and preſents which he brought; but yet he would give a good ſum of money to the perſon who ſhould procure them a free trade for that year at Kanton. During this conference, the Hay-to-nu, returned with word, that the viceroy could not ſee him, but that he would read his letter. Waggenaar ſent it, and the viceroy's interpreter came ſoon after to inform him; that the reaſon why he could not be admitted to the ſpeech of his maſter, was, becauſe the Dutch had not brought with them any letters or preſents for the Emperor, as had been earneſtly recommended by him.

When Waggenaar ſaw that he could effect nothing at Kanton, he returned to Batavia. Thoſe people were not aſhamed to demand ten thouſand *tael* of ſilver only to render the letter and preſents acceptable to the viceroy; before any conference could be had about carrying on a trade.

SECT. II.—*The Embaſſy of* Peter de Goyer *and* Jacob de Keyzer *to Peking.—The Ambaſſador ſet out from Batavia.—City of Ma-kaw. Hey-ta-mon Port.—Arrive at Kanton.—Viſited by a Mandorin.—Are obliged to return on Board.—The Viceroy's Feaſt.—Order of it.—A favourable Anſwer from the Emperor.—The old Viceroy's Entertainment.—They prepare for their Journey to Pe-king by Water.*

ACCORDING to the propoſal of the general John Maatzuiker, and the council of India, the governors of the Eaſt India company at Amſterdam ordered an embaſſy to be ſent from Batavia to the Great Khan; whereupon Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, merchants, were choſen for that purpoſe. Their train conſiſted of fourteen perſons, viz. two merchants, ſix waiters, a ſteward, a ſurgeon, two interpreters, a trumpeter, and a drummer. They took with them alſo two merchants more to take care of the traffic at Kanton during their journey to Pe-king. Their preſents conſiſted of ſeveral rich pieces of woolen cloath, fine linen, ſeveral ſorts of ſpices, coral, little boxes of wax, perſpective and looking glaſſes, ſwords, guns, feathers, armour, &c. The purport of their commiſſion was to eſtabliſh a firm league with the Emperor, and obtain a free trade for the Dutch throughout his dominions. The fourteenth of June, 1655, they ſet ſail in two yatchts, which were to carry them to Kanton and thence to Pe-king; and on the ſame day, in July following paſſed by Ma-kaw.

This city is built on a very high rock, ſurrounded by the ſea on all ſides, except the northern, where it joins the iſland of Ma-kaw, by a narrow neck of land. There is no port for large ſhips, the ſea there not being very deep. It is famous for cannon, which are made of Chineſe and Japan copper. The town is walled, and towards the land defended by two caſtles, erected on little hills. The name is compounded of *Ama*, an idol formerly there, and *Gaw*, a ſafe harbour, in Chineſe. The Portugueze having been allowed this waſte ſpot to build a town upon, it ſoon became a flouriſhing city, and the greateſt mart in Aſia. They have the priviledge of trading twice a year at Kanton. It is entered in their cuſtom books, that when commerce flouriſhed there, they exported from Kanton above three hundred cheſts of ſilk, an hundred and fifty pieces in each: two thouſand five hundred ingots of gold, each weighing thirteen ounces; eight hundred weight of muſk, beſides great quantities of gold thread, linen, raw ſilk, precious ſtones, pearls, &c.

The

The eighteenth, they caſt anchor in the port of Hey-ta-mon, an exceeding pleaſant place, and commodious for trade. Preſently a bark full of ſoldiers came on board in the governor's name to know the occaſion of their coming. The ambaſſadors ſent their ſecretary, Henry Baron, to inform him by word of mouth. He was conducted to the governor's bed-chamber, who received him courteouſly; but aſked him, why the Dutch returned thither, and whether they were not forbidden to come to Kanton?

Six days after, there came two mandorins from that city to inſpect the ambaſſador's credentials, for whom they ſent to the governor's houſe near the village of Lam-me, a little higher in the river. The governor ſat between the two mandorins, guarded by ſoldiers. They were received very courteouſly, and having ſhewed their credentials at a diſtance, chairs were ſet for them to ſit down.

On the twenty-ninth, a new Hay-tow and a vice-admiral came to conduct them to Kanton. The ambaſſadors at their requeſt went again aſhore, and were led to an idol temple, where being received after the uſual manner, they ſpread their credentials on the table. Then the Hay-tow aſked them ſeveral queſtions concerning their voyage, the ſhips, their letter and preſents. He wondered that there was no letter for the Tow-tang of Kanton, and that the Emperor's was put up ſo meanly; giving them to underſtand, that it ought to have been wrapped in a gold purſe or box. At parting, the commiſſioners promiſed to come on board the next day to receive the preſents.

Accordingly they came with a numerous attendance in veſſels decked with ſtreamers; and carried the ambaſſadors with their ſecretary and four others in one of their veſſels to Kanton: where being arrived, the Hay-tow and vice-admiral went into the city without ſpeaking a word to them. After waiting about two hours at the gate, they were ſent for by the viceroy, and conducted to the lodging which Schedel formerly had, where they were attended by the city-marſhal.

The thirty-firſt, they were viſited by the Pu-tſyen-ſin, the Emperor's treaſurer, who was the fourth man in the city. Here they underwent a new examination; as, How long they had been married? Their names and employments? If the Emperor's letter was not written on better paper than the viceroy's? How their prince and king was called, and the like? They ſeemed to be diſpleaſed at the ſlight faſhion of the credentials, and aſked whether the prince and government of Holland had no ſtamp or ſeal for their letters. To the requeſt of the ambaſſadors, that they might have audience of the viceroy's, and leave to go to Pe-king, it was anſwered, that they could have no audience of any one in Kanton till an anſwer to the letter came from court: however, the viceroys promiſed to viſit them.

Auguſt the ſecond, the ambaſſador's retinue in the yatcht were conducted up the river by four great war ſhips of the viceroy's. The ſhires were full of populous villages and fruitful fields. Arriving the fourth before the ambaſſador's lodgings at Kanton, they were obliged to return on board: under pretence that no ambaſſadors to the Emperor were to reſide there without expreſs order, and that the governors could not anſwer it to his Majeſty in caſe any accident ſhould happen to them aſhore. Two mandorins alſo brought the credentials opened, ſaying, the viceroys durſt not receive them till they had received advice from Pe-king.

The ambaſſadors, after three weeks ſtay on board, had leave to land with their followers, and poſſeſs their former lodgings, but were not permitted by their guards to walk the ſtreets.

Two days after, there came a mandorin from the viceroy to inform, that to obtain their ſuit, they could not give the Emperor's council at Pe-king leſs than three hundred

tael of ſilver. The ambaſſadors anſwered, that if their buſineſs could not be done without bribes, it would be better for them to depart; and finding, after they had offered an hundred and thirty-five *tael*, that the ſame demand was daily repeated, they began to ſend their goods on board in order to be gone. The viceroys ſeeing this, ſent word, that they muſt not ſtir till farther advice from Pe-king, and accepted a note for an hundred and thirty-ſix *tael*: after which, on the nineteenth of September, they invited the ambaſſadors to a ſplendid feaſt in an open plain near their lodgings, where ten ſtately tents were pitched for that purpoſe. That of the viceroys was erected in the middle, on the left of which ſtood the ambaſſadors, and on the right the tent for the muſic. The ambaſſadors were led from their tent in great pomp by two of the chief mandorins in the preſence of the viceroys; and after ſome compliments conducted back again.

Meantime the old viceroy's ſteward, dreſſed in ſky-coloured ſilk, embroidered with gold and ſilver dragons, and a coral chain about his neck, (which is the habit of the mandorins) advancing through the dividing crowd, ordered two of his attendants to ſerve up the dinner. There was a table ſpread with rich carpets for the viceroys, another for the Teu-tang, and a third for the ambaſſadors; each covered with forty little diſhes, or plates, heaped with delicious victuals and ſweet meats. After the viceroys had drank to their healths in tea, the ſteward deſired them to fall to. They were very merry, drank to the ambaſſadors, made apologies for the entertainment, and aſked ſeveral queſtions relating to Holland. About the middle of the treat the ambaſſadors drank their healths in a glaſs of Spaniſh wine, which pleaſed them ſo well, that for it they quitted their Sam zou, which is made of rice, and not much inferior to any European wines. During the feaſt they were diverted with both vocal and inſtrumental muſic. Every thing paſſed with as much ſilence and order as in a private family. The viceroy's children diſcovered the moſt polite education. A little before dinner was over, they roſe from table, and as they paſſed by their father's tent, fell on their knees and bowed three times, with their faces towards the ground.

After four or five month's delay, came the Emperor's anſwers to the Tu-tang's two letters. By the firſt, the ambaſſadors, with a few followers only, and four interpreters were permitted to repair to court to treat about commerce; but by the ſecond, his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant a free trade to the Dutch, and expected the ambaſſadors to come and give him thanks for that favour.

The ſecond of November, the Tu-tang of Heriju came with ſeveral veſſels in great ſtate purely to viſit the ambaſſadors in a moſt courteous manner. December the thirtieth, the young viceroy departed by water with a great army to quell a rebellion in the province of Quang-ſi. Before he ſet out, he conſulted his ſorcerers, who declared that his undertaking would prove unfortunate; but falling out quite otherwiſe, at his return he demoliſhed their temples and images inſtead of themſelves, who were fled. Theſe viceroys were not relations but friends, bred in Pe-king; where their fathers having been put to death by the laſt Chineſe Emperor, they fled to Quantong, at that time invaded by Great Khan, to whom they applied for redreſs, and were promoted to the dignities they then enjoyed.

The ambaſſadors having taken their leave of the old viceroy, and obtained his paſs, on the twenty-ſeventh of February he invited them to dinner at his palace; the galleries, courts and halls of which were richly furniſhed with pictures, ſilk hangings, and carpets. During the entertainment, which was ſplendid, he ſported with his children, of whom the interpreter ſaid he had fifty-ſix. Next day they were treated at the young viceroy's court, though abſent. The feaſt was accompanied with a farce, conſiſting of

perſons dancing in the ſhapes of lions, tygers, and other wild beaſts. This prince's mother often appeared at a window in the apartment to view the company. She was richly dreſſed after the Tartar faſhion, middle ſized, ſlender, of a brown complexion and taking countenance. At their entrance they found a very rich painted chair appointed for her Majeſty, to which, in honour to her, they paid their reſpects.

The ambaſſadors being to perform their journey to Pe-king by water, hired a large veſſel to themſelves: there were beſides fifty more procured at the Emperor's charge to carry their attendants and goods. The command of this fleet was given by the Tu-tang to Pinxenton, with whom were joined two other mandorins. Beſides the mariners and rowers, there was ſtore of ſoldiers on board, under the command of two conſiderable perſons. As ſoon as the ambaſſadors embarked, they cauſed Prince William of Naſſau's flag to be hung out; and poſt boys were diſpatched to the magiſtrates of the next towns in the way, with notice of their approach, and orders for their reception.

SECT. III.—*The Ambaſſadors Journey from Kanton to-Nan-gan-fu, in the Province of Kyang-ſi.—They leave Kanton.—San-ſhevi-hyen.—Chineſe miſery under the Tartars.—San-ivin, or ywen.—Dreadful Mountains.—In-ta-hyen.—Mong-ley City.—Thaw chew-few.—Lu-zu, a Chineſe Saint.—Five-Horſe-heads Hills.—Nan-hyong-fu.—Goods not ſearched here.—The Governor feaſts the Ambaſſadors.—Mountain Mulin.—Arrive at Nan-gan-fu in Kyang-ſi.*

LEAVING Kanton the ſeventeenth of March, they were rowed up the ſpacious river of Tay, cloſe to the city, which made a moſt delightful proſpect. The ſmall towns, which are very numerous between Pe-king and Kanton, welcomed them by their cannon as they paſſed by. After ſome time, they ſtruck into the Zin called by foreigners the European ſtream. Towards evening they came to the village Sa-bu, about ſix miles from Kanton: the ſoil is very fruitful, and the place, though inhabited moſtly by peaſants and ſilk weavers, has many good buildings.

The nineteenth, they got to Shan-ſhevi, the eleventh ſmall city depending on Kanton, and about twenty miles diſtant.

It ſtands (about a league from the river on the right ſide) in a very pleaſant vale: it is not very large, but was formerly exceedingly populous, and full of trade. The magiſtrates cauſed the ſide of the river to be lined with foot ſoldiers to receive the ambaſſadors, and ſent them a few preſents for their table: but underſtanding that it was not the tenth part of what the Emperor allowed for that purpoſe, they thought fit to refuſe their civilities both here and in other places. Here they refreſhed in a tent by the river ſide, before which the Tartars exerciſed their arms with much dexterity. One of them ſhot an arrow thrice together through the mark, but four inches broad, at the diſtance of thirty-five paces; for which he was rewarded with a ſmall piece of money.

The viceroy's ſecretary, who had conducted them thus far, took leave, and returned to Kanton, having been nobly treated the night before. They went forward very ſlowly, being towed againſt the narrow ſtream with vaſt fatigue by the poor Chineſe, whom the Tartars compel to hawl their boats. They often ſlip into narrow paths, and are drowned; and if any grow faint and weary, there is one who follows and never leaves beating them till they go on or die: however they are relieved from time to time.

The

The twenty-firſt, about midnight, they came to San-ivin, about forty miles from Shan-ſhivi. The magiſtrates of this city met them on the way. It is not large now, though ſtrongly ſituated and populous, till the Tartars deſtroyed it.

Here the river becomes rapid from the torrents that deſcend from the mountain Sang-wan-hab, the higheſt and moſt uncouth in all China. Its many tops are wrapped in clouds, which make the paſſage at the bottom dark and gloomy.

On the ſide next the river ſtands a curious idol temple, richly adorned, to which they aſcend by ſteps to make their offerings. They were three days getting clear of theſe diſmal mountains, where they ſaw but one ſolitary village, called Quam-ton-low. In ſome places between the hills lie pleaſant corn fields. Thevenot's copy adds, that Sang-wim-thap ſignifies the flying mountain, on account of a temple now ruined, which was conveyed thither in one night's time from ſome place to the north.

The twenty-fourth, they came to In-ta. This ſmall city lies very pleaſantly on an angle of the river on the right (or weſt) ſide, over againſt the mountain Sang-wan-hab: its walls are high and indifferently ſtrong, the houſes and temples ſtately. It was formerly very rich and populous; it has a ſafe harbour for veſſels againſt the impetuous current of the river, at the entrance whereof, on the right, appears a very curious high tower. The ambaſſadors veſſel was hereabouts in great danger, having been driven, by the violence of the ſtream, againſt a ſunk rock.

Next day, they came in ſight of the wonderful temple of Konianſiam, held in as great veneration as that of Sang-won-hab: it ſtands on the river ſide, in a ſolitary, mountainous country: the way to it is firſt by ſtone ſteps, and then through dark paſſages. After the Chineſe had performed their devotions, the ambaſſadors viſited it.

The twenty-ſeventh, they reached Mong-ley, which makes a moſt pleaſant proſpect at a diſtance. You aſcend from the water ſide by ſtately ſtone-ſteps to the gate of the city: the walls are high and fortified with tall bulwarks and watch-towers.

The twenty-eighth, in the night, there happened a moſt dreadful tempeſt, with thunder and lightning. Many ſhips were ſhattered: ſome loſt their maſts with all their tackle and rigging; others, driven aſhore, were beaten in pieces, and all their men drowned.

On the twenty-ninth, they came with the remainder of the fleet before Shaw-chew, the ſecond city in the province. It lies about thirty miles from In-ta, upon an angle near the weſt ſide of the river; its ſituation and ſafe harbour rendering it a place of a very great trade.

This city on the weſt ſide is incloſed with high and delightful hills, and on the other ſide, beyond the river, has a very populous, rich, and well built ſuburb. In the middle of the water ſtands a curious tower upon a ſmall rock; there is a pretty good wall about it, but within nothing but ruins; which, however, witneſs its former ſplendour.

Toward the ſouth this river is called Si-an, and ſometimes Si-ho. It is formed by the rivers Chin and Vau, which meet not far from this city, and make an impetuous ſtream over ſunk rocks, often fatal to veſſels, in ſpite of the idol temple built by the water ſide for their protection.

Upon the Maw-wha, near a delightful valley, ſtands a monaſtery with a ſpacious temple. It was built by Lu-zu, a reputed ſaint, who ſpent all his time to grind and ſift rice for the monks, and wore iron chains day and night on his naked body. Theſe made holes in his fleſh, which, for want of dreſſing, putrified and bred neſts of worms: yet Lu-zu would not ſuffer them to be removed, but when any one dropped off, he would take it up again and ſay, *Have you not ſufficient to feaſt yourſelves left?* Why then forſake you my body, where you are welcome to feed? The ambaſſadors

ambaſſadors pitched their tents near the walls, where the magiſtrates and governor brought ſeveral preſents for their table, which, not being upon the Emperor's account, were accepted, and themſelves nobly treated.

Next morning, early, they drew near a mountain, which the Tartars, for its ſtrange ſhape, call the Five-horſes-heads. Upon the tops of theſe hills, which are covered with clouds, and ſeemed inacceſſible, ſtood ſeveral odd ſtructures, ſome entire, others ruinous. Juſt beyond this mountain they were in great danger among other rocks and ſteep aſſents, called the *Five ugly Devils*, the river being full of ſplit ſhips lying under water. At length they got to *Suyt-jeen*, whoſe hills, intermixed with charming vales, ſtand along the river in as much order as if placed by art. The tops of them afford a ſurpriſing proſpect.

The fourth of April, they came to Nam-hung, the third chief city of Quang-tong, and frontier on this ſide. It lies about forty miles from Thau-chew, is very large and well ſituated, fortified with walls and bulwarks: it is divided by the river, covered with a bridge: it is full of idol temples, and noble ſtructures. There is alſo a cuſtom houſe, where they receive the Emperor's dues for all goods exported or imported: but there is no tumbling of the commodities, or fees to ſearchers, the bills of lading being taken on the merchant's word.

There is no better mould in all China for making earthen ware. Not far from hence is a river, called Me-kyang, or Ink-water, from its blackneſs, whoſe fiſh, which are commonly very white, are much eſteemed.

The ambaſſadors on their arrival going immediately on ſhore, the governor and magiſtrates ſent a letter of compliment, and not long after came themſelves in perſon, and were nobly treated. Next day the governor gave the Dutch a ſplendid dinner. He and the magiſtrates ſat all at one ſide of the table, that the diſhes might be removed without any diſturbance to the company. They were not ſerved up all at once, (according to the cuſtom of the Chineſe,) but only two at a time to each perſon, in ſixteen courſes. When dinner was over, every gueſt laid a piece of money at the governor's feet, to be divided among the muſicians and waiters. The ambaſſadors preſented them with ſix *tael* of ſilver, and ſome ſilks, which the governor at firſt refuſed, but at laſt accepted it.

At Nan-hyong they quitted their veſſels to go to Nan-gan, the next city on the road, by land; but the high hills and rugged aſcents make travelling very troubleſome. The mountain called Mu-glin, that was more difficult than all the reſt, one of the governors levelled at his own charge, ſo that it is now very paſſable; for which the inhabitants erected to his honour a ſtately temple. They were carried over the mountains in horſe litters, and to protect them againſt robbers that infeſted the road, had a guard appointed of an hundred and fifty ſoldiers; which, with thoſe who carried the goods, made a regiment of at leaſt ſix hundred men.

The ambaſſadors lodged the firſt night upon the mountains, in the vilage Su-ſan, about half way over, whoſe inhabitants had fled for fear of them.

Next day, about noon, they came to a narrow mountain, which ſeparates the provinces of Quang-tong and Kyang-ſi. It was adorned with ſeveral fair idol temples; and though no better than a wilderneſs, yet is rendered very delightful by its woods and vallies. At night they came to Nan-gan, the thirteenth firſt rank city of Kyang-ſi.

SECT. IV.—*Their Journey by Water from Nan-gan-fu to the Borders of the Province of Kyang-nan, or Nan-king.—The Ambaſſador's Reception at Nan-gan-fu.—Great Trade there.—A Whirlpool in the River.—Nan-kang-hyen.—Kan-chew-fu.—A great Tutang.—The City deſcribed.—Famous Temple.—Van-nan-gan City.—Lin-ge-iven.—Pek-kin-ſe.—Tay-ko-hyen.—Kin-un-gan-fu.—Dangerous Rocks.—Kye-ſhevi-hyen.—Kya-kyang-hyen.—Mountain Mung.—Fung-ching-hyen.—Nan-chang-fu.—The Tu-tang's Civility.—City deſcribed.—Famous Temple.—The Philoſopher's Elixir.—V-ſyen-hyen.—China Ware.—Nan-kang-fu.—Temples and Monaſteries.—Hu-kew-hyen.—Peng-ſe-hyen.—Chineſe Superſtition.*

THE ambaſſador's being arrived at Nan-gan, the governor ſent to receive them at the city gate, and with ſome perſons of quality viſited them at their lodgings: he ſent them likewiſe a handſome collection at the charge of the town, whoſe principal inhabitants often came to ſee them.

The commiſſioner appointed to furniſh them with boats here, not being able to get them ready ſo ſoon as he deſired, Pinxenton rated him with ſuch bitter expreſſions, that taking it to heart, he drew his knife and would have ſtabbed himſelf, had he not been prevented by one of that mandorin's ſervants.

The country about this city is very pleaſant and fruitful, ſurrounded with hills, one of which, for its delightfulneſs, being called Si-hoa, that is, a place of pleaſure.

This city is divided equally by an arm of the river Chang, which renders it a place of great trade; all merchandizes deſigned for Quang-tong and other neighbouring parts being unladen here.

The ſouth part of this city is well built and populous, but it falls ſhort of Nang-hung for bigneſs and ſtrength; although the Tartars were more favourable to it, forbearing to deſtroy ſuch fabricks as were of any note. On the north ſide is an idol temple, ſurprizingly rich and well contrived. The ambaſſadors ſtaid here four days.

The river Kan runs here as ſwift as an arrow from the bow, and is full of banks, ſanks, and ſhoals; ſo that, though they went down the ſtream, their ſhips were often in danger. In this paſſage the bark, in which was one of the ambaſſadors, with the preſents to the Great Khan, fell into a whirlpool, and being whirled about by the eddies, at laſt ran aground, and could not be gotten off till they had unladen her: the mandorins commanded the waterman and maſter to be ſeverely laſhed with a thick leather whip for their neglect; but the ambaſſadors interceded for the latter.

The fourteenth, they paſſed by the ſmall city Nan-kang, on the left ſide of the river Chang: it is ſquare, incloſed with a ſtrong wall twenty-five foot high: it has four gates near a mile aſunder. It was totally ruined in the Tartar war, and its trade deſtroyed. They landed here at their return. On the river ſide ſtands an high tower, ſtrong and well built. In the ſtreet leading from the ſouth gate, is the governor's palace, and at the end of it a noble triumphal arch, which the Tartars ſpared.

The fifteenth, they came to Kan-chew, the twelfth city of the firſt rank in Kiang-ſi, and were viſited aboard by ſome great mandorins in the name of the magiſtrates. The ambaſſadors in return viſited the great Tu-tang of this city, who received them with extraordinary courteſy, and conducted them into his private apartment, where he placed them on his right hand. This officer had the command over the provinces of Kyang-

ſi, Fo-kyen, Hu-quang, and Quan-tung, and conſequently was not much inferior to a viceroy.

The ambaſſadors offered him ſome preſents, but he refuſed them politely, ſaying, that he did not refuſe them out of a Chineſe diſſimulation, but only to obſerve the cuſtom of their country; which was not to receive preſents from any foreigners, till they had made their appearance at the imperial court.

Kan-chew ſtands cloſe to the river Kan (on the eaſt ſide), in a moſt delightful country. The city is ſquare, and ſurrounded with an high ſtone wall, about two miles in compaſs, in which are four gates. It is a place of great trade; the ſtreets are handſomely paved, and well built. At the eaſt end ſtands an high well built tower.

This town abounds with temples, richly adorned with pictures and images, one of which, called Kiul-kye-ſti-myau, or the church of Kuil-kye-ſti, may be reckoned amongſt the moſt eminent in all China.

Round the walls of this temple were ſeveral bedſteads for travellers and prieſts to lodge in; for theſe places generally ſerve for inns. In the porch on each ſide ſtood two giants of plaiſter, one fighting with a dragon, the other had a dwarf lying under his feet, with a drawn ſword in his hand. Beyond the river, upon an high hill, ſtands a temple, with a ſmall but curious chapel near it, where paſſengers make offerings to eſcape the rocks and ſhoals. If they miſcarry, they impute the cauſe to the meanneſs of the gift, or ſome other fault in themſelves.

At the place where the two rivers Chang and Kan meet, the ſtream is croſſed by a long bridge of boats, covered with planks, at the end of which ſtands a toll houſe.

The eighteenth, they paſſed by the ruinous city of Vannungam, which lies cloſe to the river Kan, on the eaſt ſide. The Tartars left nothing ſtanding that was any ways remarkable: it appears to have been a wondrous delightful place, very regularly built, and full of inhabitants. The adjacent country produces two crops a-year; and not far off lies an hill with a ſilver mine, but the law forbids the digging for ſilver.

On the eaſt ſide of this city is a mountain, called Chau, whoſe top reaches to the clouds; yet it is covered with trees and plants from bottom to top.

About half a mile from this place they ſaw lying the ſixth ſmall city, called Lingeiven, which has a ſmall inlet of the river Kan running up to it; but the whole lay in ruins, the Tartars having left nothing ſtanding but one triumphal arch.

They came next to an eminent village called Pekkinſa, moſt pleaſantly ſituated, where is a good trade for all naval materials. A great way on this ſide you ſee ſeveral cliffs cut in a ſurpriſing manner, but ruined by the Tartars. The author found one of them to be forty foot high. The like artificial rocks are to be ſeen in the Emperor's palace.

Late in the evening they came to the ſmall city Tay-ko, on the weſt ſide of the Kan, towards which it hath high and ſtrong walls. It ſtands in a charming country. The ſtreets are well enough paved, but very ſmall and narrow. All the ſtately edifices were deſtroyed by the Tartars, except an high tower and ſome idol temples.

The twenty-ninth of April, they arrived at Kin-un-gam, called by ſome Kyegan, the ninth prime city of Kyang-ſi: it ſtands in an hilly country, about forty miles from Tay-ko, or the weſtern ſide of the Kan. It is defended with tall battlements: but within all its noble ſtructures are deſtroyed by the Tartars, whom it reſiſted; except a few idol temples, one of which of modern building ſtands in an iſland oppoſite to the city. There are ſaid to be gold and ſilver mines in its neighbourhood.

The river near this city is very dangerous, from the rocks and ſhoals, called by the natives, Ze-pa-tan, which require expert pilots.

At night they got beyond Kye-ſhwi, (a city of the third rank), on the river Chang, along which is a ſtrong wall fifteen feet high. It is a mile and a half in compaſs, and ſurrounded with hills.

Next day they paſſed by Kya-kyang, (another city of the third rank.) It ſtands on the north ſide of the Kan, about thirty miles from Kye-ſhevi, at the foot of a mountain. A good part of its wall is built on the hills, and encloſe ploughed grounds. Moſt of the houſes were demoliſhed by the Tartars. Here is an ancient idol temple, famous for two gates, each being of one entire ſtone. Not far off ſtands the mountain Mung, whoſe top reaches the clouds, and ſides are cloathed with woods and paſtures.

Towards evening they got to Sin-kin, (a third rank city,) about twenty miles from Kya-kyang, which it reſembles in ſize and ruins. In the middle of the wall towards the Kan, is a very high and well built gate.

The twenty-ſecond, ſetting ſail early, they arrived at noon before Fung-ching, (a third rate city.) It ſtands in a flat ſoil, is built ſquare, and ſurrounded with an high wall above a mile in compaſs. On the north ſide is a populous well built ſuburb. Two great and high triumphal arches are much defaced, among other fine ſtructures, by the late wars. From the mountain Pe-chang, not far diſtant, falls a mighty torrent of water with a moſt hideous noiſe.

The twenty-third of April, they came to Nan chang, the chief city of Kyang-ſi, by which name alſo it is called by ſome. The magiſtrates immediately ſent four very commodious boats to fetch them aſhore, by reaſon of the ſands. Not long after they came themſelves to welcome them, and cauſed the mandorin Pinxenton to reſtore to the ambaſſadors one of the two boats which he had taken for his own uſe.

Next day the ambaſſador de Goyer (for de Keyzer was out of order) with all the train went to viſit the Tu-tang, or governor. He ſhewed his diſpleaſure at his interpreter for bringing the ambaſſador afoot, ſaying, that ſuch perſons as came from ſo remote parts, to congratulate his imperial majeſty upon his victories and proſperities, ought to be received in great ſtate: he was alſo very much offended at the Kanton mandorins, calling them aſſes. After the ambaſſador had taken his leave, one of the govenor's gentlemen brought him a fine horſe, and his ſecretary another, on which they rode to the water ſide. When the ambaſſadors ſet ſail, they were ſaluted with the great guns from the walls of the city; nor would the Tu-tang receive the preſents they offered him for the reaſon given by the great Tu tang of Kan-chew.

Nan-chang ſtands about five miles from Fung-ching, near the great lake Po-yang, and is encloſed with a ſtream like an iſland: it is ſquare, with high walls and ſeven gates, four of them very handſome. This city boaſts four ſtately temples, which are very richly adorned, and full of images. The moſt famous of them, called Thi-ſi-kong, is covered with glittering pantiles. At the entrance ſtands three buildings together; in the firſt is an idol, called Kou-ya, he ſits amongſt a great many others on a rich ſeat, cloathed after the manner of the old Romans, with a crimſon mantle hanging over his ſhoulders: on each ſide upon an high pole are two terrible dragons, with their necks extended, hiſſing. Round the ſecond ſtructure is a broad gallery full of idols.

On the right hand, as you enter the firſt of theſe edifices, there is a ſquare well full to the brim, twelve paces diameter, and curiouſly adorned with white ſtone.

The Chineſe believe ſtrange things of this idol Kou-ya and the well: they ſay, that formerly he dwelt here, and was very charitable to the poor; that his treaſure was never exhauſted, becauſe, being a great alchymiſt, he was poſſeſſed of the elixir, which converts all metals into gold: that by order of their gods, he once, like a ſecond St. George,

George, overcame a moſt hideous dragon, which threatened deſtruction to the city; and having bound him to an iron pillar, flung him into the well. That at laſt he with all his family were taken up into heaven; and that in return for his ſervices, the inhabitants erected this temple to him. Many other ſtories were told us of this their deity. Moſt of the other rare buildings were deſtroyed by the Tartars. In the laſt war, the province having revolted from thoſe conquerors, under the governor Kuins, born in Lyau-tong, after ſeveral battles, he was beſieged in this city. After four months, being preſſed by famine, he forced his way with his followers through the Tartar army; which, entering the city, they deſtroyed it with all the inhabitants.

The twenty-fifth, they came to the village V-ſyen-yen, famous for ſhipping. There was then a great reſort from all parts of the empire to lade with China ware. It lies near to the lake Po-yang, on the ſide of the river Kan, and is above a mile long: it is full of trade, and very handſomely built. On the ſide of a mountain near this place ſtands a well built idol temple, with a great many black lamps burning day and night. Here thoſe who croſs the lake ſacrifice a cock or hog, if able, to the hideous idol for a ſafe and ſpeedy paſſage, ſprinkling the blood on his body and claws. They offer up likewiſe the feet of the dead ſwine, and the ſpurs and comb of the cock. The reſt they feaſt on themſelves in honour of the idol. The author ſaw this ſacrifice.

The inhabitants told them, that the china was made in the village of Sinkteſuno, an hundred miles eaſtward near the city Fu-lyang, ſubject to Yan-chew; and that the earth was brought from the city Whey-chew, in the province of Nan-king, but that the inhabitants there could not make it, becauſe they knew not how to temper the earth with the water.

The twenty-ſixth, they came to the chief city Nan-kang, fifty miles from Kan-chang. It lies on the weſt ſide of the lake, which is very broad and long, on an hilly ground. The walls are both high and ſtrong, fortified with bulwarks, and a well built tower in the city. The ſtreets are very crooked, the firſt on the left hand as you enter has ſeveral fine triumphal arches, but the houſes are mean.

In view of the city ſtand ſeveral ſtately temples: the chief of them are built upon the mountains Quang-lyu and Yven-ſhyu, where dwell a great company of prieſts and friars, each in a little hut or cell, where they daily diſcipline themſelves with laſhing; which the people believe to be very meritorious in another world, for they hold the tranſmigration of ſouls. They told the Dutch, that on Quan-lyu, there were as many cloyſters as days in the year. The country abounds with hemp, whereof the natives make cloathes for ſummer.

The twenty-ninth, they got to the city Hu-kew, forty miles from Nan-kang, upon the narrow of the lake Po-yang, and right ſide of the river Kyang. To the north of the city appears an antique rock, which hangs ſomewhat over the river, and makes a moſt delightful proſpect, being covered with trees. At the bottom of this mountain ſtands a large and beautiful idol temple. The walls of this city are very thick and high. It drives an handſome trade, is full of people, well built, and abounds with proviſions.

Near this city is the hill She-chung, that is, Stone-bell, ſo called from the noiſe which the waters of the lake make in ſtormy weather, beating againſt the hill.

At their arrival both old and young came running to view them with great admiration; but on ſounding their trumpets, thinking to delight them, they were ſo affrighted, that they ran roaring back again.

From hence they ſailed eaſtward down the Kyang, which divides China from weſt to eaſt, to Peng-ſe. This place lies behind an iſland on the eaſt ſide of the river, and at the

the back of it are very high hills. It is well built, but far leſs than Hu-kew, which is thirty miles diſtant.

Near this city lies a mountain called Siau-ku, ſo ſteep and high, that it is inacceſſible. It is ſurrounded with water, and has on the ſouth ſide a ſafe road for ſhips. On the ſouth ſide of the Kyang lies alſo a hill called Ma-kong, talked off with terror through all China for the abundance of ſhipwrecks which happen near it.

The Chineſe pilots ſeeing the cook going to make a fire to dreſs dinner, came and fell on their knees before the ambaſſadors, and earneſtly entreated them to forbid any ſuch thing to be done, for that there was a certain ſpirit in this lake in the ſhape of a dragon, or great fiſh, who had the command over this country, and could not endure the ſmell of roaſted poultry, boiled bacon or the like; for as ſoon ſo he was ſenſible of any ſuch thing, he immediately raiſed a ſtorm, which did infallibly caſt away the veſſel. The ambaſſadors to pleaſe them ſent word to the cook, that they ſhould be content with a cold dinner for that day.

About noon, they paſſed by two pillars which ſtood in the middle of the river, and divide the province of Kyang-ſi from that of Nan-king.

SECT. V. — *The Ambaſſador's Journey continued from the Entrance of Kyang-nan to Nan-king. — Tong-lyew-hyen. — Gan-king-fu. — Chi-chew-fu. — Ton-ling-hyen. — V-fu-hyen. — Tay-ping-fu. — Arrive at Nan-king. — The City deſcribed. — Houſes and Shops. — Money in Uſe there. — Number of Inhabitants. — The Imperial Palace. — Huge Bell. — Annual Preſents to the Emperor. — Pau-lin-ſhi Temple. — Famous Porcelain Tower. — Character of the Inhabitants.*

HAVING entered the province of Nan-king, or rather Kyang-nan, on the twenty-ninth of April they came to Tong-lou, or Ton-lyew; a ſmall city ſubject to Chi-chew-fu, on the ſouth bank of the Kyang, in a very delightful ſoil, encompaſſed with fine hills. It is encloſed with a pretty ſtrong wall, fortified with bulwarks: but except one ſtreet and the governor's houſe, all the reſt is deſtroyed by the Tartars. Its trade conſiſts wholly in timber. Not far from the city, by the river, riſes the Kyew-wha, or nine headed mountain, much like the ſun flower hanging down his head.

Two miles beyond, they came to an iſland called Song-lo, and ſaw in their paſſage the firſt rank city Gan-king, eminent for wealth and trade, all ſhips ſtopping here in their way to Nan-king.

The thirtieth, they paſſed by Anhing, called by ſome Chi-chew, another capital city on the ſouth ſide of the river, where lies a fine ſuburb: the walls two miles in compaſs, and above twenty-five foot high, are fenced with watch towers and redoubts on an hill. Near the river ſtands a temple, with a ſtately ſteeple ſeven ſtories high.

Towards evening they came to Tong-ling, ſubject to Chi-chew, delightfully ſurrounded with woods, hills, and dales. This city, though but little, is well built, and encompaſſed with walls. It has a land locked harbour, guarded by a ſtrong caſtle, which very much enriches the place. Near it is a hill, remarkable for its echo; likewiſe the mountain Hing. ſo named from the plenty of apricots which grow there.

Departing hence the firſt of May, they came on the third to the caſtle V-pun. It ſtands near the river, is ſquare, and begirt with a ſtrong ſtone wall. In the middle is a well built temple, with a high roof, adorned with curious pictures.

They caſt anchor a little beyond, under the walls of U-fu, ſituate in an iſland, on whoſe

whoſe corners ſtrong block houſes are erected; but they have neither men nor guns to defend them. This city is cried up through all China for arms and lamps.

On the fourth, they paſſed by Tey-tong, which ſome call Tay-ping, lying in an iſland. The adjacent country, though full of hills and rocks, is yet exceedingly fertile, being watered by canals cut from the lake Tang-yang, which lies not far off to the ſouth eaſt, as well as from the river. At a diſtance they ſaw a high mountain called Tyen-mewen, that is, Heaven's gate; becauſe the Kyang runs here between two ſmall hills belonging to it, as through a gate. Over againſt the city lies another iſland, all of one entire rock, called Hyau, from the night birds which breed in the cavities thereof.

They were told, that this had been a ſtately city, and full of trade, which appeared by three gallant towers upon the river ſide; but it was totally ruined by the Tartars.

The ſame day, they caſt anchor before the Su-ſi-mon, or water gate of Nan king.

Next day, the ambaſſadors went in palankins, or ſedans, and their followers on horſeback, to viſit the three governors of this city: the two chief were Chineſe, born in Lyau-tong. They were conducted in great ſtate by the agent of the young viceroy of Kanton, who reſided here and by two mandorins of the ſame place, Penxenton ſtaying behind.

The chief governor ſhewed the ambaſſadors his withdrawing room, and made them ſit down next to him: the ſecond was no leſs courteous; but neither would receive preſents, for reaſons already given.

The third, who dwelt in the old imperial palace, ſent for the ambaſſadors into his chamber; which was ſquare, with benches round it covered with ſilk, and a ſtove for winter. This governor was a Tartar, a young, well ſet man; but not underſtanding the Chineſe language, his ſons were interpreters. His wife, a comely lady, who was preſent, ſpoke more than her huſband, and ſeemed very inquiſitive about Holland: far from being diſmayed at their arms, ſhe drew out their ſwords, and diſcharged their piſtols, which much delighted her. The room was preſently filled with Tartar gentlewomen, who waited on her, and brought a great ſilver kettle full of tea, mingled with milk and ſalt, which they placed in the middle of the chamber, and ſerved about with wooden ladles. This ſort of tea is always drank out of wooden veſſels.

Viſiting over, the agent conducted the ambaſſadors to his own houſe, and treated them with a ſumptuous dinner. At night they returned aboard their veſſels, in which they lay all their voyage, both to and from Peking, except at Kanton, Nangan, and Pe-king.

This ſtately city, which is by far the beſt in all China, lies about thirty-five miles from Tay-hing, on the eaſt ſide of the Kyang, and in thirty-two degrees of latitude. Her ſituation is moſt pleaſant, and the ſoil luxurious. The river runs quite through this city, whereof ſome ſtreams, covered with bridges, are navigable for great veſſels. This had been long the imperial court, till removed to Pe-king (by Hong-vu, about 1368) the better to prevent the invaſions of the Tartar; and at preſent the governor of the ſouthern provinces reſides here.

From the river, you paſs up to the town by a broad and deep canal, about half a mile long; and then paſs over, on a bridge of boats, into the city, which is round, cloſe, and well built. The wall is ſix Dutch miles in compaſs, excluding the ſuburbs, which runs out much farther. It is built of ſtone, above thirty foot high, with breaſt works and watch towers. It hath thirteen gates, whoſe doors, plated with iron and guarded continually with horſe and foot, are built on four or five arches. So great a number of people paſſed continually through the gate they lay before, that there was no getting in or out without much crowding. There is, without this wall, another ſtrong

incloſure

inclofure for defence of the city, two days journey in compafs, if you will believe the Chinefe.

The chief ftreets of this city are twenty-eight paces broad, very neatly paved, and ftraight. There is, in no other part of the world, fuch good order obferved for preventing houfebreaking, or other difturbances, in the night.

The common houfes are but mean, built without any convenience, and ftand with the crofs ridges next the ftreet. They are but one ftory high, have but one door to go in and out at, and but one room to eat and fleep in. Next the ftreet appears only a fquare hole for a window; which is commonly covered with reeds, inftead of glafs, to prevent people from looking in. They are covered with white pantiles, and the outfides white waflied.

Thofe who dwell in fuch houfes, have a very poor trade; but the fhops of the better fort are filled with all manner of rich commodities of the empire, as cottons, filks, china ware, pearls, diamonds, and the like. Before each fhop ftands a board, with the name of the mafter, in gold letters, and what goods he fells. On one fide of the board there is a high pole, which reaches above the houfe, upon which they hang pennons and flags, or fomething elfe, by way of a fign.

Inftead of coined money, they ufe here (as indeed all over China) fmall pieces of filver, of different fizes. To avoid being cheated, you muft carry fcales about you, and watch the Chinefe, who have two forts of weights, and are very dexterous at changing them.

Although there are above a million of inhabitants in Nan-king, befides a garrifon of forty thoufand Tartars, yet provifions of all forts are exceedingly cheap all the year round. Amongft other fruits there are moft delicious cherries.

As no city efcaped better in the late wars than this, it excels all others in China for ftately idol temples, towers, triumphal arches, and other buildings, of which the Emperor's palace, fituate on the fouth fide, was the chief. This was the only part which the Tartars deftroyed. It was a fquare, furrounded with a (high brick) wall, now much decayed, which incloles the greater part of the city, each fide being three miles and a half long; fo that it was as big as Haerlem in Holland. Within the firft gate lay a large court, which led to the four fquares and was paved with fine fmooth ftone.

The Tartars feated themfelves in huts, near an idol temple called Pau-lin-fhi, leaving the city to the Chinefe. The buildings are all of a hard fort of ftone, curioufly painted with yellow; fo that when the fun fhines, they glitter like gold.

Over the gate of the fecond court of this palace hangs a great bell, about ten or eleven foot in height, three fathoms and an half in circumference, and near a quarter of a yard thick. The Chinefe boafted much of its loud found; but the Dutch found it very dull, and the metal not fo good as that of European bells.

Every three months five fhips are fent from hence to Pe-king, laden with all manner of filks and woollen cloths, as prefents to the Emperor; for which reafon they are called Long-i-chwen, that is, fhips with dragon cloths. The author never faw any thing like them. They were moft curioufly contrived and adorned with images; and fo thickly gilded and painted on the outfides, that it made his eyes dazzle to look on them.

Among other prefents are certain fifh, taken here, in the river Kyang, in May and June, called by the Chinefe, Si-yu, but by the Portugueze, Savel. Thefe being fent in boats, drawn by men day and night, are conveyed often twice a week frefh and good, to Pe-king, more than two hundred Dutch miles, in eight or ten days.

The ambaffadors often went to take the air and view the city: one day they rode to

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ſee the famous temple before mentioned, and plain of Pau-lin-ſhi, which contains ſeveral curious ſtructures. In one, exceeding the reſt for art, beauty, and coſt, they ſaw at leaſt ten thouſand images, all made of plaiſter (ſome ſix foot high but moſt of them only one) placed round the galleries and walls, in handſome order. The prieſts received the ambaſſadors with great reſpect, and ſet open all the doors of their temples.

In the middle of the plain ſtands a high ſteeple, or tower, made of porcelain, which far exceeds all other workmanſhip of the Chineſe in coſt and ſkill. It has nine ſtories, and an hundred and eighty-four ſteps to the top: each ſtory is adorned with a gallery full of images and pictures, with very handſome lights. The outſide is all glazed over, and painted with green, red, and yellow. The parts or materials of which this fabric is compoſed are ſo artfully joined, that the work ſeems to be all one entire piece. Round the corners of the galleries hang little bells, which make a very pretty noiſe when the wind jingles them. On the top of the tower was a pine apple, as they ſay, of maſſy gold. From the upper gallery, you have proſpects over the whole city and adjacent country, to the other ſide of the Kyang. This wonderful pile the Chineſe built by command, and in honour of the Tartar, who conquered their country ſeven hundred years ago.

This plain is ſurrounded with woods of pine, where formerly ſtood the ſepulchres of the emperors, now totally demoliſhed by the Tartars.

The Dutch found the inhabitants of Nan-king to exceed all the reſt of the nation in ſincerity, civility, knowledge, and underſtanding. The Tartars allow them very great privileges, that being the beſt method, in their opinion, to prevent rebellions.

They found here one Manual of Liſbon, a Jeſuit, who often viſited them, and profeſſed great kindneſs.

The ambaſſadors were very deſirous to have written from hence to Japan, but were informed, that the paſſage thither had been forbidden three years before; on complaint of the unſhaven Chineſe, that ſome of Koxinga the pirates men in that iſland, had injured them. Theſe unſhaven Chineſe are ſuch as will not ſubmit to the government of the Great Khan, nor cut their hair after the Tartar faſhion, as the conqueror had commanded, leaving only one lock behind. Rather than comply with this law, many thouſands choſe to ſuffer death.

SECT. VI.—*Continuation of the Journey from Nan-king to the Province of Shan-tong.—They leave Nan-king.—A Sacrifice.—Je-Jeu-hyen.—Sturdy Beggars.—The Pirate Koxinga's Attempt,—Quan-chew.—Famous Temples.—Jang-ſe-fu.—Handſome Women.—The City deſcribed.—Feaſt of the New Year.—Odd ſhaped, but ſumptuous Barks.—Ka-yu-iſya, or Kau-yew-chew, deſcribed.—Pau-ing-hyen.—Whay-ngan-fu.—Sluices.—Rivers and Lakes.—Viſit from a Jeſuit.—Siang-pu Village.—The Whang-ho, or Yellow River.—Tau-hen-hyen.—Tſi-ſang.—Floating Villages deſcribed.—They enter the Province of Shang-tong.*

THE ambaſſadors, who had hitherto made uſe of ordinary barks and boats, were now accommodated with two of the Emperor's veſſels; which were very large and commodious, all gilded and painted with dragons, having a place for muſic at one end. They were accompanied by ſeveral perſons from Nan-king, beſides the Kanton ſoldiers, whom they lodged in the muſic room.

Pinxenton and the two other mandorins had alſo two veſſels. They all ſet ſail from Nan-king the eighteenth of May, and paſſed by the ſhip-bridge of fourteen arches.

Being come to the fartheſt point of the city walls, about two miles from the Su-ſi-mon, or water-gate, Pinxenton, with the whole fleet, ſtopped to make an offering to a famous idol in a temple which ſtood there, in order to obtain a proſperous voyage. The ſacrifice, which conſiſted of ſwine, goats, and cocks, was performed after this manner: the ſwine and goats, after being killed and cleanſed, were laid upon the altar, behind which ſtood the chief image, and on the ſide ſeveral little ones; theſe were ſprinkled with the blood of the cocks, and afterwards wiped clean. During the ceremony, the prieſts, upon their knees, made ſeveral grimaces and mutterings to themſelves, as if they and the God had been in ſome earneſt diſpute, great tapers burning all the while.

From hence, ſailing eaſtward down the river Kyang with great ſpeed, they came in the evening to a famous village, called Wangſien. They proceeded next morning, and on the twentieth of June reached Je-jen-jeen, which ſome call Ho-ho, on the north ſide of the Kyang, about ſixty miles from Nan-king. This city, though but ſmall, is very pleaſant and of great trade. It is built mighty cloſe, and adorned with temples. The walls are ſtrong, but not very high; and without is a populous well built ſuburb.

Here ſeveral beggars came aboard to ſhew their tricks. Amongſt the reſt, there were two, who knocked their heads with great force one againſt the other till the company beſtowed their charity on them; otherwiſe they would continue tolting them till one or both had been killed, as hath often happened. The author ſaw likewiſe in this city another beggar, who kneeling down, and after muttering to himſelf, ſtruck his forehead againſt a round ſtone with ſo much violence, that he made the earth ſhake under him. Theſe and ſeveral other arts they practiſe to ſqueeze alms from ſtrangers.

They were told here, that the famous pirate Koxinga had landed ſome force, thinking to ſurprize this city, but was obliged by the inhabitants to retreat to his ſhips with the loſs of a great number of men; however, he burnt ſeveral of their veſſels, and carried away a conſiderable number: likewiſe, that he had ſeized five great and fruitful iſlands in the river, about twenty miles from Je-jen-jeen, to harbour his ſhips in ſtormy weather.

Next morning, ſetting forward, they found upon the north ſide of the Kyang, near to the caſtle of Quam-chew, a large ſtone ſluice, through which they paſſed into a canal made for a communication with the Yellow river. This artificial channel being cut at the Emperor's charge, is called the royal water. There is nothing more pleaſant to be ſeen in the world: the banks on each ſide are ſmooth and large, planted with ſtately and ſhady trees, the adjacent country embelliſhed with rich paſtures and delightful woods, (the like not to be ſeen in all Aſia,) interſperſed with abundance of wealthy towns and villages, pleaſant ſeats, and ſtately dwellings.

Towards the entrance of this canal ſtood a famous temple of the idol Kin-kang; and farther on they ſaw at a diſtance another great temple, called Quang-gua myau, adorned with a very fine tower of ſix ſtories. The Chineſe and Tartars who accompanied the Dutch would fain have ſtayed to offer up cocks, hogs, and goats, for a proſperous voyage, but the ambaſſadors could not be prevailed with to loſe ſo much time; only they gave leave to ſome to go ſee the place, which is ſet round with images, and the altar with lamps that burn day and night.

The twenty-fourth, they came to Jang-ſe-fu, called by ſome Yang-chew-fu, the ſeventh capital city of this province. It lies about twenty miles from Je-jen-jeen, is built ſquare, at leaſt five miles in compaſs, and ſurrounded with walls and ſtrong bulwarks; exceeding moſt cities in China for wealth and trade, which conſiſts chiefly in ſalt tranſported hence into moſt of the other provinces. They ſaw on the eaſt ſide of the city, a great many pans, wherein they boil the ſea water day and night.

This city is famous throughout China for comely and good humoured women. They have very ſmall feet, and handſome legs; ſo that it paſſes for a proverb, that if a man would have a wife with a ſlender ſhape, brown hair, and a handſome leg and foot, he muſt come to Jang-ſe-fu; yet they no where bear ſo low a price, for parents may ſell both their ſervants and daughters for proſtitutes.

The emperor hath here a cuſtom-houſe to receive the duties on all goods that paſs. The city is well built and full of canals, covered with ſtone bridges. On the weſt ſide are very large ſuburbs, moſt of which were deſtroyed in the laſt Tartar war, but they are rebuilding them faſt. Near this city is a very high mountain called Heng.

The twenty-fifth, departing, they ſaw on the bank of the canal twelve ſtone ovens; and not far from thence, on the left, lies the burial city of a great Soltan, much reverenced by the Chineſe. About noon they came to a village called Saw-pû, where the inhabitants were celebrating the feaſt of the new year, it being then full moon, with great acclamations and ſigns of joy, making bonfires, and lighting up candles. They ran likewiſe up and down the ſtreets as if diſtracted, with tapers in their hands twiſted together in the form of dragons. The mandorin Pinxenton and his lady aſſiſted at this ſolemnity.

They found here a great variety of ſtrange built veſſels. Among the reſt were two barks or ſloops, called Long-ſchon, that is, ſerpent boats. They were curiouſly painted with all manner of colours, and ſeemed much to exceed thoſe boats which carry the fiſh from Nan-king to Pe-king for the Emperor's uſe. They were ſhaped like a water-ſnake, and had three maſts. The ſtern was full of ſerpents, faſtened with ribbons of ſeveral colours, and decked with ſtandards, ſet off with taſſels of hair, ſilk flags and long feathers. At it hung two nimble boys, who played tricks to divert the ſpectators. Upon the top of each maſt ſtood an idol, adorned with ſilk flags and pennants; and on the poop another, dreſſed with ducks and drakes, whom a Chineſe was continually torturing with a fork. The edges of the bark were hung round with gold and ſilver fringe. Under a lofty pavilion, thick ſet with flags and ſtandards, ſat twelve luſty ſeamen cloathed in ſilk, with gilt crowns upon their heads, and their arms naked: they came aboard the ambaſſadors to make their compliments, and were requited with ſome preſents.

The twenty-ſixth of May, they came to Ka-yu-tſya, called by ſome Kau-yew, a city of the ſecond rank or order, near a great lake, named Pye-ſhe, which ſupplies the royal canal with water. Formerly, when the paſſage was through the lake itſelf, barks uſed to lie weather-bound at this city, not daring to venture out in bad weather: for this reaſon a canal was made on the eaſtern ſide of it ſixty furlongs in length, with white ſtone.

Kau-yew is very populous, and has ſtately ſuburbs, built very cloſe and full of large houſes. The bands round it produce great ſtore of rice, and is ſo thick ſet with dwellings, that it looks like one continued village. The country to the weſt lies much under water. As no trees will thrive hereabout, their only firing is reeds, which grow on the ſides of the lake. The chief produce of the ſoil is rice, which muſt be looked after very narrowly, leſt it periſh by much moiſture or drought: hence wind-mills with mat ſails are ſo numerous in this country, being uſed to draw out the water in a moiſt ſeaſon, and in a hot one to let it in. By this means the inhabitants have two plentiful harveſts in a year.

The twenty-ſeventh, leaving Kaw-yew, they came to Pau-ing, (by ſome called Pau-ſyen) a city of the third order, twenty miles diſtant, and on the eaſt ſide of the royal canal. It is ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, and of a circular form, being about a mile

and an half round. On the eaſt it has the lake She-yang, and on the ſouth weſt that of Pye-ſhe.

This city, which was quite deſtroyed by the Tartars, appears, by the ruins of the wall and great edifices, to have been very ſtately, rich, and populous. Amongſt the buildings yet ſtanding is a famous temple without the wall, on the north ſide of the city.

The twenty-eighth, they arrived at Whay-ngan, the eighth capital city of Kyang-nan: it lies on the eaſt ſide of the royal river, about thirty Engliſh miles from Pau-in, in a flat and marſhy ſoil. It is ſurrounded with a wall, and divided by another into two parts; that to the ſouth called Whay-ngan, the other to north eaſt Yen-ching. The former of theſe has ſtately ſuburbs.

This viceroy keeps his court here in great ſplendour, commanding over the ſeven ſoutherly provinces immediately under the Emperor. His office is to inſpect the grand Khân's revenue, conſiſting chiefly in proviſions of rice, &c.

To prevent the river Whay from overflowing the adjacent country, they have made two great ſluices, with ſtrong and high banks, which confine his ſtream when ſwelled by the torrents that are on the north ſide of the city.

There are two cuſtom houſes in the ſuburbs of Whay-ngan, one to receive the duties on goods, the other thoſe on the barks paſſing this way.

The city is well built, and full of wealthy inhabitants. Not far from hence, on a very high mountain, called Yo-chew, ſtands a ſtately temple, with cloiſters to lodge devotees.

The country is full of rivers and lakes, particularly that great one called She-ho, another to the eaſt called Hung, producing reeds, which ſerve for firing, wood being very ſcarce throughout this province.

It being very foul weather when the ambaſſadors arrived, the viceroy and magiſtrates excuſed them from making the viſit intended. The mandorin Pixnento, according to his cuſtom, gave them a very noble dinner, and in the evening, one Gaſcomez, a Jeſuit, came to ſalute the ambaſſadors aboard their veſſel. He ſeemed to be a very open-hearted perſon, profeſſed great affection for the Dutch; and hinted, that they would meet with great oppoſition from the Portugueſe, which proved true enough.

They departed next morning, paſſing through luxurious fields, and in the evening ſhot a very great ſluice, at the entrance of a famous village called Siampu, which is of a very great length, and handſomely adorned with temples and houſes on both ſides of the canal. It has a cuſtom houſe for the Emperor, one of whoſe officers ſearched all the barks, but thoſe which carried the ambaſſadors.

The next night they came to another village called Ney-ne-myau, into which they were let by two great ſluices. They ſaw the ruins of a great caſtle, which defended the Yellow river and the canal, but the Tartars deſtroyed it.

The day following they ſet ſail, and came into the great Yellow river, called by ſome the Saffron river; which is ſo thick and muddy, that it is ſcarce paſſable, and at a diſtance it ſeems to be a marſhy plaſh: yet the current is ſo violent, that no veſſels are able to ſail againſt the ſtream, but muſt be towed by a great number of bargemen. In ſome places it is half a mile broad, and in ſome more. The Chineſe make this water very clear by flinging alum into it.

On the firſt of June, they came to the little city of Tau-yen-hyen, which is ſituate on the (weſt) ſide of the Yellow river, and fenced with a broad and ſtrong mud wall. It is repleniſhed with handſome buildings, and full of rich inhabitants, who drive a very great trade.

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The country is very fruitful in pears, apples, prunes, cherries, and the like; and abounds likewiſe in quails, pheaſants, and other ſorts of fowl.

From hence, they ſailed three days, before they came to any conſiderable place; at laſt, on the fourth, they arrived at the ſmall town of Tſi-ſang, ſituate in a very delightful ſoil, at the foot of an high hill. Though it has no walls, or any remarkable buildings, except a ſtrong caſtle, yet its trade is great, and inhabitants are rich. At the entrance into the town ſtands a ſtately temple upon a ſteep eminence.

They ſaw on this Yellow river, which is continually plowed with great and ſmall veſſels, ſeveral floating iſlands, very artfully contrived, of Bambû canes, twiſted ſo cloſe together, that no moiſture can penetrate. Upon theſe foundations the Chineſe ſet up huts, or little houſes of boards, and other light materials, in which they live with their wives, children, and cattle. Some of theſe floating towns are large enough to contain two hundred families, which ſubſiſt, for the moſt part, by traffic up and down the river. Whereſoever they come, they ſtay for ſome months before they remove, faſtening their iſland with poles fixed in the ground.

After ſome hours ſailing, they paſſed into another royal canal, called Inn-yun, cut from the Yellow river weſtward through the whole province of Shang-tong, into which they now entered.

SECT. VII.—*The Journey continued from the Entrance into Shan-tong to Tyen-tſing-wey, in the Province of Pe-chi-li, or Pe-king.—Royal Canal of Yun.—Kya-kya, fine Village.—Si-ning-chew City.—Fiſhing with Birds, Manner of it.—Strange Phænomenon.—Shan-tſui-hyen.—Fine Country and Temple.—Tong-chang-fu.—Fruitful Soil.—Sort of Bezoar found in Cows.—Lin-tſin-chew: the City deſcribed.—Famous Temple: its beautiful Structure.—Vu-ching-hyen.—Ku-ching-hyen.—Ta-chew.—Ton-quan-hyen.—Sang-lo.—The Governor's Lady.—Sing-ki-tſyen.—Sing-ko-tſyen.—Elegant Temple.—Sing-ye.—Swarms of Locuſts.*

THE province of Shan-tong, into which they entered, is much enriched by this great artificial channel Yun; which beginning in Kyang-nan, at the city So-ſyen, on the Yellow river, paſſes thence into Shan-tong to the city Si-ning-chew, and on forwards to Lin-ſing, where it enters the river Guey. This canal hath at leaſt ſixty ſtone ſluices, without which it would not be navigable, the water in ſome places running very low. Each ſluice is attended by eight men to help through with the veſſels.

On the ſixth of June, they came to a famous village called Kya-Kya, which is very rich, and well built, containing ſeveral handſome edifices. It is encompaſſed with pleaſant and fruitful fields, full of roſemary; ſo that their veniſon taſtes of it, as they found by the fleſh of ſeveral ſtags and deer which they ran down. They ſaw likewiſe abundance of all ſorts of fowl, eſpecially pheaſants, and delighted the Tartars with ſhooting them flying.

They were three days on the canal without ſeeing any conſiderable place; but on the eleventh, arrived at another noted village called Jack-ſhin-no, in and about which ſtands thirty-ſix ſtately towers. They ſet forward, paſſing for two days through a country full of corn fields, with high hills to the eaſt.

The thirteenth, they came to Si-ning-chew, a ſecond rank city under Yeng-chew-fû, ſituate about the middle of the royal canal Yun, and encompaſſed with flat and marſhy lands, full of pools and rivers, abounding with fiſh. Here cuſtom is paid both for ſhip and goods. It exceeds even the chief city for trade, number of inhabitants and people

people of figure. Among other ſtately edifices, there are two famous temples beautified with pictures. On each ſide of the royal canal there is large ſuburbs, and a great ſluice to keep off the out water, which ſometimes riſes ſix foot higher than the water within.

Here they ſaw them catch fiſh with a bird, called Lou-wa, ſomewhat leſs than a gooſe, and not much unlike a raven. It has a long neck, and a bill like an eagle. They go out in ſmall boats, made of Bambû canes, placing the bird on the outſide, which on ſight of a fiſh ſhoots down and ſwims after it under water. As ſoon as ſhe has caught her prey ſhe riſes, and the fiſhermen having taken it from her, ſends her out to ſeek more.

To prevent the bird from ſwallowing the prey, they put an iron ring about her neck. If the fiſh is too big for her to bring up, ſhe makes a noiſe in the water for the maſter to come to her help. When they have caught enough for their owners, the ring is taken off, and they are left to fiſh for themſelves. In caſe they are averſe to dive, they are brought to it by beating. The fiſhermen pay a yearly tribute to the Emperor for the uſe of theſe birds, which are much valued by the Chineſe. One of thoſe, which are well taught, is often ſold for fifty tael of ſilver, which is about an hundred and fifty guilders. The Dutch would have bought a couple of an old fiſherman, of whom they had ſome carp, but he refuſed to ſell them, becauſe they ſerved to maintain his family. He could not inform them either whence thoſe birds came, or how they were inſtructed; only he ſaid they were left him by his anceſtors, and bred very ſeldom.

All the public inns and victualling houſes have their fidlers and comedians to recreate their gueſts at meals. Proviſions are very cheap in thoſe parts: the Dutch paid but two ſhillings a piece for their dinner, which conſiſted of ſeveral diſhes.

Next day they left Si-ning, and after a few hours ſailing, paſſed by the village Nam-waig, where the royal canal joins the river Luen. The Tartars and Chineſe told the Dutch ſtrange ſtories of this river: amongſt the reſt, that if you fling in nine ſticks, ſix would drive to the ſouth, and three toward the north; which the Dutch, upon trial, found to be true, but none could account for it.

The nineteenth, they came to Shan-tſui, a ſmall city about thirty miles from Si-ning, and ſubject to Yen-chew. It is divided into two parts by the royal canal, and guarded at each end with a ſtrong caſtle. It is ſquare, well built, and encompaſſed with high walls, fortified with ſtrong bulwarks. Here they ſaw the ruins of ſeveral great buildings, defaced by the Tartars. The adjacent country is often overflowed by the Yellow river, which ſometimes drowns and carries away whole towns and villages.

Next morning they proceeded, paſſing by many fair villages and corn fields, as well as through ſeveral ſtrong ſluices.

Not far from Shan-tſui ſtands one of the moſt famed temples in all China, called Tey-wan-myau. It is built very high and ſtrong, with grey ſtone, and nobly adorned. The top is covered with yellow glazed tiles, and the walls are painted with the ſame colour; ſo that when the ſun ſhines, it glitters all over like gold.

The twentieth of June, they came to Tong-chang, the third capital city of Shantong. Its form is ſquare, and walls defended with bulwarks: the ſtreets are large and well built. In the middle of the city ſtands an high and curious fabric, with four noble arches: it is fenced with ſtrong walls and towers, in which are ſeveral grates. The city is encompaſſed with a broad water, covered on the north ſide by a bridge an hundred and thirty-ſeven foot long. On the ſouth ſide are ſtately ſuburbs, which for number

number of inhabitants, fine buildings, and greatneſs of trade, may paſs for another city. Toward the eaſt they were ſhewed a very large iron tomb, erected above ſeven hundred years before in honour of ſome great lord, who loſt his life in the wars for defence of his country.

The land round Tong-chang is very low and flat, but wondrous fruitful. No part of China produces ſo much ſilk as this, the inhabitants thereof living chiefly by this manufacture.

Here is ſometimes found, in the maw of the cows, a ſtone called Nyew-whang, that is, the yellow of the cows, from its colour. It is about the bigneſs of a gooſe egg, of a ſoft, chalky ſubſtance, and by ſome thought to be the bezoar ſtone. It is eſteemed ſovereign in fainting fits.

Next morning, ſetting ſail, they paſſed over the lake Nan-yang, which abounds with fiſh, and that night came to the city of Lin-ſing, about thirty miles from Tong-chang, and ſituated on both ſides of the royal canal; which, at the end thereof, enters the river Guey, ſeparating the province of Shan-tong, from that of Pe-king.

They were no ſooner arrived at this city, but the governor appeared upon the wall to welcome and receive the ambaſſadors; intimating, that he could not entertain them at his court, becauſe they had not yet appeared before the Emperor, and for the ſame reaſon refuſed their preſents.

Lin-ſing exceeds all the other eighteen cities depending on Tong-chang, in number of people, ſplendour of buildings, plenty of all things, and greatneſs of commerce; neither gives ſhe place to any inferior city in the whole empire. Near the city ſtand two ſtrong and large caſtles, one on each ſide of the royal canal, and oppoſite to the other, ſo that no veſſel can paſs without paying the duties. Between Shan-tſui and this city there are fifty-eight ſluices. There are two ſtrong ones juſt before the city, made to force back the upper water which runs from the river Guey, and is ſometimes two or three foot higher than the water of the canal. On the north ſide of the city lies a wooden bridge of nine arches, with a drawbridge in the middle to let through the barks.

Ling-ſing ſtands in a flat, ſandy ſoil, is very large, and ſurrounded with a mud wall, coped with ſtone. It abounds with all manner of fruit, and amongſt the reſt well reliſhed pears.

Without the wall, on the north ſide, ſtands an eminent temple, with an high tower, built after an exceeding curious manner. It is aſcended by a pair of winding ſtairs, which are not built in the middle of the tower, but in the wall, which is double. The tower itſelf is an octagon of eight ſtories, each thirteen foot and an half high, whence the height of the whole is an hundred and twenty foot, and proportionably thick. The outward wall is of the ſame mould as the China diſhes, and full of fretwork: the walls within are of poliſhed marble of ſeveral colours, as ſmooth as a looking glaſs. The galleries which are nine, are of marble, cut in figures or images, with fine copper bells at the corners, according to the Chineſe faſhion. The windows belonging to theſe galleries are full of gilded bars. Upon the top of the tower ſtands the ſtatue of the goddeſs to whom the temple is dedicated, made of plaiſter work: it is thirty foot high, and inlaid with gold and ſilver. The images ſtanding round this tower are ſo curiouſly wrought that they may be reckoned amongſt the greateſt curioſities in China.

Pinxenton left his wife and children in this city; and a Dutch trumpeter, who died there, was buried in the idol temple with the conſent of the magiſtrates.

Leaving

Leaving Lin-fing, they quitted the royal canal, and entered the river Guey, failing eaſtward down the ſtream; and arrived on the twenty-fifth at the city of Vu-chin, thirty miles from Ling-fing. It is delightfully ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the river, in the borders of Shang-tong, and encompaſſed with a ſquare wall. On the north ſide are large ſuburbs, cloſe built with ſtately houſes; but the great edifices were all ruined by the Tartars, and the inhabitants ſeverely treated.

The twenty-ſixth of June, they got to Kû-ching, the firſt place they came at in the province of Pe-king, a city of the third rank, dependent on Ho-kyen-fû. It lies about twenty-three miles from Vu-ching, on the (north) ſide of the Guey, in a delightful flat country. The walls are high and well built, the ſuburbs very magnificent, and the whole full of people and commerce. They made no ſtay here, but proceeding, ſaw by the way, on both ſides of the river, whole fields full of cotton trees, which occaſions a mighty trade in the neighbouring parts.

The twenty-eighth, they came to Ta-chew, which ſome call U-kyau, about eighteen miles from Kû-ching. It is ſituated on the (eaſt) ſide of the river, and ſurrounded with a wall thirty foot high, ſtrengthened with bulwarks and watch-towers. It depends on Ho-kyen-fû, is well built, and adorned with ſeveral temples, having alſo a large ſuburb, which extends far on both ſides of the river.

This city is the great mart for the Zam-zou, which is made of rice, and drank inſtead of wine. It is exported hence to all parts of China.

The Chineſe told them, that about ten miles off, near to the city Hyen, there was a pool called Vo, whoſe water, if a ſtick be thrown into it, turns as red as blood, and that if any leaves fall from the trees which grow about the ſides, they are inſtantly changed into ſwallows.

The twenty-eighth of June, they ſailed by Tong-guan, which lies in a flat-country that extends to the ocean, about a muſket ſhot from the Guey (on the eaſt ſide), ſubject to Ho-kyen. This place alone enjoys the privilege of having a guard only of Chineſe: it is a ſquare, ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, and a ditch both broad and deep. The fields near the town are curiouſly planted with all manner of fruit trees.

At the motion of Pinxenton, the author and ſome others were ſent, with twelve Tartar ſoldiers, into the city, to ſee a lion made of iron that ſtood in the market place, which they reported to be extraordinarily large and terrible: but the Chineſe, when they ſaw them coming, ſhut the gates for fear of the Dutch.

On the ſecond of July, they caſt anchor before the city of Sang-lo, about fifty-five miles from Tong-quan, (on the right ſide of the Guey.) It is a little diſtant from the river, is walled and has on both banks of it very fine ſuburbs, which are well built, like the city, and full of people and trade. The Tartars who dwell here are more numerous, and of better quality than they had found in any other place. Theſe immediately came aboard in great ſtate to bid them welcome; and the Dutch going aſhore paſſed through five old triumphal arches on the eaſt ſide of the city.

The governor's lady ſent a ſoldier to the author, and ſome others of the retinue, deſiring them to come to her. They were conducted into a very large parlour, where ſhe, attended by ſeveral Tartar ladies richly dreſſed, expected them. She made Nieuhoff ſit down, and aſked him ſeveral queſtions concerning Holland. Afterwards they were treated with a noble banquet. Her huſband was in great favour with the Emperor, and then at Pe-king.

The ſame day they left Sang-lo, and came in the evening to the village of Ton-nau, ſituated over againſt a ſtrong caſtle, with a large garriſon of Tartars. The houſes are of mud, and fit only for dog-kennels, or the uncivil inhabitants, who live by plundering thoſe who paſs without a guard.

On the third they came to Sing-ki-tſyen, which, for brevity, ſome call Sing, a third rank city under Ho-kyen. It lies on the (right hand of the) river Guey, in a flat and pleaſant ſoil, about ten miles from Sang-lo. This town, though not very large, is populous, and has a great trade, like moſt of the cities on this river. Several noble ſtructures yet ſtanding in and about it ſhew, that this was formerly a moſt magnificent place.

The adjacent country, (which is ſtored with cattle, and the rivers with fiſh) is all flat, only there is one hill not far off, called Si, whoſe top is a pleaſant and fruitful plain.

Next day they ſailed by Sing-ko-tſyen, another third rate city under Ho-kyen, about eight miles from Sing-ki-tſyen. It is neither large, populous, nor of much trade, but very ſtrong, having ſeveral watch towers and bulwarks for its defence; and though adorned with ſome fine buildings, moſt of the houſes are very mean and little.

Its greateſt ornaments are the temples; but one, which ſtands without the walls, in an open field, exceeds all the reſt, and ſhews the wonderous architecture of the Chineſe in former ages. It conſiſts of three ſtages, raiſed on a ſtone pedeſtal, into which you aſcend by ſteps. The firſt is adorned with great gates, and each corner of the roof ſupported by ſumptuous columns: the ſecond and third rounds have ſtately windows and large pillars like the firſt. The whole outſide is embelliſhed with fret work, and at each corner hang little bells: but the inſide of this fane is not equally beautiful.

The idolaters here ſeemed nothing ſo devout as thoſe in other parts; for in ſome places their images were left quite naked, in others only covered with mats, and having ſtraw hats on to keep off the weather.

The ſame day they paſſed by Sing-ye, a third rank city under Ho-kyen, on the left of the river, twenty miles from Sing-ko, enriched with noble ſuburbs. On the weſt ſide of the place ſtands a great and high temple, fenced in with a wall, having alſo a very curious garden. It being a cloyſter for nuns, the Dutch could not be permitted to ſee it, for no men have that liberty. On the eaſt ſide there is another ſtately fane, beſides three curious obeliſks, or pyramids, erected by the city, in honour of a great commander, who lay interred there for his faithful ſervices done to his country.

Towards night the people were gathered in troops to defend their country againſt the graſshoppers, who viſit them annually about this time; being brought by an eaſterly wind in ſuch mighty ſwarms; that in a few hours they devour all before them, if once they alight: to prevent which, the inhabitants march to and again through the fields with their colours flying, ſhouting and hallooing all the while; never leaving them till they are driven into the ſea, or ſome river, where they fall down and are drowned. It happened, that one of theſe hunted ſquadrons fell down on the veſſels which carried the ambaſſadors, and quite covered them; but they cleared them, by flinging their unwelcome gueſts into the river.

The ſame day they arrived at the ſea-port of Tyen-tſing-wey.

SECT. VIII.—*The Ambaſſadors' Arrival at Pe-king, and Reception at Court.—Tyen-tſing-wey.—The Ambaſſadors treated.—Jo-ſi-wo.—Fo-chew.—San-tſyan-wey.—Journey by Land.—Tong-chew.—Arrive at Pe-king.—Viſited by Grandees.—Suſpected for Rovers.—Strictly examined, by the Emperor's orders.—Sent for to Court.—A Jeſuit Mandorin.—The Preſents viewed.—The Jeſuit's Knavery.—The Dutch feaſted.—Ambaſſador from Ruſſia.—The Preſents liked by the Emperor.—Great Mogol's Ambaſſador.—Emperor's Mandate, in favour of the Dutch.—Deceitful Miniſters.—Intriguing Jeſuits.—Cheating Viceroys.—Equitable Monarch.—Cuſtom of ſaluting the Imperial Throne.—Emperor's Brother dies.—Ruſſian Ambaſſador's departure.*

TYEN-TSING-WEY is reckoned the greateſt trading town of all China, and one of its three chief ports, the other two being Kanton, in the province of Quan-tong, and Je-jan-jeen in that of Nan-king. Tyen-tſing-wey is ſituated in the utmoſt border eaſtward of the province of Pe-king, near an arm of the ſea called Kang, where three rivers meet, defended by a ſtrong fortreſs built on the point of confluence. This city lies about thirty miles from Sang-lo, in a very low and marſhy ſoil, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls twenty-five foot high, thick ſet with watch towers and bulwarks. It is very populous, and full of temples. As all veſſels bound from any other part of China muſt touch here, and it is a free port where no duties are paid for goods either imported or exported, the reſort of ſhipping is very great.

The governor and magiſtrates came aboard to welcome the ambaſſadors, but Pinxenton ſubtilely contrived to get the firſt viſit from them: afterwards the Dutch were invited to an entertainment, prepared in a ſplendid idol temple. The deſign of this meeting was to conſult in what manner the Emperor was to be applied to, and the grandees gained over to their intereſt. Theſe matters being ſettled, the old viceroy of Kanton's mandorin was ſent before to Pe-king to give notice of their approach, they following with all expedition.

On the eleventh, got to Jo-ſi-wo, a third rate city under Pe-king, about forty miles from Tyen-tſin, (and on the left hand of the river.) This place is ſmall, but well built, hath a wealthy ſuburb, and drives a great trade. The revenue ariſing from the cuſtom paid by veſſels is very conſiderable. The ambaſſadors were entertained by the governor at his houſe in much ſtate; and though he would not receive the preſents offered him for the reaſon before mentioned, yet he made no ſcruple to aſk ſome glaſſes of roſe water, which were ſent him.

Next they paſſed by Fo-chew, called by ſome Que, a third rank city under Pe-king, on the (left) ſide of the river, about fifteen miles from Jo-ſi-wo, in a very pleaſant ſoil. This place is not very large, but is well built, and full of handſome edifices; among the reſt are ſeveral triumphal arches. On the eaſt ſide, without the walls, which are high and lengthened with watch towers and bulwarks, ſtands a very fine temple, with a curious tower of nine ſtories.

On the ſixteenth, they came to San-tſyan-wey, or San-ho, about twelve miles from Fo-chew, and four from Peking, to which it is ſubject. It is a third rate city on the (left) ſide of the river: it is very populous and well fortified, having a ſtrong caſtle. In the middle of the town ſtands a curious triumphal arch, of grey ſtone, and on the ſouth ſide a broad ſtone bridge of five arches, forty-two paces long, with houſes on each ſide.

Here the ambaſſadors went aſhore to perform the remainder of the journey by land: and

and commonly all goods deſigned for Pe-king are unladed here, or at the next city called Tong-chew, and ſo carried by land either in waggons, or on mules or aſſes; which are always kept in readineſs by the owners, this being the only ſubſiſtence of many poor people.

The ſame day the mandorin, whom the ambaſſadors had ſent before to Pe-king, returned; and next day there arrived twenty-four horſes, with ſeveral waggons and carts, which the council ſent to fetch up their baggage and the preſents. All things being ready, they began their journey in this order: two trumpeters rid at a diſtance before, then followed the ſtandard bearer, with the Prince of Orange's flag; next to him the ambaſſadors, accompanied by ſeveral Tartar lords and gentlemen well mounted; the officers and ſoldiers, who had thus far conducted them, and were about fifty in number, came after in good order with the preſents and goods. The road to Pe-king was exceeding bad, being very deep and uneven, ſo that the horſes were up to the belly almoſt every ſtep: yet it was ſo full of people, horſes, and waggons, as if an army had been upon the march.

The ſeventeenth, they rode through Tong-chew, ſituated in a very low and deep ſoil. It is very large, and fenced with ſtrong walls: it is likewiſe divided into two parts by a wall. The ſtreets are not paved, but have many fine buildings: the country is very pleaſant and fruitful. The ambaſſadors having refreſhed themſelves in a temple near the road, proceeded, and in the afternoon came to the ſuburbs of Pe-king, diſtant from Kanton one thouſand five hundred and thirty miles.

They paſſed through two magnificent gates into the city, and lighted at a magnificent temple, into which they were invited to repoſe awhile, and wait for their carriages. They were no ſooner entered, than ſaluted by the Emperor's kappado, who carried a falcon on his hand, by the agents of the Kanton viceroys who reſide here, and by ſeveral grandees of the court. After they had refreſhed themſelves with victuals, and ſeveral ſorts of fruit, and their carriages had been viſited by the kappado, who told all the waggons, they were conducted in great ſtate to their lodgings, provided for them by the Emperor. This houſe was not far from the palace, and had an high wall about it, with three ſtately gates, between which were very large courts.

At night came two Tartar officers with twelve ſoldiers to guard the gates, and take care that the ambaſſadors ſhould be ſupplied with all things convenient.

Next morning they were viſited by ſome lords of the imperial council, attended with the chief ſecretary Tong-lau-ya, a Chineſe, and two other mandorins, Quan-lau-ya, and Hû-lau-ya: this laſt ſecretary to the council, though a ſtranger to the Chineſe language. Theſe came to welcome the ambaſſadors in the name of the Emperor and his council, to enquire after their healths, the number of their followers, and quality of their preſents, as well as the perſon who ſent them, and place they came from. They likewiſe enquired their uſes, and having highly extolled them, fell to aſk other queſtions concerning their voyage, country, and government, ſuch as were put to them at Kanton.

As they could not be perſuaded to believe that the Dutch had any ſettlement on the continent, but dwelt upon the ſea, or in iſlands, they deſired to ſee a map of their country, which the ambaſſadors having produced, they took it with them to ſhew the Emperor. In regard likewiſe that theſe commiſſioners could not well underſtand the nature of a commonwealth, becauſe the Tartars and Chineſe know no other ſort of government than the monarchical, they were forced to make uſe of the name of the Prince of Orange, as if they had been ſent by His Highneſs: upon this they aſked ſeveral queſtions concerning him, and whether the ambaſſadors were allied to their prince;

for no foreign ambaſſadors are ſuffered to bow their heads before the Emperor's throne, unleſs they were a-kin to the prince who ſent them, (like thoſe of Korea and the Liqueſe iſlands, who came to Pe-king the year before) having a notion that the majeſty of the Emperor would be much leſſened by giving audiences to perſons of inferior quality.

The ambaſſadors replied, that they were not in the leaſt allied to their prince; and that it was not the cuſtom in their country to ſend his relations abroad in ſuch employments. Then they aſked them, what poſts they held at court, what their titles were in Dutch, how many men they had under their command, and by what means they ſubſiſted. Mention happening to be made of the governor-general of Batavia, they were inquiſitive to know the quality of both. The ambaſſadors told them, that the governor-general, in regard of his commands, might be compared with the viceroys of Kanton, his juriſdiction extending over all the Dutch dominions in India; and that Batavia, the place of his reſidence, was the chief city of the whole.

The mandorins then preſented each of the ambaſſadors with fifty tael of ſilver, and took their leave, but ſoon returned again one after another to aſk more queſtions. The firſt came by order of His Imperial Majeſty and his council to fetch the credentials, which were carried to him in great ſtate, being put into a large ſilver diſh, covered with three pieces of ſcarlet. Another came to ſee their arms, and know how they were made: the third aſked, what ſort of weapons the Dutch uſed in war, what nations they had been at war with, and whether they were at peace with the Portugueze? they went and came again, ſix or ſeven times on the ſame errand: at laſt, they aſked pardon for the trouble they had given them, ſaying, that what they did was by the Emperor's order, who was always very inquiſitive in things of this nature.

On the report of the commiſſioners, to the grand maſter, or rather chancellor of the empire, he ſent next day two gentlemen, with orders, for the ambaſſadors to appear with the preſents before the Emperor's council. It proving a very rainy day, they would fain have put off going till another time, leſt the preſents ſhould be ſpoiled with the rain; but no excuſe would be allowed of. At laſt they went to court without the preſents; but were not admitted till ſuch times as they had brought them: for the Emperor was reſolved to ſee them that day. As ſoon as the preſents came, they were admitted, and ordered to ſit down, without ſhewing any manner of reſpect to that great aſſembly.

The chief commander ſate at the upper end of the hall, upon a broad low bench, with his legs acroſs, like the taylors: on his right hand ſate two Tartar lords, and on his left, Adam Scaliger, a Jeſuit, and native of Cologn in Germany, who had lived in great honour at the court of Peking near thirty years. He was a very comely old man, with a long beard, and went ſhaved and cloathed after the Tartar faſhion. All the great men who were at this council, ſate one among another, without any regard to order, ſtate, or gravity; the chancellor himſelf being with his legs naked, and a little ſlight mantle about his body. As ſoon as this lord had made a ſhort ſpeech to the ambaſſadors, and ordered them to ſit, the Jeſuit came to ſalute them; which he performed with great civility in his own language, and aſked after ſeveral of his religion in Amſterdam.

While this was doing, the Kanton mandorins, and even Pinxenton, (who had carried it ſo high upon the voyage,) were as buſy as porters, to help in bringing the cheſts in which the Emperor's preſents lay. The chancellor himſelf took them out, and aſked ſeveral queſtions about them, which the ambaſſadors reſolved; Scaliger, who acted as interpreter, affirming their anſwers to be true, and when any that was very

curious appeared, he fetched a deep ſigh. The chancellor commended ſeveral of the preſents, and ſaid they would be very acceptable to the Emperor.

Meantime came an order to the council, from His Imperial Majeſty, that Scaliger ſhould aſk the ambaſſadors ſeveral queſtions, ſuch as have been mentioned before, concerning the Dutch and the form of their government, and ſet their anſwers down in writing. The Jeſuit did ſo; but deceitfully added, of his own accord, that the country which the Dutch then poſſeſſed was formerly under the dominion of the Spaniards, and did of right ſtill belong to them: but the chancellor cauſed him to blot out thoſe words, which he ſuppoſed might give offence to the Emperor; telling him, it was enough to know, that theſe people were poſſeſſed of a country, and had a form of government among them.

Whilſt the clerks were making ſeveral copies of this writing, the chancellor found himſelf hungry, and ſent for a piece of pork; which, though half-raw, he eat moſt heartily, and in ſo ſlovenly a manner, that he looked more like a butcher than a prince. As ſoon as he had done, he ordered the ſon of the old Kanton viceroy, who reſided at court, to provide an entertainment for the ambaſſadors. When dinner was brought up, the chancellor and the reſt of the Tartar lords fell on again, as greedily as if they had eaten nothing all that day; but neither the ambaſſadors nor Scaliger could taſte of their cookery, moſt of the meat being raw. This His Excellency perceiving, cauſed the diſhes to be removed, and a banquet of fruit and ſweetmeats ſet upon the tables, urging the ambaſſadors to ſend home what was left; which they civilly refuſed.

Scaliger informed them, that about four months before, there came an ambaſſador from Muſcovy, with a train of an hundred men, to deſire leave to come once a year to trade in China; but that the Great Khân ſeemed very unwilling to grant their ſuite. Night coming on, the ambaſſadors took leave of the aſſembly, and returned to their lodgings, conducted in great ſtate by the Jeſuit; who was carried by four men in a palankin, or ſedan, attended by ſeveral conſiderable perſons on horſeback.

Next day, at the requeſt of the chancellor, the ambaſſadors ſet down in writing for whom the ſeveral preſents were deſigned, and ſent Baron, their ſecretary, to anſwer ſome farther queſtions: which having done, Tang-lau-ya and the two other mandorins returned to acquaint the ambaſſadors, that the preſents were very acceptable to His Majeſty, his mother and the Empreſs; and that His Majeſty would be glad to have fifty pieces more of the white linen, to preſent to the wives of the Kanton viceroy's ſons: but they could muſter only thirty-ſix pieces.

On the third of Auguſt, they underſtood, that an ambaſſador from the Great Mogol was arrived at Pe-king, with a numerous train; in order to accommodate ſome differences lately ariſen between the two nations, and procure liberty for their prieſts to preach, which had for ſome time been forbidden under ſevere penalties. The preſents which he brought conſiſted of three hundred and thirty-ſix very fine horſes, two oſtriches, a diamond of an extraordinary bigneſs, and ſeveral other precious ſtones. Theſe, being no leſs acceptable to His Majeſty than thoſe of the Dutch, procured him a quick diſpatch in his buſineſs.

The ambaſſadors were frequently viſited by lords of the court and mandorins, who teazed them with queſtions on the ſame ſubjects over again. At length, on the thirty-firſt of July, the Emperor ſent the following mandatory letter to the lords of his council.

GREAT AND WORTHY Li-pû,

THE ambaſſadors of Holland are come hither with their preſents, to congratulate the Emperor and pay their obedience to him, a thing which never happened before: and

and becauſe this is the firſt time, I think fit to accept of them as ambaſſadors, and grant them leave to appear before me, and do homage, when I ſhall be ſeated on the throne in my new palace; to the end that they may obtain a favourable anſwer and a quick diſpatch, in order to their return. Moreover, after the happineſs of having ſeen me has cauſed them to forget the fatigues of their long travels both by ſea and land, and they are able, without ſhutting their eyes, to behold the brightneſs of the ſun in the heavens, how can we be unkind to them, or deny them their requeſts?

On the peruſal of a new tranſlation of the ambaſſador's credentials, by Scaliger, the Emperor ſent a ſecond letter, of the ſame nature, to the council. The chancellor hereupon deſired to know of the ambaſſadors, whether the Dutch could not ſend annually to Pe-king, or at leaſt every ſecond or third year, to do homage to the Emperor? they anſwered, that every fifth year would be more convenient for them; but deſired, that they might be allowed to trade annually with four ſhips to Kanton. Afterwards the chancellor ſummoning the Tartar and Chineſe councils together, to conſider of the propoſals of the Hollanders, alledged, that it would be ſufficient for them to come every fifth year to ſalute the Emperor.

Moſt of the Tartars were of this opinion: but the Chineſe, pretending to ſhew them much more favour, would have had the time enlarged to nine years; imagining that the Dutch were not to be permitted to trade at Kanton in the mean time. They likewiſe ſuggeſted, that under the name of Hollanders, the Engliſh might find acceſs, who, about thirty years before, came with four ſhips into the harbour of Heytamon; where they took away four veſſels laden with ſalt, made the mandorin priſoner, and ſhot down a fort: for which outrages they had been declared enemies of the empire. They added, that beſides it being contrary to the cuſtom of the country to let them have a free trade in any part of the empire, it did not appear by the ambaſſadors credentials, that any ſuch thing was deſired; ſo that they concluded they had exceeded their orders.

The ambaſſadors were not a little ſurpriſed at theſe proceedings; for they took it for granted, that the Emperor had already, by his letters to the viceroy of Kanton, fully agreed to allow the Dutch a free trade in that port; and that they were come to Pe-king only to return His Majeſty their thanks for that favour. They were well informed of the practiſes of Scaliger, and ſome other Jeſuits, who had been bribed by the Portugueze to oppoſe the deſigns of the Dutch. Theſe miſſioners, to compaſs their end, endeavoured to prejudice the Tartars by ſuch falſe reports as were ſpread at Kanton, and inſinuating, that Ma-kaw would be quite impoveriſhed by granting them a trade.

What moſt ſurpriſed the ambaſſadors, was to find themſelves defrauded of the money paid to the Kanton viceroys, in order to gain the chancellor, and ſome other of the Emperor's council over to their intereſt. In theſe ſtraits they tried ſeveral expedients: one was, to propoſe to the council, to admit them to live and trade in China on the footing of ſubjects; on which condition they promiſed to pay the uſual duties, like thoſe of Liegiow, Amiam, and Siam, and to ſalute the Emperor, with preſents every third year.

But the ambaſſadors, after all their endeavours, were not able to effect any thing for want of money; and being unwilling to take up any at eight or ten per cent. a month, they reſolved to apply to the Emperor himſelf. Meantime, His Majeſty, having ſent to know how far the council had proceeded in the buſineſs, and underſtanding, that the ambaſſadors offered to come every five years to ſalute him, he was pleaſed to inſert the number eight in place of it; alledging, that five years was time little enough to go

and come, if they travelled only by day; and that they ought to be allowed two or three years to reſt at home: beſides, why ſhould we ſtraiten them, ſaid he, in ſuch a point, who neither ſtand in need of me, nor fear me, but came, out of mere reſpect and affection, to ſalute me, and offer me their goods and preſents?

This favourable anſwer of the Emperor gave the ambaſſadors great hopes: but the chancellor's chief ſecretary did all he could to diſſuade them from making any farther requeſt, ſaying they ought to be content, for the firſt time, with being admitted as friends; and that for them, who were never there before, to demand a free trade, would unhinge all. However, the ambaſſadors did not think fit to follow his advice, becauſe the time drew near that the Emperor was to make his entrance into his new palace: but before they could have an audience, they were firſt to perform obedience in the old palace, where His Majeſty's treaſure and ſeal are kept; otherwiſe they would be diſmiſſed without one, as it happened to the Muſcovy ambaſſador; who, thinking it derogated from the dignity of his maſter, would not perform that ceremony. All the grandees of the kingdom muſt pay their reſpects to this throne before they appear before His Majeſty; nay, the Emperor himſelf, before he is inſtalled, is obliged to come and bow to it. The reaſon they give for this is, that it is older than the Emperor and deſerves that reſpect. This cuſtom is uſually performed by ambaſſadors three days before their audience.

On the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, the agents of the Kanton viceroys, with the mandorin Pinxenton and others, came early in the morning to the lodgings of the Dutch; and not long after alſo appeared three Chineſe doctors, and ſome of the court, in very rich habits. Theſe perſons conducted the ambaſſadors and their followers, in great ſtate, into a room of the old palace, much like a library; for they ſaw none there but ſcholars and gownmen, with books in their hands. From hence, after ſome ſhort ſtay, they were led into an open court, within a high wall, were they were commanded, by a herald, to kneel three times and bow their heads to the ground. After a ſhort pauſe, the herald ſpoke aloud, in Chineſe, the following words: Ka ſhan; that is, God hath ſent the Emperor: Que e; fall upon your knees: Kan to; bow the head three times: Ke e; ſtand up (this he repeated three times:) laſtly, Ko e; that is, range yourſelves on one ſide. Theſe ceremonies were performed in preſence of at leaſt a hundred Chineſe doctors: after which the Dutch returned to their lodgings.

On the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, the day appointed for their audience, they were prevented by the ſudden death of the Emperor's youngeſt brother, about ſixteen years of age, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon by ſome of the council; who, it ſeems, did not think him worthy to live, becauſe he had provoked His Majeſty by ſome ill language before their arrival at Pe-king: but others aſcribed his death, to drinking a glaſs of ice water, when very hot, which carried him off in a few hours. The Emperor ſeemed much to lament his death; for he would not be ſeen by any perſon in three days. This young prince was kept unburied a whole month, which gave ſo much delay to the audience.

On the fourteenth of September, they underſtood, that the ambaſſador of Ruſſia went from thence without audience, for the reaſon before mentioned; and about noon one of his retinue came and took leave in the name of all the reſt: he deſired the favour of a letter to ſhew in Ruſſia that he had met with the Dutch at Pe-kin, which was readily granted. They were informed afterwards, that this ambaſſador was not ſuffered to depart, till ſuch time as the Emperor had given him a paſs.

SECT.

SECT. IX.—*The Ambaſſadors' audience of the Emperor, and other Tranſactions.—They are conducted to the Palace.—The Kalmuck Ambaſſador.—Great Mogol's Ambaſſador.—The Lama Ambaſſador.—Incredible Concourſe of People.—Hall of the Throne.—Splendid Appearance.—All reverence the Throne in appointed Stations.—Stage of the Throne.—The Emperor's State and Perſon.—His curioſity.—The Ambaſſadors feaſted.—Tartar Cookery and Slovenlineſs.—Regaled with Sam-ſou.—Jeſuitical Fictions.—The Second Feaſt.—The Third Banquet.—Emperor's Preſents to the General; to the Ambaſſadors, their Secretary and Followers; to the Kanton Mandorins, Officers and Soldiers.—Form of delivering his Letters.—Emperor's Letter to the Dutch General.—Allowance of the Ambaſſadors, and their Retinue.—They leave Pe-king.—Arrive at Kanton.—How treated by the Viceroys.—Sail from thence.—Return to Batavia.*

THE prince's funeral being over, the Emperor ſent word to the chancellor, that he ſhould conduct the Dutch ambaſſadors two days after, as alſo thoſe of the Great Mogol before his throne: of this the miniſter gave notice, by proclamation, to all the grandees in Pe-king, who were likewiſe to be preſent.

Accordingly, on the firſt of October, about two in the afternoon, the Kanton mandorins, and others of the court, came, in very rich habits, with lanthorns, to conduct the ambaſſadors, and ſix of their attendants, who were ſelected from the reſt, the author being one. When they came to the palace, they paſſed into the ſecond court. They were ſcarce ſeated, before the ambaſſador of the Great Mogol accompanied with five perſons of honour, and about twenty ſervants, came and placed himſelf next the Dutch ambaſſadors: thoſe of the Lammas and Su-ta-tſe did the ſame: next to them ſat ſeveral lords of the empire. Here they were obliged to ſit all night on the bare ſtones and in the open air, in expectation of His Majeſty's appearance, early in the morning, on his throne.

Of all the foreign ambaſſadors, thoſe of the Su-ta-tſe, who may be called South Tartars, were in moſt eſteem at the court of Pe-king. All Nieuhoff could learn of his buſineſs, was, that he was ſent with preſents to the Great Khân, according to the cuſtom of the bordering nations. This ambaſſador had on a coat made of ſheepſkins, dyed crimſon, which came down to his knees, but was without ſleeves; his arms being naked up to the ſhoulders: his cap, turned up with ſables, ſat cloſe to his head, and had on the crown a tuft of an horſe's tail, coloured red alſo: his breeches made of a ſlight ſtuff, hung half way down his legs in a clouterly manner: the boots he wore were ſo heavy and large, that he could hardly walk in them: on his right thigh hung a broad heavy ſword. All his attendants were cloathed after the ſame manner, each with a bow and arrows at his back.

The Mogol ambaſſador had a very coſtly blue coat on, ſo richly embroidered, that it looked like beaten gold: it reached almoſt to his knees, and was girt about his waiſt with a ſilk girdle, which had great taſſels at both ends. He wore neat buſkins of Turkey leather, and a large turban of ſeveral colours.

The ambaſſador of the Lammas was cloathed in yellow; his hat much like a cardinal's; with broad brims. At his ſide hung a pair of beads, on which they ſay their prayers like the Romaniſts. Theſe Lammas are a ſort of religious (or prieſts) who enjoyed a toleration for a long time in China: but having been baniſhed by the laſt Chineſe Emperor, went and ſettled in Tartary; from whence they ſent this ambaſſador to crave liberty

liberty to return. What ſucceſs he met with, Nieuhoff could not learn, but ſays, his reception at court was very friendly.

At the court gate, where they ſat expecting the dawn, ſtood three black elephants as centinels, with curious towers carved and gilded, on their backs. The concourſe of people here was incredible, and the number of guards all in very rich habits ſurpriſingly great.

At day break the grandees, who had been there likewiſe all night, came gazing at them with great admiration, but in a very decent manner. About an hour after, on a ſign given, all ſtarted up. At the ſame time two Tartar lords, who uſually were ſent to the ambaſſadors, came and conducted them through another gate into a ſecond court, lined round with Tartar ſoldiers and courtiers; and from thence to a third court, where ſtood the hall of the imperial throne, together with the apartments of the Great Khan, his wife and children. This court, containing four hundred paces in compaſs, was lined likewiſe with a ſtrong guard, all of them in rich coats of crimſon coloured ſatin.

On each ſide of the throne ſtood an hundred and twelve ſoldiers, every one holding a different flag, and in cloaths of a colour ſuitable thereto; only they had all black hats with yellow feathers. Next to the throne ſtood twenty-two gentlemen with rich yellow ſkreens in their hands reſembling the ſun; and next to theſe ten perſons holding gilt circles in the ſame form; then ſix others with circles imitating the moon at full; after theſe ſtood ſixteen with half pikes or poles in their hands, hung full of ſilk taſſels of ſeveral colours; and near them thirty-ſix more, each bearing a ſtandard adorned with dragons, and ſuch other monſters. In this manner were both ſides of the throne guarded, not to mention an infinite number of courtiers all in very rich habits, of the ſame colour and ſort of ſilk, as if a livery; which added greatly to the ſplendour of the place. Before the ſteps, leading to the throne, ſtood on each ſide ſix ſnow-white horſes, with rich embroidered trappings and bridles beſet with pearls, rubies, and other precious ſtones.

Whilſt they were admiring the pomp and ſplendour of this court, they heard a larum bell, or chimes, which ceaſing, the old Tu-tang, with thirty more of the moſt eminent perſons of the empire, ſtepped forth; and at the motion of a herald paid their obedience to the throne, by falling on their knees and bowing their heads nine times to the ground, whilſt delightful muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental, filled up the vacancies of the ceremony. Theſe were ſucceeded by another ſet of lords. The next who performed the ceremony were the ambaſſadors of the Su-ta-tſe and Lammas, conducted in extraordinary ſtate by the firſt and ſecond chancellors.

Then the chancellor coming up to the Dutch ambaſſadors, aſked them what rank or degree in dignity they poſſeſſed; and being anſwered that of viceroys, he went to the Mogol ambaſſador, who returning the ſame anſwer, the under Tu-tang informed them, that their ſtation was the tenth ſtone of the twentieth, which are ſet for that purpoſe in the pavement oppoſite to the middle gate of the hall where the throne ſtands. Theſe ſtones are inlaid with plates of braſs, on which are engraved in Chineſe characters the quality of the perſons who are to ſtand or kneel upon them. Then the herald called to them aloud, go ſtand before the throne: this done, he ſaid, ſtep into your place, which accordingly they did. His next command was, bow your heads three times to the ground; then riſe up; and, laſt of all, return to your place. All which the Dutch performed.

They were afterwards along with the Mogol ambaſſador, conducted to a ſtage curiouſly built, which propped the ſeats of the throne, about twenty feet in height, and

adorned with ſeveral galleries of alabaſter: here having kneeled and bowed their heads once more, they were ordered to ſit down, and then treated with Tartar tea, mingled with milk, in wooden diſhes and cups. Soon after, the bells tinkling again, all the people fell on their knees, while the Emperor aſcended the throne. The ambaſſadors being obliged to keep their ſtations, could ſee very little of his Majeſty; but their attendants, who ſtaid below, could not get the leaſt glimpſe of him for the crowd of courtiers that was about him.

He ſat about thirty paces from the ambaſſadors. His throne ſo glittered with gold and precious ſtones, that it dazzled the eyes of all the beholders. Next, on both ſides of him, ſat the viceroys, princes of the blood, and other great officers of the court, ſerved with tea in wooden diſhes. Theſe grandees wore all blue ſatin coats, curiouſly interwoven with golden dragons and ſerpents. Their caps embroidered with gold were decked with diamonds and other precious ſtones, which denoted their degrees and qualities. On each ſide of the throne ſtood forty of his Majeſty's life guards, armed with bows and arrows.

This mighty prince having ſat thus in magnificent ſtate about a quarter of an hour, roſe up with all his attendants; and as the ambaſſadors were withdrawing, de Keyzer obſerved the Emperor to look back after them. For what that gentleman could diſcern of him, he was young, of fair complexion, middle ſtature, and well proportioned, being cloathed in cloth of gold. They much admired that His Majeſty ſuffered the ambaſſadors to depart without once ſpeaking to them; but this is a cuſtom generally prevailing among the Aſiatic princes. The courtiers, ſoldiers and life guards, marched off in much diſorder. Though the Dutch had a ſufficient guard to clear the way, they had much ado to paſs the ſtreets for the multitude.

They were ſcarce gotten into their lodgings, when two of the chief of the council arrived in his Majeſty's name, to requeſt (the ſight of) a ſuit of cloaths in the Dutch faſhion. The ambaſſadors delivered to them a black velvet ſuit and cloak, a pair of boots and ſpurs, a pair of ſilk ſtockings, boot-hoſe tops, drawers, a band, ſhirt, ſword belt, and beaver hat: all which ſeemed ſo very rich to the Emperor, that he ſaid, if the ambaſſadors wear ſuch habits, how muſt their kings go cloathed? In the evening his Majeſty ſent back all the cloaths by one of his council, who very much admired the ſtuff of the hat.

It is the cuſtom in China to treat ambaſſadors on the tenth, twentieth, and thirtieth days after their audience, in token that their affairs are diſpatched; but the Dutch being in haſte to return prevailed to have their feaſts on three ſucceſſive days, and the firſt was given them on the day of their audience.

At two o'clock, in the afternoon, the ambaſſadors were conducted with all the Kanton mandorins, officers and ſoldiers, to the Li-pu, or firſt miniſter's houſe, where the entertainment was given. To the ſame were invited the ambaſſadors of the Great Mogol, the Su-ta-tſe, and Lammas. Theſe two laſt, with their followers, ſat on one ſide of the table, the two former with theirs on the other ſide. The firſt courſe was of fruits and dried ſweetmeats; the ſecond of boiled and roaſted mutton, beef, and other meat. The diſhes were brought to table by perſons of quality, dreſſed in cloth of gold. For each of the ambaſſadors, and two of their attendants, a particular table was covered, with thirty ſilver diſhes full of rare fruits and ſweetmeats. The Emperor's ſteward ſat alone upon an high bench, and next him two other great lords, all croſs legged, who took care to ſee the ambaſſadors well entertained.

Before the ambaſſadors ſat down, they were obliged to turn themſelves towards the north, and bow three times, as if the Emperor had been preſent. The meat was

brought to table in three diſhes, but ſo ill dreſſed, that the Dutch hardly durſt venture to taſte of the cookery of the Tartars.

Dinner being almoſt ended, the Emperor's ſteward called his ſervants, and gave them all the diſhes which ſtood before him, excepting one. This was a roaſted rib of a camel, whereof he eat ſo heartily, as if he had been faſting all day.

As it is the cuſtom for ambaſſadors to carry home what is left, it was pleaſant to ſee how thoſe greaſy Tartars ſtuffed their pockets and leather drawers of their breeches with fat meat, that the liquor dropped from them as they went along the ſtreets.

After dinner the waiters brought up ſeveral gold and ſilver pots full of Sam-ſou, and ſerved it to the company in wooden diſhes, or cups. This drink, which, as a favour, came from the Emperor's cellar, was diſtilled from new milk; and though almoſt as ſtrong as brandy, yet the ambaſſadors were forced to pledge the ſteward ſeveral times, and take home what was left: but they gave it to the ſoldiers at the gate. For the finiſhing ſtroke, they returned to the palace to perform their obedience before the throne, and then retired to their lodgings.

Next day being appointed for the ſecond treat, the under Tu-tang, or vice-chancellor, came to viſit the ambaſſadors; among other queſtions, he aſked, whether it was true, that the Dutch could live under water for three days and nights together? for ſo the Portugueze jeſuits had given out. The ambaſſadors aſſured him it was falſe; and on acquainting his highneſs, that as yet they had done very little in their buſineſs, he anſwered, that at preſent it could be no otherwiſe; but aſſured them, that if they would come once more and ſalute the Emperor, a free trade ſhould be granted them at the expences of only a few preſents.

At noon, they went to the ſecond banquet, at which aſſiſted ſome of the prime perſons of the empire; with the Mogol ambaſſador, who ſat oppoſite to them. Obſerving, that the under Tu-tang was more open-hearted to him, the Moors, and other gueſts, than to them, they aſked the interpreter the cauſe, and found that this great lord had received no preſents from them; although Pinxenton and the other Kanton mandorins had goods delivered to them at Nan-king ſufficient for diſtributing to all the grandees. Upon this they deſired to know how their goods had been diſpoſed of, but the truſtees refuſed to give them an account; alledging, that they durſt not name thoſe perſons to whom they were preſented, leſt it ſhould come to the Emperor's knowledge: for this reaſon, and becauſe their buſineſs was not yet diſpatched as it ought, the laſt banquet was deferred till the fourteenth of October.

The under Tu-tang in the interim having had his preſents, the ambaſſadors were received by him on that day, ſeemingly with the greateſt reſpect and affection. After they had ſat about an hour at the table, and drank once or twice about, the preſents were delivered to them in the name of the Emperor. They were ſpread in great order on two long tables that ſtood on one ſide of the hall. Firſt, the preſent for the General Maatzuiker was delivered, which the ambaſſadors received kneeling, with both their hands: then the names of themſelves and their followers being called over, their reſpective preſents were delivered to them likewiſe upon their knees. Laſtly, when they were ready to depart, they performed their obedience to the imperial throne, by thrice kneeling and bowing their heads.

The preſents were as follows:—To the General John Maatzuiker, three hundred tael of ſilver, four pieces of damaſk, four pieces of black, and four of blue ſatins; four pieces of cloth of gold, two embroidered with dragons; four pieces of Thuys, twelve pieces of Pe-lings, ten pieces of Ho-kyen, four pieces of blue flowered damaſk, three pieces of Ga-ſen, four pieces of Foras, and four pieces of black velvet.

To each of the ambaſſadors, one hundred tael of ſilver, four pieces of Pe-lings, four pieces of Ga-ſen, four pieces of Ho-kyens, three pieces of blue ſatins, three pieces of black, and three of blue damaſk, and one piece of black velvet.

To the ſecretary Baron, fifty tael of ſilver, two pieces of Pe-lings, two pieces of Ga-ſen, one piece of damaſk, one piece of cloth of gold, and one piece of velvet.

To each of their followers, fifteen tael of ſilver, and two pieces of Ho-kyens. To the interpreter Carpentier, thirty tael of ſilver. To the interpreter Paul Durette, a damaſk gown.

The mandorin Pinxenton had given him, a mandorin's gown, embroidered with golden dragons, which he was to wear immediately. Each of the other two mandorin's received one horſe without a ſaddle. Each of the two captains, who had the command over the ſoldiers, who conducted them from Kanton to Peking, a gown of blue ſilk damaſk. Laſtly, each ſoldier, to the number of twenty, received a coat of black and blue ſilk damaſk.

On the ſixteenth, the Tartar lords, who had been often ſent to the ambaſſadors, cauſed fifteen waggons to be brought to carry their goods; after which Pinxenton ſent them notice to repair to the court of Li-pû, to receive the Emperor's letter to the governor-general at Batavia. They rode thither about one o'clock, and were conducted into an anti-chamber, where one of the council took the letter off the table, which was covered with a yellow carpet, and opening the ſame, declared to them the contents. It was written both in the Chineſe and Tartar tongues, gilded on the edges, and painted on both ſides with golden dragons: then making it up again, he wrapped it in a ſilk ſcarf, and putting it into a box, delivered it to the ambaſſadors, who received it kneeling. Afterwards he took the letter again from them, and bound it to the back of one of the interpreters; who went along with it before the ambaſſadors through the middle gate of the court; which was ſet wide open for the purpoſe. This ceremony was performed in great ſilence; neither was the leaſt mention made at any of their entertainments of the Dutch negotiations.

The Emperor's letter runs thus:

The King ſends this Letter to John Maatzuiker, the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia.

OUR territories being as far aſunder as the eaſt from the weſt, it is with great difficulty that we can approach each other; and from the beginning till this preſent the Hollanders never came to viſit us: but thoſe who ſent Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer to me, are a brave and wiſe people, who in your name have appeared before me, and brought me ſeveral preſents. Your country is ten thouſand miles diſtant from mine, but you ſhew your noble mind in remembering me; for this reaſon my heart doth very much incline to you, therefore I ſend to you —. (Here the preſents are mentioned.) You have aſked leave to come and trade in my country, by importing and exporting commodities, which will redound very much to the advantage of my ſubjects: but in regard your country is ſo far diſtant, and the winds on theſe coaſts ſo boiſterous, as to endanger your ſhips, the loſs of which would very much trouble me; therefore, if you do think fit to ſend hither, I deſire it may be but once every eight years, and no more than an hundred men in a company, twenty of whom may come up to the place where I keep my court; and then you may bring your merchandizes aſhore into your lodge, without bartering them at ſea before Kanton. This I have

thought good to propoſe for your intereſt and ſafety, and I hope it will be well liked of by you: and thus much I thought fit to make known unto you.

In the thirteenth year, eight month, and twenty-ninth day of the reign of Song-te.

Underneath ſtood

Hong-tî Tſo-pe.

The ambaſſadors, on their return to their lodgings, were urged by the commiſſioners to depart; alledging, that by the uſage of the empire, they could not continue two hours in the city after having received their diſpatch, if they would avoid falling into ſome inconvenience: ſo that they were neceſſitated to quit the place at noon, after taking leave of the grandees. By this means they had no time to take a view of any thing elſe that was worth notice; for during their ſtay, they were ſhut up in their lodgings without ever once ſtirring abroad to take their pleaſure, although they were provided with a plentiful allowance. The ambaſſadors received daily, for themſelves only, ſix katti of freſh meat, one gooſe, two pullets, four cups of ſam-ſou, two tael of ſalt, two tael of tea, one tael, and one meaſure of oil, ſix tael of miſon, one meaſure of pepper, ſix katti of herbs, four katti of meal, two freſh fiſhes, and two tael of ſuttati.

Their ſecretaries daily allowance was, one katti of freſh meat, five meaſures of tea, one katti of meal, one meaſure of taufoe, five coudrine of pepper, four tael of ſuttati, four meaſures of oil, four tael of miſon, one katti of herbs, and one cup of arrac. Each of their followers received one katti of freſh meat, one cup of arrac, two tael of herbs, and one katti of rice.

Wood and fruit of all ſorts were ſent in daily in great abundance, beſides China diſhes: but the ambaſſadors ſent and bought ſeveral other things for their table, and had them ſerved up in a ſtately manner, to let the Chineſe ſee what way they lived in Holland. After they had been before the Emperor, they received a double allowance, which was a favour ſeldom done to foreigners.

Leaving Pe-king, they travelled by land to San-tſian-wey, where the imperial veſſels, that brought them from Nan-king, lay expecting them. However, certain large junks, by his Majeſty's orders, were provided to carry them: but theſe being ſlow, heavy ſailers, the ambaſſadors hired lighter veſſels for more expedition; leſt, arriving late at Kanton, they ſhould be obliged to winter there. In theſe they embarked with the Tartarian lords ſent to attend them, and the Kanton mandorins returned by the way they went.

The thirty-firſt of October, they got to Lin-tſing, where they were treated nobly for two or three days by Pinxenton. Departing, with the wind at north, it blew ſo very hard and cold, that they were hardly able to endure it. The twenty-firſt of November they arrived at Nan-king, where they ſtaid till the tenth of December; but the weather was ſo very bad and cold, that they could not ſtir abroad all the while they were there.

January the fifth, 1657, they got to the city Van-nun-gan, whoſe governor preſented the ambaſſadors with ſome refreſhments and candles; which were made of a thick oily juice, iſſuing from trees, and burnt very clear as well as ſweet. The eleventh was extremely cold. The fifteenth they arrived at Nan-gan, from whence they croſſed the mountains in chairs carried by thirty ſoldiers, and got, in one day, to Nan-hyong, where they again took water. The twenty-ſeventh, they came to Fa-ſan, a delightful village, (which in going they paſſed in the night), and next day arrived at Kanton.

In

In the way to their lodgings the Emperor's letter to the general was carried by Baron the ſecretary upon both his hands, having a ſcreen before him: next followed the ambaſſadors. The cannons aboard the ſhips were diſcharged twice. The walls and ſtreets of the city were crowded with people to ſee them paſs. Next day the ambaſſadors went in ſtate to ſalute the viceroys, the young king's mother, and the Tu-tang. The viceroys received them very friendly with a diſh of tea, and had ſome diſcourſe concerning their buſineſs. The Tu-tang, after ſuffering them to wait two hours at his ſecretary's houſe, ſent them word, that he would give them audience when Pinxenton was come.

The firſt of February, they were treated nobly by the old viceroy; the ſecond by the young one; and on the third, by Pinxenton. The ambaſſadors wanting money to purchaſe a new year's gift for the viceroys, at laſt obtained a ſum by the intereſt of Lantſman, which he had made during his abode at Kanton in their abſence: but when the preſents were brought to the viceroys, they ſeemed diſſatisfied with them, and demanded not only intereſt for one thouſand five hundred tael of ſilver, which they had diſburſed for the uſe of their ſervants upon their departure to Pe-king; but likewiſe inſiſted, that the ambaſſadors ſhould immediately pay the three thouſand five hundred tael of ſilver which they had promiſed to the viceroys for a free trade at Kanton. This buſineſs occaſioned much trouble, and at laſt the ambaſſadors were neceſſitated to comply with their demands, to prevent further miſchief: for they found that the common people had been dealt withal, to affront them as they went along the ſtreets; and not long after, Paul Duretti, one of their beſt interpreters, was barbarouſly murdered in his own houſe.

Hereupon the ambaſſadors went immediately to take leave of the viceroys: but they refuſed to give them audience, and only ſent out word, that they were not to export any Tartar arms. That night they went aboard, and ſet ſail early in the morning: but in a few hours, the wind changing, they were forced to come to an anchor again not far from Kanton. The twenty-third, the ſtewards of the viceroys, and the captains of the guards, with the mandorins who had accompanied the ambaſſadors in their journey, came and treated them in the name of their maſters with their Sam-ſou, in their king's own diſhes, wiſhing them a ſafe voyage, and ſpeedy return. As ſoon as their viſitants were gone, they hoiſted ſail and came upon the twenty-eighth, about ſun ſet, into the harbour of Hey-ta-mon. The ſecond of March, paſſing in ſight of the famous village of Lantam, they ſhot beyond Ma-kau. The eighth, they came to Pulo-Timon: here they met with ſhoals of flying fiſh. The twenty-firſt, they ſaw the iſland Linga, on the coaſt of Sumatra; and through the ſtraits of Banka, between Sumatra and Java, arrived on the thirty-firſt at Batavia, having ſpent twenty months and ſix days in this tedious and expenſive voyage. The value of the preſents amounted to five thouſand five hundred and fifty-five pounds one ſhilling and ſeven-pence ſterling: the expences of the voyage, four thouſand three hundred and twenty-ſeven pounds and ten-pence. In all, nine thouſand eight hundred and eighty-two pounds two ſhillings and five-pence.

Nieuhoff was of opinion, that as the Emperor was at war with Koxinga, the Dutch might obtain a free trade by propoſing to aſſiſt his Majeſty with their ſhips to ſubdue that arch pirate; which expedient they ſome years after went upon.

TRAVELS

FROM

ST. PETERSBURG IN RUSSIA, TO VARIOUS PARTS OF ASIA,

In 1716, 1719, 1722, &c.

By JOHN BELL, of Antermony.

To the Governor, Court of Aſſiſtants, and Freemen of the RUSSIA COMPANY, and to the BRITISH FACTORIES in Ruſſia, the following Relation of Travels, &c. is reſpectfully inſcribed, as a Teſtimony of Gratitude for the Favours received from many of them,

By their moſt obedient, and very humble Servant,

Antermony, Oct. 1, 1762. THE AUTHOR.

THE PREFACE.

In my youth I had a ſtrong deſire of ſeeing foreign parts; to ſatisfy which inclination, after having obtained, from ſome perſons of worth, recommendatory letters to Dr. Areſkine, chief phyſician and privy-counſellor to the Czar Peter the Firſt, I embarked at London, in the month of July 1714, on board the Proſperity of Ramſgate, Capt. Emerſon, for St. Peterſburg. On my arrival there, I was received by Dr. Areſkine in a very friendly manner; to whom I communicated my intentions of ſeeking an opportunity of viſiting ſome parts of Aſia, at leaſt thoſe parts which border on Ruſſia. Such an opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf, on occaſion of an embaſſy then preparing from His Czariſh Majeſty to the Sophy of Perſia.

Artemy Petrovich Valenſky, a gentleman of a family of diſtinction, and a captain of the guards, was appointed ambaſſador by His Majeſty. Upon his nomination, he applied to Dr. Areſkine to recommend a perſon who had ſome knowledge in phyſic and ſurgery, to go in his ſuit in the embaſſy. As I had employed ſome part of my time in thoſe ſtudies, the Doctor recommended me; which he did in ſo cordial a manner as produced to me, from the ambaſſador, many marks of friendſhip and regard, which ſubſiſted not only during the journey, but alſo continued from that time to the end of his days. The Doctor, at the ſame time, recommended me to the College of Foreign Affairs at St. Peterſburg, by whom I was engaged in the ſervice of Peter the Firſt.

Having acquainted the reader with the manner of my entering on the travels, which are the principal ſubject of the following ſheets, I ſhall take the liberty to ſay, that I have, through the whole, given the obſervations which then appeared to me worth remarking, without attempting to embelliſh them, by taking any of the liberties of exaggeration or invention frequently imputed to travellers.

I took notes of the ſubject of the following treatiſe, by way of diary, from time to time during the courſe of my travels, intending nothing further at that time than to keep them as helps to my memory, that I might, as occaſion offered, communicate, in converſation with my friends, what I had obſerved worth remarking; and that I might be capable of giving information to others who might be deſirous of it, on their being to make the ſame journies.

About four years ago, ſpending ſome days at the houſe of a Right Honourable and moſt honoured friend, the ſubject of my travels took up a great part of our converſation;

tion; during which, upon his enquiring occaſionally, whether I had taken any notes of the places, &c. through which I had paſſed in my ſeveral journies? and, upon my anſwering in the affirmative, he was pleaſed to take ſome pains to engage me to promiſe that I would collect my notes and obſervations, and form them into journals, as complete as the time elapſed would admit, and communicate them to the world.

It was not without reluctance that I ſet about this work, which, had I thought it worth the public's acceptance and peruſal, I would have done long ago. Such as it is, I now offer it to them; and flatter myſelf, (with hopes at leaſt,) that the plainneſs of the ſtyle in which it is written will be of no prejudice to it with candid readers, who may find in it ſome things new, and of which they would chooſe to be informed.

In regard to the tranſlation of Mr. De Lange's Journal, I have given it for two reaſons:—Firſt, becauſe it continues the negociation begun by Mr. De Iſmayloff, in the courſe of which Mr. De Lange furniſhes the reader with a diſtinct detail of the manner of tranſacting affairs with the miniſters of ſtate, of their chicaneries, &c. at the court of Pekin. Secondly, becauſe I do not apprehend it hath ever appeared in the Engliſh language; at leaſt, have made what inquiries I could, to find if it had been tranſlated, which have been all fruitleſs.

As I well knew the worthineſs and integrity of Mr. De Lange, and I am fully perſuaded that his Journal was genuine, though perhaps obtained ſurreptitiouſly by the editor, I have cloſed the tranſlation with the end of Mr. De Lange's Journal, on his arrival at Selinginſky on the frontiers of Siberia; having omitted an addition to it, made by the editor, of the trade and monies of China; concerning which, the editor, when he enters upon it, acquaints the reader that he had not the means neceſſary for ſufficient information. For the reſt, the tranſlation is juſt, as may be ſeen by comparing it with the original.

Antermony, Oct. 1, 1762. JOHN BELL.

Names of the principal Perſons who compoſed the Train of the Ambaſſador Artemii Petrovich Valenſky, viz.

Secretary,
Gregory Chriſtopher Venigerkind.
Captain Engineer,
Jaques de Vilette.
Gentlemen of the Embaſſy,
Matphe Parfilich Kartzoff,
Adrian Ivanovich Lopuchin,
The Author of this Journal.
Prieſt,
Hylarion, a Monk.
Interpreters,
Vaſſile Kurdeffsky,
Alexie Tulkatzoff,
Demetry Petritz.
Clerks or Writers,
Vaſſile Shadayoff,
Alexie Buchtaryoff.

With many others, viz. a band of muſic, conſiſting of trumpets, kettle-drums, violins, hautboys, &c. carpenters, ſmiths, tailors, valets, and footmen, amounting in all to above one hundred perſons; beſides a troop of twenty-five dragoons for our eſcort, from Aſtrachan to Iſpahan.

A JOUR-

A JOURNEY FROM ST. PETERSBURG IN RUSSIA TO ISPAHAN IN PERSIA, WITH AN EMBASSY FROM HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY PETER THE FIRST TO THE SOPHY OF PERSIA SHACH HUSSEIN, IN THE YEAR 1715 *.

CHAP. I.—*From St. Peterſburg to Caſan.*

ON the 15th of July 1715, I ſet out from St. Peterſburg, in company with Meſſrs. Venigerkind, De Villette, and Kurdeſſky. That city, which has ſince grown ſo conſiderable, was then in its infancy, having been founded ten or eleven years before by that truly great man Peter the Firſt, to whom no undertaking ſeemed difficult.

St. Peterſburg is ſituated in ſixty degrees north latitude, partly on the continent of Ingria and Carelia, and partly on different iſlands formed by the river Neva, which diſcharges itſelf by four channels into the Gulf of Finland, a little below the city. It is defended by a ſtrong caſtle, built with ſtone and brick, inacceſſible to ſhips of force, there being but eight feet water on the bar. As the Czar had determined to form a city all at once, and not to truſt to time for the growth of a place which he had choſen for the ſeat of government, he aſſembled inhabitants from every province of his empire, and allured ſtrangers from moſt parts of Europe; ſo that the place was even well peopled, and had not the appearance of a city ſo lately founded.

The adjacent country is generally covered with woods, conſiſting of various kinds of pines, birch, alder, aſpine, and other trees natural to the northern climates.

To the ſouthward, eſpecially along the ſhore towards Peterhoff, the country in ſummer is very pleaſant with country-ſeats, corn-fields, and meadows interſperſed.

The river Neva falls out of the Ladoga lake at Sluſſelburgh, a ſtrong caſtle about ſixty verſt above St. Peterſburg. It is a noble ſtream of clear wholeſome water, with this peculiar quality, that it is ſeldom muddy. It contains a great variety of excellent fiſh, which ſupply the market all the year, and is navigable to the Ladoga by flat-bottomed veſſels.

The woods on each ſide are ſtored with game; ſuch as hares, which are white as ſnow in winter, and turn brown in ſummer; wild-deer, bears, and wolves; the laſt are ſo bold that I have known them in the night-time carry off a dog from a man's foot in croſſing the river on the ice. There are alſo elks about the Lake of Ladoga. As for wild-fowl, few places can boaſt of greater variety. The chief are theſe: the urhaan, called in French *coq limoge;* this bird is black, with beautiful red ſtreaks about its head and eyes. The cock is about the ſize of a turkey; the hen is leſs, and of a brown colour. The heath-cock, in French *coq de bruiere*, of the ſame colour and marks as the former, but not ſo large. The partridge, which the French call *gilinot*. Theſe three kinds perch on trees, and in winter feed on fir-tops, and on crane-berries, which they ſcrape from under the ſnow. There is alſo found here the common Engliſh partridge; it is however but rare. The tarmachan, a bird well known in the northern parts of England and Scotland, are here in plenty.

As ſoon as the ice goes off in the ſpring, vaſt flocks of water-fowl come hither from the Caſpian Sea, and other ſouthern regions, to hatch. Theſe conſiſt of ſwans, geeſe, a variety of wild-ducks, teal, &c.

Snipes and wood-cocks breed here; many of which are catched by the Ruſſians, who are excellent fiſhers and ſportſmen.

* Some ſmall portions of theſe valuable travels do not relate to China, but it was thought adviſeable to preſent them in one continued narration, as publiſhed by the author.

From St. Peterſburg we directed our courſe along the weſtern bank of the Neva, till we came to the brick-works. The weather being very hot we halted here a few hours, and in the evening purſued our journey to a ſmall river which falls into the Neva, about thirty verſt above St. Peterſburg. At this place we let our horſes go to graſs, and lay in our waggons till the morning; but were much moleſted by the gnats and muſkitos.

Next morning, we continued our journey, and paſſed a village called Iſhora, where the inhabitants ſpeak a language, and wear a dreſs different from the Ruſſian, though they profeſs the ſame Greek religion. It is probable they are the deſcendants of a colony formerly brought hither from ſome of the provinces of Livonia.

Next day we came to the Volchova, a great river iſſuing from a lake called Ilmen, not far diſtant from the city of Novogorod, which diſcharges itſelf into the Ladoga. Here we left our horſes, and, putting our waggons and carriages on board barks, went up the river, uſing oars or ſails by turns as neceſſity obliged us. The banks of the Volchova are covered with many villages and fruitful corn-fields, intermixed with natural woods. We found, as we went along, plenty of fiſh and country proviſions.

The 19th, we arrived at Novogorod Velikoi, or the Great Novogorod, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from many leſſer towns of the ſame name. This city ſtands about two hundred verſt ſouth-eaſt from Peterſburg. The Volchova runs through the middle of it, over which there is a wooden bridge defended by a fortreſs. There are many well-built churches in the town, and a great number of monaſteries in the neighbourhood, pleaſantly ſituated, which form a very agreeable proſpect. It was formerly a place of great note, but is now much decayed. Here is an archbiſhop who enjoys a very conſiderable revenue.

July 22d, having put our carriages on board another bark, we ſailed up the river to the Lake Ilmen; and, leaving it on our right hand, entered a ſmall river called Miſta, and at night came to Brunitz, a large village, thirty verſt from Novogorod. Here we diſcharged our boats; and, having procured horſes, we proceeded next morning thirty verſt to the village of Zaytzoff, from thence to Kraſnyſtanky, and then to Kreſtitſky, where we changed horſes, with which we travelled to Yaſhilbitza. Here begin the Valday hills, which run to a great diſtance from eaſt to weſt, but are only about twenty or thirty verſt broad. They are moſtly covered with wood. We came next to the town of Valday. This place is pleaſantly ſituated at the foot of the hills, adjoining to a large lake of the ſame name, in the middle of which is an iſland, whereon ſtands a monaſtery. The country in the neighbourhood is hilly, but not mountainous, exhibiting a beautiful variety of plain and riſing grounds.

The next ſtage is Zimogory, and after that Viſhnoyvolotzke. Here is a canal of conſiderable extent, cut by Peter the Firſt, which opens a communication by water from St. Peterſburg to all the places on the Volga, and many other parts of Ruſſia, and proves a great encouragement to trade, and very advantageous to the merchant, in ſuch extenſive tracts of land.

Next day we came to Torſhoak, a ſmall town.

The 29th, we arrived at Tweer, a populous and trading town, defended by a caſtle; it is the capital of a province, and a biſhop's ſeat. It derives its name from a rivulet in the neighbourhood, called Tweertza, and ſtands on the banks of the famous river Volga.

The Volga, known formerly by the name of Rha, has its ſource not far to the weſtward of Tweer. At a ſmall diſtance from the ſource of the Volga, two other noble

rivers take their riſe; the Dnieper, or Boryſthenes, which runs into the Black Sea at Otzakof, and the Duina, which falls into the Baltic at Riga.

The Volga, after viſiting in its courſe to the ſouth-eaſt many fruitful countries, diſcharges itſelf into the Caſpian Sea, about ſixty verſt below Aſtrachan; and, in all this long courſe, there is not a ſingle cataract to interrupt the navigation. As to fiſh, no river in the world can afford greater variety, better of their kind, nor in larger quantities.

Here we taſted the ſterlett, a fiſh much and generally eſteemed; it is of the ſturgeon kind, but ſeldom grows above thirty inches long. It is found in other rivers of Ruſſia; but the Volga produces the beſt and in greateſt plenty. The caviare, or ſpawn, is very good to eat raw, after being cleaned and dreſſed. I never could find a fiſherman who had ſeen their fry.

The ſame day, having changed horſes, we proceeded on our journey to Gorodna, a large village, on the weſt bank of the Volga. From this place is ſeen a charming landſcape, containing a full view of the windings of that river.

From hence, after paſſing many villages, we came to Kleen, a pretty large town, and the laſt ſtage to Moſco. The country between Kleen and Moſco is pleaſant, having many tufts of wood, of unequal bigneſs, ſcattered among the corn-fields, that contribute to beautify that country, which had no great appearance of fertility.

About ſeven verſt from Moſco, we paſſed through a large village, called Ffeſwatzky, inhabited by Chriſtians of the Eaſtern church, named Georginians; their ancient country was Gurgiſtan, now one of the northerly provinces of Perſia; they were driven from their native country by the perſecution of the Perſians; and, flying into Ruſſia, they there found an hoſpitable reception, many of them being employed in the ſervice of the Emperor.

From this place there is a view of the city of Moſco, and, at this diſtance, few cities in the world make a finer appearance: for it ſtands on a riſing ground, and contains many ſtately churches and monaſteries, whoſe ſteeples and cupolas are generally covered either with copper gilt or tin plates, which ſhine like gold and ſilver in the ſun.

Auguſt 2d, we arrived at the city of Moſco. I have omitted the names and diſtances of many inconſiderable places through which we paſſed; let it ſuffice, that the diſtance between St. Peterſburg and Moſco is about ſeven hundred and thirty verſt; and, although the hot weather detained us long on the road, in winter the journey is eaſily performed with ſledges in three days.

On the 10th Auguſt, my friends Meſſrs. Lange and Girvan, arrived here in their way to China, on a meſſage from the Czar to the Emperor of China: the firſt was a Swede, and the other a phyſician, from the county of Air in Scotland.

We ſtaid in Moſco about three weeks, having many things to prepare for ſo long a journey. This city, ſtanding on an eminence, as was already obſerved, commands an extenſive proſpect of a fine plain country, adorned with woods and clumps of trees, monaſteries, and gentlemen's ſeats: the river Moſco runs almoſt through it, which emptying itſelf into the Volga, preſerves a communication with all the ſouthern parts of Ruſſia, and even with Perſia. From theſe advantages in ſituation, this place is very convenient for trade, which flouriſhes here to a conſiderable degree.

The city is fortified with a ſtrong brick wall, called Beligorod, having embraſures and a ditch. Within this is another wall, called Kitaygorod; this laſt includes what is called the Crimlin, in which is the old imperial palace, compounded of a number of buildings, added to one another at different times. Some of the apartments are very ſpacious, particularly that called Granavitapallata, where audience was given to foreign ambaſſa-

dors; adjoining to the palace are many edifices, where were held the courts of juſtice; here alſo ſtands a lofty tower, wherein is hung the largeſt bell in the world, called Ivan Veleke, weighing about ten thouſand poods; which, reckoning each pood at near thirty-ſix pounds Engliſh, will amount to about an hundred and ſixty ton weight. Beſides theſe, there is a cathedral church, and an arſenal, well furniſhed with braſs cannon, mortars, and other warlike ſtores. Beyond the brick walls already mentioned, there is an earthen one, of great circumference, round the whole; and without this the ſuburbs alſo are very extenſive.

The great plenty of proviſions in this place ſurpriſed me not a little; I found here fruits of different kinds, which I did not expect, particularly excellent melons, and arboozes, or water-melons.

Auguſt the 21ſt, we ſhipped our baggage on board ſix ſmall barks, adapted by their conſtruction, either for ſails or oars, as ſhould be moſt convenient, and fell down the river. The ambaſſador only remained at Moſco, waiting for ſome diſpatches from court. In the evening we paſſed Koluminſka, a village pleaſantly ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the Moſco river, near which is a large country-houſe with gardens and orchards, belonging to the court.

October 3d, we came to Kolumna, a fortified town. Next day, the wind being favourable, we hoiſted ſail; and, after going about three verſt, entered the river Oka, into which the Moſco falls, and loſes its name. The Oka riſes in the Ukrain, and runs to the ſouth-eaſt; it contains a great quantity of water, and is navigable very far up the country.

The 9th, we arrived at Pereſlave-reſanſky, a large town to the left, ſituated about a verſt from the river Oka. It is the ſeat of an archbiſhop, and the country around is very fruitful in corn.

The 16th, we came to Kaſſimova, formerly the reſidence of a Tartar Prince; but the family is now converted to Chriſtianity, and retains only the old name of Kaſſimoſsky Czarevitz. The place is at preſent inconſiderable. There are ſtill here a few Mahometan Tartars, who are allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, and have a ſmall oratory. I accompanied our interpreter to viſit one of them, an old acquaintance of his: he was a very decent man. We ſaw a horſe newly killed, which they intended to eat. They prefer this kind of food to beef, and invited us to ſhare their repaſt; which we declined, pretending we had not time.

The 17th, we left Kaſſimova; and the 21ſt arrived at Murum, a pretty large town, and a biſhop's ſee. The country produces plenty of corn. About this place there are a few idolatrous Tartars, who live in little dirty cottages, thinly ſcattered; they are a very ſimple and harmleſs people; how or when they ſettled here is not known.

The 22d, we paſſed a large village called Paulovoperevoz, the property of Prince Tzerhaſkoy. Its ſituation is on the ſouth ſide of the river: here the banks are much higher than above this place.

We came the 23d to Niſhna-novogorod, a great town, defended by a caſtle ſtanding on the high banks of the Oka, oppoſite to where it loſes itſelf in the Volga, which now forms a mighty ſtream.

The following day we dined at the governor's, where I ſaw General Creutz, and ſeveral other Swediſh officers who had been taken priſoners at Poltava, and lived here at large.

The 25th, we ſailed from Niſhna, and ſoon entered the Volga. The wind being northerly, we run along at a great rate; but, in the night, the river was ſuddenly filled with floating ice, which drove us on a ſand-bank, where we lay a-ground that night and all

all the next day; however, after much labour and fatigue, we got clear, although the floating ice ſtill continued. At laſt the wind changed to the ſouth, and the weather turned milder, which enabled us to purſue our voyage.

We next paſſed Vaſily-gorod, and then Koſmodeminnſko, ſmall towns, both on the right.

November 3d, we came to Zaback-zar, a pretty large town, on the ſame hand.

In this country are caught the beſt and largeſt faulcons in the world, much eſteemed for their ſtrength and beauty, particularly by the Turks and Perſians, who purchaſe them very dear. The Ruſſians take few young hawks from the neſt, preferring the old ones, which they man very dexterouſly to fly at ſwan, gooſe, crane, or heron. The Tartars fly them at antelopes and hares. I have ſeen them take a wild duck out of the water, when nothing of her could be perceived but the bill, which ſhe was obliged to put up for air. Some of them are as white as a dove. The manner of catching them is very ſimple: they erect a tall poll upon a hill, free from wood, on a bank of the river, near which is placed a day-net; under the net ſome ſmall birds are faſtened by a cord, which the hawk-catcher pulls to make them flutter, on the appearance of the hawk, who obſerving his prey, firſt perches on the pole; and when he ſtoops to ſeize the birds, the perſon, who is concealed by the buſhes, draws the net and covers him.

The 4th, we paſſed Kay-gorod, and the 5th, Swiiaſki; the firſt on the left, and the other on the right hand. This evening we arrived before the town of Cazan; and hauled our boats into the mouth of a ſmall river, from which the town has its name, called Cazanka. We intended to continue our voyage directly to Aſtrachan; but, before we had made the neceſſary preparations at Cazan, the winter ſet in, and on the 6th of September, the Volga was filled with floating ice; this determined us to winter at that place; we therefore unloaded the boats, and came to the city, where we were hoſpitably received by the governor.

CHAP. II.—*Occurrences during our Stay at Cazan; our Journey thence to Aſtrachan.*

CAZAN is about ſeven hundred and thirty-five verſt from Moſco by land, but much more by water: it is ſituated about five verſt to the north of the Volga, on a high bank of the rivulet Cazanka, which is navigable from this place to the river. The town is ſtrong by ſituation, and defended by a caſtle, fortified with walls of brick: within the citadel are the cathedral church, the palaces of the archbiſhop and governor, and the apartments for the courts of juſtice: the town is fenced with a ditch and paliſades. The ſuburbs are inhabited chiefly by mechanics, except a ſtreet or two poſſeſſed by Mahometan Tartars, the poſterity of the ancient natives; they live very decently, have the free exerciſe of their religion, and many other privileges; ſome of them are very rich by the trade they carry on to Turkey, Perſia, and other places.

Cazan was anciently the capital of a part of Tartary, and the ſeat of government, where the royal family reſided. It was taken from the Tartars by Czar Ivan Vaſiloviz, in the year 1552, in conſequence whereof, an extenſive country to the ſouthward eaſily fell into his hands. The conquered princes were converted to Chriſtianity, and had lands aſſigned them in their own country, where the family ſtill ſubſiſts.

The country adjacent is very pleaſant and fertile, producing wheat, rye, barley, oats, and ſeveral kinds of pulſe. The woods to the ſouth and weſt conſiſt of ſtately oaks, ſufficient to ſupply all the navies in the world; and from hence St. Peterſburgh is abundantly furniſhed with timber for all the purpoſes of ſhip-building, by an eaſy conveyance

all

all the way by water. The woods to the north and eaſt, which are of prodigious extent, conſiſt of trees of all ſorts.

In the ſpring, when the ſnow melts, the Volga overflows all the low grounds, ſometimes to a great diſtance; the conſequence is the ſame with that produced in Egypt, by the inundations of the Nile; for the mud carried down by the ſtream, fertilizes the country to a great degree; ſo that on the iſlands in the Volga, ſome whereof are very large, and overgrown with tall trees, I have found plenty of excellent aſparagus.

Beſides the ſterlett, there are plenty of ſturgeon, and a fiſh about the ſize and near the ſhape of the largeſt ſalmon, which is very delicious, and for the whiteneſs of its fleſh, is called the white fiſh.

The woods afford abundance of game; and, in the ſpring, great numbers of waterfowl come hither to hatch from the Caſpian Sea. At Cazan, we found good beef, mutton, and tame poultry, and proviſions of all kinds very reaſonable.

There is here a conſiderable manufactory of Ruſſia leather, the hides here being reckoned the beſt in the empire: great quantities of this leather are exported to Leghorn, and other parts of Europe, and may be conſidered among the ſtaple commodities of this country: the ſtrong ſmell of this leather is acquired in the dreſſing, for inſtead of oil, common in other places, they uſe a kind of tar, extracted by fire from the bark of the birch-tree; which ingredient the Ruſſes call deuggit, and which tree is here in greater abundance than in other parts of the world; and then they dye them with logwood.

Beſides the idolatrous Tartars, formerly mentioned, there are two pretty numerous tribes called the Tzerimiſh and Tzoowaſh; they ſpeak a language quite different from the Mahometan Tartars in theſe parts, who uſe a corrupted dialect of the Arabic. The Mahometans likewiſe have ſome learning; but the Tzerimiſh and Tzoowaſh have none. They have a tradition among them, that, in former times, they had a book on religion; but as no body could read it, a cow came and ſwallowed it. They pay great veneration to a bull. From whence they came is unknown; but, from their complexion, it is probable they are from Aſia. They live by agriculture; and ſeem to be an inoffenſive kind of people. Their huntſmen offer in ſacrifice, to ſome deity, the firſt creature they catch. Hence ſome curious men have imagined theſe people part of the ten tribes of the Jews, expelled by Shalmanezer. I advance this only as a conjecture, which every reader may follow or not, as he pleaſes.

By accident, I met with an Engliſhman at this place. He was by trade a carpenter; and had been in the Ruſſian ſervice; but, being ſuſpected of deſerting, he was condemned to baniſhment, to this country, for a certain time; and, notwithſtanding that was elapſed, the poor man, deprived of all means of aſſerting his liberty, remained ſtill in the ſame ſituation. He bought a Tzerimiſh wife from her father, for ſix roubles, about thirty ſhillings ſterling. He brought her to viſit me. She was a woman of a cheerful and open countenance, and dreſſed in the manner of her country; of which, for its ſingularity, I ſhall give a ſhort deſcription.

Her hair was plaited round her head, in many locks, but that on the back part longer than the reſt, at the end of which was tied a taſſel of red ſilk, and in the middle a ſmall round braſs bell. About her head was a fillet ſet with ſmall ſhells, inſtead of jewels, and hung all round with ſilver pence. Above this was a piece of linen ſo artfully plaited and done up, that it looked like a grenadier's cap; at the top was a ſilk taſſel, with another braſs bell, which gingled as ſhe turned her head. The reſt of her dreſs was clean, though homely; and the whole ſeemed becoming enough.

I think

I think the cold is here more intenſe than at St. Peterſburg, though it is five or ſix degrees farther ſouth. In going about three miles from town, in a clear day, I had my face, fingers, and toes frozen, notwithſtanding I was not half an hour on the road. I applied the common cure, that is, rubbing the numbed parts with ſnow, which I found perfectly effectual.

December 24th, our ambaſſador arrived from Moſco. At the ſame time came an expreſs from court, with the important news of the Crown Princeſs (as ſhe was commonly called) being ſafely delivered of a ſon, chriſtened by the name of Peter. She died ſoon after her delivery, univerſally lamented for her many rare and excellent virtues. She was of the Wolffenbuttle family, and wife to Alexy Petrovitz, the Czarevitz. Beſides this young Prince, ſhe left a Princeſs called Natalia.

At Cazan we found two Swediſh generals, Hamilton and Roſen, and many other officers of diſtinction, taken priſoners at Poltava, who were no farther confined than by having a ſoldier of the garriſon to attend them at their lodgings; and, by the generoſity of the governor, lived as eaſily as circumſtances would allow. Theſe gentlemen were invited to all the public diverſions; and, by their polite and agreeable behaviour, contributed not a little to our paſſing the winter with a good deal of pleaſure, in ſuch a remote part of the world.

Upon the banks of the Cazanka ſtands a monaſtery, very pleaſantly ſituated. I accompanied our interpreter to viſit the abbot, who received us in a very friendly manner. He would not, however, give the interpreter his bleſſing, nor admit him into the church during divine ſervice, unleſs he pulled off his wig. He, profeſſing the communion of the Greek church, expoſtulated a little with the prieſt, telling him that their learned biſhops at Moſco made no ſuch ſcruples. The abbot replied, that it was contrary to the rules of diſcipline to allow any man to enter the church with his head covered.

The time was now come when we expected to leave Cazan. Our boats were ready in the beginning of May, but the Volga was ſtill ſo high and rapid, that it was reckoned dangerous to proceed till the flood ſubſided; for the force of the ſtream frequently carries veſſels from their courſe into the woods, where the water retiring, leaves them on dry land.

At laſt, on the 4th of June 1716, we left Cazan in eight barks, and rowed down the river with great velocity. In the night, one of our boats was driven, by the rapidity of the current, among the woods, and ſtuck faſt between two trees, upon which the people climbed, being apprehenſive of danger. The conſequence, however, was not ſo fatal as the circumſtances were alarming; for the veſſel was got off next day with inconſiderable damage.

The 7th, we paſſed a ſmall town called Tetooſk, and the 9th, Sinbirſky, pretty large, and the capital of a province of that name, both to the right. Sinbirſky is defended by a caſtle. Near this place are evident marks of camps and entrenchments, which I was told were the works of the great Tartar general called Timyrak-ſack, or Lame Timyr, or Tamerlane, who came to this place with a great army; but, being informed of an inſurrection in his own country, Samarkant, now Bucharia, returned home.

The 10th, we put off from Sinbirſky with the wind contrary, which greatly retarded our progreſs. We paſſed two hills, one of them exhibiting a very beautiful proſpect, the other containing mines of ſulphur, as clear as amber. We paſſed alſo a mound of ſand, of conſiderable bigneſs, in the middle of a plain, where they ſay was buried a famous Tartar Prince called Mamay.

The 20th, we arrived at the town of Samara, ſituated to the left, in a fine plain. The place is but ſmall, and fortified only with a ditch and paliſades, with wooden towers

towers at proper diſtances, mounted with cannon ſufficient to defend it againſt the incurſions of the Tarrars, called Kara Kalpacks, or Black Kaps, who inhabit the deſert to the eaſtward of this place.

This tribe of Tartars is not very conſiderable; and, when their chiefs are united, which ſeldom happens, can ſcarce raiſe above ten or twelve thouſand men, who are all mounted on horſeback; becauſe, in their long marches, to rob and plunder their neighbours, nothing but horſe could be of any uſe. They live always in tents, with their flocks, removing from place to place, as led by inclination or neceſſity. Their weapons are bows and arrows, and ſabres; ſome of them uſe fire-arms. While we were at Samara, the inhabitants were alarmed with the approach of two or three thouſand of theſe people, who encamped about three miles diſtant. From one of the towers I could plainly ſee their camp, and them riding about it. As they had not artillery, the garriſon was in no danger, though ſo weak, however, that it durſt not at this time attack them. The people were obliged to keep a conſtant watch to defend their cattle. This place is reckoned about three hundred and fifty verſt diſtant from Cazan.

The 21ſt, having provided freſh hands for the navigation of our barks, we departed from Samara; and, the weather being calm, rowed down the river, which is here very broad. The weſtern bank is very high, but the eaſtern quite flat. The fields on both ſides are very fruitful, but eſpecially to the weſt, where the graſs grows very high, intermixed with ſage, thyme, and other herbs; there are alſo ſome woods of oaks. A few hundred acres of ſuch land would be of great value in England, though it is here waſte and uncultivated.

We came the 25th to the Iſmeyovi-gory, or Serpent-hills, ſo called from the windings of the river at this place; and, after paſſing ſeveral towns, and many villages, all on the right, we landed at Saratof, a large town on the ſame ſide, about eight hundred and fifty verſt from Cazan. It is but ſlightly fortified with a ditch, wooden walls, and towers mounted with cannon, and defended by a garriſon of regular troops and Coſſacks.

We dined next day with the Governor, who entertained us with great variety of proviſions, particularly fiſh, and very fine mutton.

After dinner, a party of us croſſed the river, to viſit a great horſe-market, held by the Kalmuck Tartars. We ſaw about five or ſix hundred of theſe people aſſembled in a field, with a number of horſes, all running looſe, except thoſe on which the Tartars were mounted. The buyers came from different parts of Ruſſia. The Tartars had their tents pitched along the river ſide. Theſe tents are of a conical figure. There are ſeveral long poles erected, inclining to one another, which are fixed at the top into ſomething like a hoop, that forms the circumference of an aperture for letting out the ſmoke, or admitting the light. Acroſs the poles are laid ſome ſmall rods, from four to ſix feet long, and faſtened to them with thongs: this frame is covered with pieces of felt, made of coarſe wool and hair. Theſe tents afford better ſhelter than any other kind: and are ſo contrived, as to be ſet up, taken down, folded, and packed up, with great eaſe and quickneſs, and ſo light, that a camel may carry five or ſix of them. Where the Chan, or any perſon of character, reſides, they are placed in ſtraight lines. Theſe Tartars are ſtrong made ſtout men, their faces broad, noſes flattiſh, and eyes ſmall and black, but very quick. Their dreſs is very ſimple, conſiſting of a looſe coat of ſheep ſkins tied with a girdle, a ſmall round cap, turned up with fur, having a taſſel of red ſilk at the top, leather or linen drawers, and boots. Their heads are all ſhaved, except a lock behind, which is plaited, and hangs down their backs.

They are armed with bows and arrows, a ſabre, and lance, which they manage with great dexterity, acquired by conſtant practice from their infancy. They are men of courage and reſolution; but much afraid of cannon, which puts their horſes in diſorder. As they are almoſt always on horſe-back, they are excellent riders.

The dreſs of the women differs little from that of the men; only their gowns are ſomewhat longer than the coats of the men, a little ornamented, and bordered with party-coloured cloth. They wear ear-rings, and their hair all plaited in locks. The better ſort dreſs in ſilks in ſummer. It muſt be obſerved, for the honour of their women, that they are very honeſt and ſincere, and few of them lewd. Adultery is a crime ſcarce ever heard of. The Tartars make very good and faithful ſervants; and the more mildly they are uſed the better they perform their duty; for their wandering unconfined manner of life naturally inſpires them with ſentiments of liberty, and averſion and hatred to tyranny and oppreſſion.

All their wealth is their flocks. Like thoſe who lived in the early ages of the world, they have camels, horſes, cows, and ſheep. The horſes are of a good ſize for the ſaddle, and very hardy; as they run wild till they are ſometimes ſix years old, they are generally headſtrong. They are ſold at this fair at five to fifteen or ſixteen crowns, and the ſtrong well-ſhaped natural pacers much higher. They have few camels, but many dromedaries, who have two protuberances on their backs. Their cows are of a middle ſize; the ſheep large, having broad tails like thoſe in Turkey; the wool is coarſe, but the mutton very fine.

In the preceding century, a Kalmuck prince, named Torgott-Chorluke, came from Alack-Ulla, (which ſignifies the ſpotted mountains), a country ſituated between Siberia on the north, and India on the ſouth, to the borders of Ruſſia; and brought along with him about fifty thouſand families or tents, as they ſometimes reckon. In his march weſtward to the Volga, he defeated Eyball-utzick a Tartar prince, who lived in tents beyond the river Enbo. Advancing forward, he met three other Tartar chiefs, named Kitta-haptzay, Malebaſh, and Etzan, whom he alſo defeated; and at laſt ſettled to the eaſt of the Volga, under the protection of the Ruſſians. Chorluke had ſix ſons. Dangtzinq, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him in the government or chanſhip.

The preſent chan, named Aijuka, is the fourth from Chorluke, and is much eſteemed in the Eaſt for his ſagacity and juſtice. I am informed that the reaſon why Chorluke left his own country, was a diſpute about the ſucceſſion to the chanſhip. He being engaged on the weakeſt ſide, and having unſucceſsfully tried his fortune in the field, at laſt took the reſolution of abandoning his own country altogether. Theſe people are generally called the Black Kalmucks, though they are not black, but only ſwarthy.

They have no money, except what they get from the Ruſſians, and their other neighbours, in exchange for cattle. With this they buy meal ſometimes, but moſtly cloth, ſilk ſtuffs, and other apparel, for their women. They have no mechanics, except thoſe who make arms. They avoid all labour as the greateſt ſlavery; their only employment is tending their flocks, managing their horſes, and hunting. If they are angry with a perſon, they wiſh he may live in one place, and work like a Ruſſian. Their language contains none of thoſe horrid oaths common enough in tongues of more enlightened nations. They believe virtue leads to happineſs, and vice to miſery; for, when deſired to do what they think wrong, they reply, in a proverb, 'Though a knife be ſharp, it cannot cut its own handle.'

On long marches, all their proviſions conſiſt of cheeſe, or rather dried curd, made up into little balls, which they drink when pounded and mixed with water. If this

kind of food fails, they have always many ſpare horſes, which they kill and eat. They broil or roaſt the fleſh before the fire, on pieces of broken arrows, and never eat it raw, as is commonly believed, unleſs compelled by neceſſity. They have, indeed, large thick pieces of horſe fleſh, ſmoked or dried in the ſun, which they eat; but this cannot properly be called raw. I have taſted ſome of it, and thought it not amiſs.

As to their religion, I can ſay little: they are downright heathens; and have many lamas or prieſts, who can read and write, and are diſtinguiſhed by their yellow habits. Their high prieſt is called Delay Lama, and lives far to the eaſtward.

July 1ſt, we put off from Saratof; and the 2d, 7th, and 9th, paſſed the towns of Kamoſhinka, Czaritza, and Tzorno-yarr, all ſituated on the weſt bank, and fortified in the ſame manner as Saratof. At the firſt of theſe places, Captain Perry, an Engliſhman, with many workmen, was employed in cutting a canal between the Volga and the Don, which would have opened a paſſage to the Euxine Sea; but the ground being very hard, and riſing in ſome places conſiderably above the level, the enterpriſe was laid aſide, though the diſtance was not above fifty verſt.

From Tzorno-yarr to Aſtrachan, it is not ſafe for Ruſſians to travel on the weſtern banks of the Volga, on account of the Cuban Tartars, who are their enemies. To the eaſt, however, there is no danger, as the Kalmucks are friends. On the iſlands in the Volga, I obſerved great quantities of liquoriſh growing wild.

The 13th, we arrived ſafe at Aſtrachan, and were lodged in the citadel. This place was taken from the Tartars in the year 1554, by the warlike Czar Ivan Vaſiliovitz; whereby all his conqueſts on the Volga were ſecured, and the way prepared for farther extending the Ruſſian dominion to the ſouth and eaſt, which hath been ſucceſsfully attempted ſince his time.

CHAP. III.—*Occurrences during our Stay at Aſtrachan; our Journey thence to Shamachy.*

ASTRACHAN is ſituated about ſixty verſt from the Caſpian Sea, on an iſland in the Volga, having the main branch of that river to the weſtward. It is fortified by a ſtrong brick wall, with embraſures, and ſquare towers at proper diſtances. In the citadel are the cathedral church, governor's palace, and the public offices. There is a creek or haven for ſhips that navigate the river and the Caſpian Sea. The houſes are generally built with wood, conveyed in rafts along the river; for the neighbouring country produces nothing, being all a barren deſert. To the weſtward there is no water to be found for many miles. The iſlands, however, adjacent to the town, are very fruitful, and produce excellent grapes, tranſplanted hither from Perſia and other parts; alſo water-melons, eſteemed the beſt in the world; and various kinds of muſk-melons, peaches, cherries, pears, apples, and apricots.

Here are ſeveral large vineyards, belonging partly to the court, and partly to private perſons. There is a Frenchman who ſuperintends them. The wines are very good when drunk on the ſpot, but cannot bear carriage, for the leaſt motion renders them inſipid. Were it not for this circumſtance, Ruſſia would be able, not only to ſupply itſelf abundantly with wine, but even other parts of Europe. This pernicious quality is attributed to the nitrous particles of the ſoil where the vines grow. I have myſelf ſeen, in the furrows made for watering them, a whitiſh cruſt of ſalt: but the grapes, notwithſtanding, are very ſweet, without the leaſt tincture of tartneſs.

About

About a mile below the town are collected great quantities of common ſalt. The people dig pits, into which they introduce the water; which, being exhaled by the heat of the ſun, the ſalt is left upon the bottom. After gathering, they tranſport it along the river, in large barks of about five or ſix hundred ton. The gun-powder manufactory is a little above the town; in which, and in the mines of ſaltpetre, near this place, are employed a great number of workmen for the ſervice of the government.

The climate is healthy, though very hot. The weather is generally calm, during which great numbers of gnats and muſkitos infeſt the inhabitants. Theſe vermine indeed are ſometimes diſperſed by a breeze from the ſea, which renders this place very pleaſant. They are hatched and ſheltered in the marſhes towards the ſea, which are ſo overgrown with ſtrong tall reeds that they are altogether impaſſable.

The Mahometan Tartars here live without the town, and have the ſame privileges as in other places. I met ſeveral of their women in the ſtreet with rings in their noſes, which were of different value, according to the rank of the perſon who wore them; ſome of gold, and others ſet with precious ſtones. On inquiring the reaſon of ſuch a ſingular ornament, I was told, that it was the conſequence of a religious dedication of theſe perſons to the ſervice of God: it is made by the parents, even while the mother is pregnant; in token whereof, as ſoon as the child is born, they put a ring in the right noſtril, which continues there till death. I have ſeen ſome with two ſuch rings.

Aſtrachan is a place of conſiderable trade to Perſia, Chiva, Bucharia, and India. The people of theſe nations have a common caravanſery, where they live and expoſe their goods to ſale.

The Armenians carry on the greateſt part of the Perſian trade; for the Perſians themſelves ſeldom go out of their own country. There are a few Indians, or Banians, at this place, who have a ſtreak of yellow down their forehead, made with ſaffron or ſome other vegetable. They are a good-natured, innocent kind of people, and live moſtly on fruits.

The market is plentifully ſupplied with proviſions of all kinds; but eſpecially fiſh, of which no place that I know abounds with ſuch variety. After the ſale is over, which is uſually about ten o'clock, what remains of the common ſorts is thrown to the dung-hill, where the hogs and poultry feed upon them; and hence it happens that their very pork and fowls taſte of fiſh. It would be tedious to mention all the different kinds this place affords: I cannot, however, omit the carp, which for ſize exceeds all of that name I ever heard of. I have ſeen ſome of them of more than thirty pounds weight, very fat and luſcious. Thoſe caught in autumn are carried to Moſco frozen, and ſold there and in the places adjacent.

I obſerved alſo a great variety of uncommon birds, whereof I ſhall deſcribe a few that ſeemed moſt extraordinary.

The firſt I ſhall mention, called by the Ruſſians Baba, is of a gray colour, and larger than a ſwan; he has a broad bill, under which hangs a bag that may contain a quart or more; he wades near the edge of the river, and, on ſeeing a ſhoal of fry, or ſmall fiſhes, ſpreads his wings and drives them to a ſhallow, where he gobbles as many of them as he can into his bag, and then going aſhore, eats them, or carries them to his young. This bird I take to be the Pelican.

The next is altogether white, except its feet, which are black; it is ſomewhat leſs than a heron, and has a long broad bill. The Germans call this bird Leffelganze, the Ruſſians Kolpeck.

There is another about the ſame ſize, alſo white; but its feet are long and red, and its bill crooked and round, and as red as coral: its wings are adorned with ſome bright ſcarlet feathers.

Beſides theſe, I ſaw a kind of duck, ſomething bigger than the common ſort, called Turpan; it is eaſily tamed, and much admired for its beauty, and a certain kind of noiſe peculiar to itſelf. I have eat of all theſe fowls; but did not much reliſh them, on account of the fiſhy taſte with which they are all infected.

There are alſo patridges and buſtards, which need no deſcription. The Kalmucks, who are keen ſportſmen, particularly at hawking, in which they have arrived to a great perfection, kill the buſtards with bows and arrows: when they ſee them feeding, they ride in upon them at full ſpeed; and as the buſtard is a heavy bird, and mounts ſlowly, they have an opportunity of ſhooting them with broad-headed arrows.

On the banks of the Volga, there is a ſpecies of deer of a brighter red, and ſomewhat larger than the fallow-deer; they have green horns, but not branched, about nine inches long, and covered with circles, riſing one above another to the point, which is very ſharp. This deer is very ſwift, and its fleſh excellent; it has a high ſnout of griſtle, which riſes very near to the eyes—a circumſtance which I have not obſerved in any other animal.

I ſaw alſo a ſmall lively creature, called an Aſtrachan hare, about the ſize of a ſquirrel, and of a reddiſh colour, remarkable for having the fore-feet very ſhort in proportion to the hind-feet; its tail is long, with a tuft of hair at the extremity; it burrows in the earth, and, being a very pretty creature, I have ſometimes ſeen them in cages. The Kalmucks eat them very greedily.

While we were at Aſtrachan, an ambaſſador arrived there, from the Chan of Chiva, going to St. Peterſburg. On his arrival he ſent, according to the eaſtern cuſtom, ſome ſmall preſents to our ambaſſador; they were brought by a part of his retinue, and conſiſted of a hawking glove, a ſmall knife, an embroidered purſe, and ſome fruits.

Chiva is a large territory, lying about two or three days journey eaſtward from the Caſpian Sea; bounded by Perſia on the ſouth, and Bucharia to the eaſt. The capital, which bears the ſame name, is large and populous, and governed by a Chan, elected by the people. They are very troubleſome and dangerous, both to travellers and their neighbours, being frequently employed either in robbing the former, or making depredations on the latter. And though Chiva is well fortified, its ſituation, in ſo ſandy and barren a deſert, is its beſt defence.

One day, as I was walking through the ſtreets of Aſtrachan, I obſerved a very ſingular appearance: it was a pretty Tartar lady, mounted aſtride upon an ox; ſhe had a ring in her noſe, and a ſtring drawn through the noſe of the ox, which ſerved inſtead of a bridle: ſhe was dreſſed better than common, and attended by a footman. The ſingularity of the equipage, but particularly her extraordinary beauty, drew my attention. The Mahometan muſt not be confounded with the Kalmuck Tartars; the firſt are a well-looked civilized people in compariſon of the other.

Before I leave Aſtrachan it may be proper to rectify a miſtaken opinion, which I have obſerved frequently to occur in grave German authors, who, in treating of the remarkable things of this country, relate that there grows in this deſert, or ſtepp, adjoining to Aſtrachan, in ſome plenty, a certain ſhrub or plant, called in the Ruſſian language Tartarſkey Baraſhka, *i. e.* Tartarian lamb, with the ſkin of which the caps of the Armenians, Perſians, Tartars, &c. are faced. They alſo write, that this Tartarſkey Baraſhka

partakes of animal as well as vegetative life; that it eats up and devours all the graſs and weeds within its reach. Though it may be thought that an opinion ſo very abſurd could find no credit with people of the meaneſt ſhare of underſtanding, yet I have converſed with ſome who have ſeemed much inclined to believe it; ſo very prevalent is the prodigious and abſurb with ſome part of mankind.

In ſearch of this wonderful plant, I walked many a mile, accompanied by Tartars who inhabit theſe deſerts: but all I could find out were ſome dry buſhes, ſcattered here and there, which grow on a ſingle ſtalk, with a buſhy top, of a browniſh colour; the ſtalk is about eighteen inches high, the top conſiſting of ſharp prickly leaves. It is true, that no graſs or weeds grow within the circle of its ſhade; a property natural to many other plants here and elſewhere. After further inquiry of the more ſenſible and experienced among the Tartars, I found they laughed at it as a ridiculous fable.

At Aſtrachan, they have great quantities of lamb ſkins, gray and black; ſome waved, others curled, all naturally, and very pretty, having a fine gloſs, particularly the waved, which, at a ſmall diſtance, appear like the richeſt watered tabby: they are much eſteemed, and are much uſed for the lining of coats, and the turning up of caps, in Perſia, Ruſſia, and other parts. The beſt of theſe are brought from Bucharia, Chiva, and the countries adjacent, and are taken out of the ewe's belly, after ſhe hath been killed, or the lamb is killed immediately after it is lambed; for ſuch a ſkin is equal in value to the ſheep.

The Kalmucks, and other Tartars, who inhabit the deſert in the neighbourhood of Aſtrachan, have alſo lamb-ſkins, which are applied to the ſame purpoſes; but the wool of theſe being rougher, and more hairy, they are far inferior to thoſe of Bucharia or Chiva, both in gloſs and beauty, as alſo in the dreſſing, conſequently in value. I have known one ſingle lamb ſkin of Bucharia ſold for five or ſix ſhillings ſterling, when one of theſe would not yield two ſhillings.

On the 5th of Auguſt, we quitted Aſtrachan in five veſſels, three of them flat-bottomed, and of about an hundred and fifty tons burthen, with three maſts and ten guns each; the other two common barks. We ſailed from Aſtrachan about noon; and at night came to an anchor at a fiſhery, called Utzugg. Both the banks are now flat; to the weſtward barren ſands, and to the eaſt marſhy and tall reeds, abounding with vermine; ſo that we neither eat nor ſleep in quiet, notwithſtanding all the precautions we could uſe. I muſt confeſs this place had an aſpect of horror, eſpecially when it is conſidered, that, beſides the wild and diſmal appearance of the banks, we were carried down a mighty river, into a great gulf, in many places of dangerous navigation, and whoſe ſhores are inhabited by inhoſpitable and barbarous nations; for ſuch I reckon all of them, except the Ruſſians and Perſians.

Next morning, at break of day, we got under ſail, and about ten entered the Caſpian Sea; into which the river diſcharges itſelf by ſeven or eight large channels, and many leſſer ones: two only of theſe channels are navigable by ſhips of any burthen. At night, we caſt anchor near four hillocks of dry ſand, caſt up by the ſea, called Tzeterey Bugory, computed to be about thirty verſt from the mouth of the Volga: all which diſtance we had not above ſix or ſeven feet water; and even this depth is very narrow; ſo that the paſſage is extremely dangerous in hard gales of wind.

The 7th, early, we again ſet ſail with a gentle breeze from the ſhore, which ſoon drove us into three fathom water, and out of ſight of land; the water however ſtill continued freſh as the river. About noon the wind ſhifted to the ſouth, which obliged

us

us to come to an anchor, where we lay for near three weeks in calms and contrary winds.

All this time we did not ſee a ſingle ſhip beſides our own, except one Ruſs veſſel that came from Guilan in Perſia, with ſome Armenian merchants, who made a preſent to the ambaſſador of a baſket of oranges, melons, and other fruits, which was the more acceptable, as our own proviſions of that kind were all ſpent. As often as the weather would permit we got under ſail, and endeavoured to reach the road of Terky, a ſmall fortified town belonging to the Ruſſians, on the north-weſt corner of the Caſpian Sea, where we might be ſupplied with proviſions, but the continual calms prevented our ſucceſs.

On the evening of the 26th of Auguſt, the wind changed to the north-weſt; we hoiſted all the ſail we could, ſteering our courſe ſouth ſouth-eaſt, and, before night, paſſed the iſland of Tallen, i. e. of Seals; many of which animals haunt this place. It continued to blow hard the whole night; and next morning we were in ſight of the mountains called Skaſſkall, which were diſtant about fifteen leagues. We proceeded the whole day, edging always a little nearer to the ſhore.

The 28th, in the evening, it fell calm; and, being about ſix leagues off the land, we caſt anchor. Next day, the wind blowing fair, in the afternoon we paſſed the town of Derbent. The ambaſſador ordered the caſtle to be ſaluted with nine guns; but it ſeems the people are not accuſtomed to make any return. It is a place conſiderably large, and the frontier of Perſia in this quarter. It is fortified in the ancient manner, with a ſtrong ſtone-wall, which reaches from the mountains to the ſhore, ſo that no army can paſs this way except mountaineers, or Tartars, who find roads every where. Derbent being a place of great conſequence, is provided plentifully with cannon and ammunition, and a ſtrong garriſon, governed by a commandant appointed by the Chan, or governor of Shamachy, on which province it depends. It is reported that it was built by Alexander the Great. About the place there ſtill remain ſeveral monuments of antiquity: particularly large ſtones, with inſcriptions in uncommon characters. South from Derbent ſtands a very high mountain, called Shachdagh, the top of which is covered with ſnow the whole year round, though the vallies are exceedingly hot.

Auguſt the 30th, we arrived at Niezabatt, the place where we intended to land, on the territories of Perſia. It lies about two days journey eaſt from Derbent. There being no harbour nor creek, we hauled up our ſhips upon the ſhore, which we performed with little trouble, as they were all flat-bottomed.

The ſhip in which was our ſecretary Monſ. Venigerkind, and ſeveral other officers, did not arrive till three o'clock afternoon. The wind was now very high, and a great ſea upon the beach, which obliged them to drop an anchor in the open road; but the wind blowing ſtill harder, it became dangerous to ride there, the ſkipper therefore ſlipt the cable, and ſtood out to ſea. The gentlemen, however, did not like their ſituation on board; and, being eager to get to land, ordered the maſter to run the ſhip aſhore, and they would be accountable for the conſequences: which he, a Hollander, in the Czar's ſervice, unwillingly complied with, under an eaſy ſail, about two miles eaſtward of the place where we lay. All hands went to their aſſiſtance, but without effect; for, though the ſhip had received no damage, yet the ſea run ſo high, that the boat could not be hoiſted out to carry them to land.

In the mean time, the ſecretary, impatient of remaining on board in ſuch circumſtances, prevailed with one of the tailors to carry him aſhore on his back: which being done, he took his way alone towards the other ſhips; but his cloaths being drenched in

the ſalt-water, and the road lying through deep ſands, he was ſoon fatigued; and therefore retired nearer to the woods, in hopes of finding a more ſmooth and eaſy path. He diſcovered what he ſought; but, inſtead of leading him to the ſhips, it carried him away from the ſhore, and the right courſe into thick encumbered woods; and in theſe circumſtances night overtook him, utterly ignorant of the diſmal and dangerous wild into which he had wandered. Thus deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, he climbed a tree to ſave himſelf from the wild beaſts with which theſe woods abound; and in this ſituation continued all the night, and till noon next day; for the people in his own ſhip never doubted of his having ſafely reached our tents; while we, on the contrary, had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of his having come aſhore. At laſt, however, about noon, his ſervant came, enquiring for his maſter, who, he told us, left the ſhip the night before. This account filled us all with anxiety and apprehenſion; as we certainly concluded he would either be torn to pieces by the wild beaſts, or murdered by the ſavages who inhabit theſe coaſts. Immediate order was given for all our people to repair to the woods in ſearch of him. He was at laſt found wandering from path to path, without knowing one direction from another. When he came to the tents he looked ghaſtly and wild, and related many ſtrange ſtories of what he had heard in the night. All poſſible care was taken to alleviate his diſtreſs. During his ſleep, which was very diſcompoſed, he often ſtarted, groaned, and ſpoke; and, even after he awaked, he perſiſted in affirming that there were numbers of people round the tree in the night talking different languages. The imagination, no doubt, will naturally have a ſtrong effect on any man in ſuch uncommon circumſtances; for, though the ſecretary was a man of penetration and ſound judgment, in vain did we endeavour to undeceive him, by repreſenting that it was nothing but the jackals which made the noiſe he had heard; and that, to be convinced of the truth of this affirmation, he needed only, at the approach of night, to ſtep a little from the tents, where he would hear the ſame ſounds repeated. All was to no purpoſe, ſince he inſiſted that the noiſe he heard was quite different from the yelpings of the jackals. He ſcarce ever recovered his former ſagacity and ſoundneſs of mind. I muſt confeſs the ſituation of this gentleman moved me not a little, as he was a man of parts and learning, with whom I had contracted an intimate friendſhip.

Since I have mentioned the jackals, it may not be improper to give a ſhort account of theſe animals. They are of a ſize larger than a fox, of the ſhape and colour of a wolf, with a ſhort buſhy tail. They dig burrows in the earth, in which they lie all day, and come out in the night to range for prey. They aſſemble in flocks among the woods, and frequently near towns and villages, when they make the hideous noiſe formerly mentioned, reſembling, in ſome meaſure, a human voice, or the noiſe of the Tartars and Coſſacks when they attack their enemies. They have fine noſes; and hence the vulgar opinion has ariſen, that they hunt prey for the lion. They are in great plenty all over Perſia, and eſteemed harmleſs creatures.

As ſoon as we landed, the ambaſſador diſpatched an interpreter to Shamachy, to notify his arrival to the governor of that place, and to deſire him to ſend camels and horſes to tranſport him thither. The interpreter was kindly received, and an order was immediately iſſued out for anſwering his demands.

September the 1ſt, the Chan of Shamachy ſent an officer of diſtinction to ſalute the ambaſſador; and the next day a preſent of proviſions, conſiſting of an ox, ſome ſheep, with fruits and confections.

About ſix or eight leagues to the eaſtward of Niezabart is a high rock, called Barmach, or the Finger, upon the ſhore, which a great many of the Armenians viſit annually

ally to pay their devotions. They have a tradition that the prophet Elijah lived ſome years at this place.

September 2d, we were a little alarmed with intelligence, that a conſiderable body of mountaineers had plundered ſome villages in our neighbourhood. We had not yet received any guard from the Perſians, and were therefore obliged to take every precaution poſſible for our defence. We armed all our own people, and all the ſailors; and beſides theſe we had twenty ſoldiers from the garriſon of Aſtrachan. Cannon were brought from the ſhips and planted in proper places, to prevent a ſurpriſe. Theſe preparations ſeemed to have intimidated the undiſciplined ſavages, for they never attacked us.

Two days journey eaſtward from Niezbatt ſtand Abſheroon and Backu, two conſiderable towns. At the former is a good harbour, reckoned the beſt in the Caſpian Sea, except that of Aſtrabatt, which lies in the ſouth-eaſt corner of it. All the reſt are ſo dangerous, that they ſcarce deſerve the name of harbours.

In the neighbourhood of Backu are many fountains of Naphtha; it is a ſort of petroleum, of a brown colour, and inflammable nature. The Perſians burn it in their lamps; no rain can extinguiſh it, but the ſmell is diſagreeable. I have ſeen of it as clear as rock-water.

The Caſpian Sea is of an oblong irregular figure, about one hundred and fifty leagues in length from north to ſouth, and forty or fifty leagues broad. The water is exceſſively ſalt, except where it is ſweetened by the Volga, which is at leaſt to the diſtance of ten leagues from the influx of that river.

The navigation of the Caſpian belongs ſolely to the Ruſſians; the Perſians and other borderers having nothing but fiſhing-boats. It contains abundance of fiſh, but no ſhell-fiſh, except a kind of cockle, the ſhells of which are very pretty. In ſome places there is a great depth of water. The Perſians obſerve that, of late, the ſea has retired conſiderably from the ſhore; which they reckon ominous, preſaging ſome calamity to the kingdom. It has no tides but ſuch as are cauſed by the wind; and, notwithſtanding the great quantities of water daily received, it continues nearly about the ſame height. Dr. Halley has demonſtrated, that exhalations in ſo hot a climate is ſufficient to account for this phenomenon, without having recourſe to ſubterraneous paſſages.

The 4th, I was conducted by an Armenian merchant ſome leagues from our tents to viſit a Perſian. We were received in a very complaiſant and friendly manner; the houſe was clean, and the floor ſpread with carpets. Our entertainment conſiſted of coffee and boiled rice.

On the 11th, arrived two Jeſuits from India, named Valery and Martinet, on their way to Rome. They petitioned the ambaſſador for a paſſage in one of our ſhips to Aſtrachan, which was granted. About this time many of our retinue began to be ſeized with different diſeaſes, particularly fevers, fluxes, and agues, which, in a few days, made ſuch progreſs, that, at the ambaſſador's table, where ſeldom fewer than ten dined, he and myſelf only were preſent. Theſe diſtempers exhibited a moſt diſagreeable proſpect, and made us wiſh earneſtly to leave a place that threatened our deſtruction. For this purpoſe meſſengers were daily ſent to the Chan of Shamachy to diſpatch the camels, horſes, and mules. Some of them, indeed, were already come, but not near the number we needed; for our numerous ſick could only be tranſported on litters carried by mules.

The 12th, a conductor, called Mamander, arrived with a guard of Perſian ſoldiers, and ſome more cattle, which were ſtill too few. This officer is appointed by the Shach,

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or King, to guide ambaſſadors to court, and furniſh them with proviſions, carriages, and lodgings, at the Shach's expence, from the time they enter the kingdom.

Having accommodated ourſelves in the beſt manner we could, we quitted Niezabatt on the 18th, keeping along the ſhore; and at night came to a ſmall village, about three agatz from Niezabatt. We found the houſes all empty, the people having fled to the woods or mountains on our approach.

The 20th, we reached a village about four agatz (an agatz is reckoned to be four Engliſh miles) from the former, where we lodged again in empty houſes; and the 21ſt, proceeded four agatz further to a brook of white and muddy water, where we pitched our tents. About noon next day we came to a fountain of pure water, under a great oak. Here we halted two hours to refreſh the ſick; and, after travelling four agatz further, arrived at an old caravanſery; a long day's journey for people in ſuch diſtreſs.

The caravanſeries are generally large ſquare buildings, with a court in the middle. All round there are rooms for lodging travellers, and on one ſide a ſtable for horſes. They are of different ſizes and conſtructions, according to the bounty or ability of the founder. Some are built by charitable people, others by good Kings. They are ſituated as near freſh water as poſſible, and about a day's journey from one another.

As there are no inns in the eaſt, theſe caravanſeries in ſome meaſure ſupply that defect, though nothing is found in them but ſhelter. They are, however, very convenient for travellers; and ſome of them can contain five hundred men, with their horſes. There is commonly an old man, who cleans the rooms, and fetches neceſſaries from the next town or village.

The 23d, we halted to refreſh the ſick; and here we buried two of our mechanics.

The 24th, we travelled to a ruinous caravanſery, about four agatz from the former. This was the firſt inſtance that occurred of remiſſneſs and inattention in the preſent government of Perſia; for the King, without attending to his own affairs, allows himſelf to be guided entirely by thoſe whoſe intereſt it is to deceive him. Nothing, in the judgment of a foreigner, can render any people more contemptible than the notorious neglect of ſuch uſeful public edifices. This day we received another ſupply of proviſions from the Chan.

The 26th, we travelled to a plain within a league of Shamachy, where we lay all night, to be received into the town the day following in form and ceremony, according to the cuſtom of Perſia. At this place died my friend Capt. Jaques de Villette. He was a gentleman of a good family in France, and a very worthy man. And, beſides the captain, two ſervants died here.

CHAP. IV. — *Occurrences during our Stay at Shamachy. — Our Journey thence to Tauris.*

THE 27th, in the morning, came the Kalentar and Dorruga, with many of the inhabitants, to pay their compliments to the ambaſſador. Theſe officers are next in rank under the Chan, and have the ſole direction of affairs in his abſence. They brought ſome fine horſes, richly capariſoned, for the chief of the retinue. As we approached the place we were met by other officers, particularly the Divan, Begg, and Iſhagaſſy, and magiſtrates, all mounted on ſtately horſes, with rich furniture, which made a very ſplendid appearance. Before the ambaſſador's horſe two young fellows tumbled all the way, with great agility. About two o'clock we entered the city.

As we paſſed along the ſtreets, all the tops of the houſes were filled with ſpectators. At laſt the ambaſſador arrived at the houſe of one of the principal officers, which was allotted entirely to him and his attendants. The houſes in Perſia are moſtly flat-roofed. As there is but little rain in this country, a very ſmall declivity is ſufficient to carry off the water. I compute the diſtance between Niezabatt and Shamachy to be about twenty-five agatz, or an hundred miles.

October 1ſt, I had a viſit from a gentleman well dreſſed in the Perſian habit, and was not a little ſurpriſed to hear him talk good High Dutch. After ſome converſation, he told me he was born at Dantzick; that in his youth he came to Perſia with a Poliſh ambaſſador, who died at Iſpahan. That, ſome differences ariſing between him and his countrymen, to end the diſpute he turned Mahometan, and ſettled in Perſia, where he now enjoyed a ſmall ſalary as a linguiſt. He often repented of this raſh ſtep; but having a wife and children at Shamachy, he could not abandon them.

The day following, the Chan, with a numerous retinue, paid a ceremonial viſit to the ambaſſador. The Chan is a middle-aged man of a graceful aſpect, by birth a Georgian, of Chriſtian parents, but brought up at court from his infancy: and, it muſt be confeſſed, that his treatment of the ambaſſador was extremely obliging.

The 14th, the Chan ſent an invitation to the ambaſſador to go a hunting, with horſes for that purpoſe. We marched about two or three miles to the eaſtward, till we came to a plain overgrown with ſhort reeds. We ſprung a number of pheaſants, ten or fifteen whereof were killed by the Chan's hawks; and ſeveral hares were run down by the greyhounds, which were all ſent to the ambaſſador's lodgings.

About this time there happened a miſunderſtanding between the ambaſſador and ſecretary, by the imprudence of the latter. It is cuſtomary for the Shach to make preſents in money, or other things, to all ambaſſadors, according to the dignity of their reſpective maſters; and, though no money had yet been granted, the unlucky ſecretary, poor gentleman! not quite recovered, by an unſeaſonable and ill-adviſed claim, pretended a right to part of the future donative. The ambaſſador, on the contrary, alledged, that the ſecretary was entitled to nothing from him, except the privilege of his table, and proviſions for his ſervants. Both my ſituation in the retinue, and an indiſpoſition, prevented my intermeddling in this diſpute. I only adviſed the ſecretary to poſtpone his claim till ſome more favourable opportunity. My advice, however, had no effect, for the difference ſtill increaſed, till the ſecretary fell ſick, and was confined to his lodgings, where he died ſuddenly on the 5th of November.

This event was the more melancholy to me, in particular as it was unexpected. By the death of this gentleman, I was deprived of another worthy friend. He was a Saxon by birth; was candid, honeſt, and ſincere; and much eſteemed by all his acquaintance for his learning and capacity.

A few days after there arrived at Shamachy a Perſian ambaſſador, who had been in France, and had returned homeward through Ruſſia. His behaviour in France, and in other places, had been little for the honour of his maſter. The miniſtry at Iſpahan had perfect intelligence of his whole conduct, which he came to underſtand; and, being afraid to undergo a trial at court, went directly to the city of Erivan, the place of his reſidence when in his own country, where, as it was reported, he poiſoned himſelf. He had treated a French engineer, whom he engaged in the ſervice of his maſter, ſo cruelly, that he died two days after coming to Shamachy.

The 25th, I dined with Father Peter Ricard, in company with Monſ. Bourgard, a French merchant. This Father hath lived as a miſſionary in different places of Perſia

for many years: he had ſtudied phyſic, which he practiſed occaſionally, and thereby introduced himſelf to an acquaintance with many families of diſtinction: he is a man of a grave and ſober deportment, which procures him great reſpect: he has a ſmall congregation at this place, conſiſting only of Chriſtian Armenians, who have been converted from the communion of the Eaſtern to the Weſtern Church; for it is a capital crime to convert a Mahometan. Bourgard was employed by the Engliſh factory at Iſpahan to buy raw ſilks here to be ſent to Aleppo.

The ambaſſador ſent a preſent to the Chan of ſables and other rich furs, of conſiderable value; and had, in return, a fine horſe, with a ſaddle, bridle, and other trappings, mounted with gold.

Some time after there aroſe a diſpute between the ambaſſador and the Chan, about the Shach's gratuity; the firſt thought the ſum offered was too ſmall, while the latter affirmed he had no authority for a greater allowance. The determination of this affair detained us longer than we intended to ſtay; however, in the mean time, camels and horſes were ordered to be got ready. After many meſſages on both ſides, the Chan, unwilling to let the ambaſſador depart unſatisfied, ſent Monſ. Bourgard with an offer of ten tomans (a toman is equal to three pounds ſterling) a day, during his journey to Iſpahan, and that ſum for three days only of the time he continued at Shamachy: this propoſal was at laſt accepted, and the money paid. I ſhall, before we leave this place, add a few remarks on the city and its environs.

Shamachy is ſituated in about 40 degrees north latitude; it was anciently part of Media, but now the capital of an extenſive province called Shirvan. The city ſtands on the declivity of a hill, inclining to the ſouth, and riſes toward the top in form of an amphitheatre; the place is large, but the houſes are meanly built, excepting thoſe of the governor, the chief magiſtrates, and a few rich merchants; the ſtreets are narrow and irregular; the greater part of the inhabitants are Perſians; there is alſo a conſiderable number of Georgians and Armenians; the vulgar language is Turkiſh, but the people of diſtinction ſpeak Perſian. The air is more healthy than at places nearer to the Caſpian Sea.

Above the town, on the ſummit of a hill, ſtands an high edifice, having many windows and a gallery, in which, every day at the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, is held a kind of concert of muſic, compoſed of long trumpets, large drums, and hautboys, which make a dreadful ſound. It is reported, that this cuſtom is as ancient as the time of Alexander the Great.

There are alſo in the city ſeveral moſques with high pillars adjoining, which the moulla or prieſt aſcends every day at twelve o'clock to call the people to prayers, for the Mahometans uſe no bells. They have beſides ſeveral public baths, ſome for men, others for the women, to which both ſexes reſort daily for ablution, conformably to the law of their religion. The women go generally in companies of five or ſix, ſo concealed with a white veil, that nothing of them is viſible but the eyes and noſe. There are ſeveral ſpacious caravanſeries very convenient for ſtrangers or merchants, who there expoſe their commodities, for which they pay a ſmall impoſt.

There is a conſiderable traffic at this place, particularly in raw ſilk, which is produced in the neighbourhood; the greateſt part whereof is purchaſed by the Engliſh and Dutch factories at Iſpahan, and ſent to Aleppo; alſo cotton, which indeed is moſtly ſold to the natives, and conſumed in ſtuffs for their own uſe. The country about Shamachy, beſides many kinds of fruits, produces plenty of wheat, barley, and very fine grapes, from which the Chriſtians make very good wine; they keep it in great jars reſembling Florence oil ones, which they depoſit under ground in their gardens, cover-

ing them above with a thin ſtone neatly paſted about the edges, for the better preſervation of the liquor. When they give an entertainment they ſpread carpets round the jar, which is generally placed in a ſhade, and on theſe the gueſts are ſeated.

About two miles to the northward of the city, ſtands a high mountain, named Guiliſtan-dagh, where are ſeen the ruins of an ancient caſtle built of ſtone; it appeared not to be of eaſtern architecture. I could procure no information who was the founder, or by whom it was demoliſhed. Adjoining to this mountain is another, on which are the tombs of two ſaints, or heroes; whither great numbers of devout people come annually to worſhip. I obſerved near theſe tombs ſeveral hallowed rocks covered with ſmall ſhells brought hither by the worſhippers; I obſerved likewiſe, on the common rocks, many ſhells imprinted and petrified, which ſeemed very extraordinary.

December 4th, all things being prepared for our departure, we were furniſhed by the conductor, or maymander, with one hundred and ſixty camels, and near two hundred horſes and mules, on which we left Shamachy, travelling along the riſing grounds. We halted two days at an Armenian village, called Kalckanii.

On the 7th, we deſcended into a deſert plain, called by the Ruſſians Mugan, and by the Perſians Kurdiſtan. At midnight we came to ſome wells of brackiſh water, where we lodged in ſuch tents as are uſed by the inhabitants, which were prepared by the conductor.

We proceeded the 10th five agatz to a little copſe-wood where was found tolerable water; and the 11th arrived at the river Kure, or Cyre, which we paſſed on a bridge of boats, and pitched our tents on the other ſide. The water of the river is ſweet and wholeſome.

About half a league above the bridge the river Araxis, now Arras, falls into the Kure, which together form a conſiderable ſtream, that diſcharges itſelf into the Caſpian Sea, about a day's journey below the bridge, running northward all the way; but the mouth of the river is ſo choaked up with ſand, that it is navigable by no veſſel of any burden.

The river Kure divides the province of Shirvan from Kurdiſtan. The Kurdy, probably ſo called from the name of the river, are a very ancient people, and ſeem to be the ſame whom Xenophon, in the Anabaſis, calls Karduchi, who ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his paſſage in his famous retreat from Artaxerxes. They are ſtill reckoned a brave people. Their horſes are moſt eſteemed of any in Perſia, both for beauty and ſtrength.

We left the Kure on the 13th, and proceeded ſeven agatz to Chuda-tzoolatzy, where the water was very brackiſh and muddy. The country around appeared plain as the ſea.

Setting out early next morning, we travelled ten agatz, and in the evening reached a brook of tolerable water, called Bolgar. This was the laſt day's journey in the plain of Mugan. The inhabitants, the Kurdy, live in tents all the year. The ſoil is very dry and barren, notwithſtanding the cattle are in good condition, and the mutton particularly very good.

While we halted about noon ſome Perſian ſportſmen, who by their dreſs ſeemed perſons of diſtinction, pitched their tents near ours: they ſent the ambaſſador a preſent of wild-fowl, and an antelope. The ambaſſador invited them to ſhare a traveller's dinner. Three of the gentlemen accepted the invitation, but excuſed themſelves from eating any thing, pretending they had already dined; but it is well known that the Mahometans ſcruple to eat with Chriſtians; each of them however drank a diſh of coffee, and an old man a dram of brandy. They had ſeveral greyhounds and a couple of

of large hawks, which were trained to fly at antelopes: the hawks cannot hold indeed ſo ſtrong a creature as an antelope, but they fly about its head and thereby retard its velocity, till the greyhounds or horſemen overtake it; for the antelope far out-runs any greyhound I ever ſaw. In this deſert I have ſeen flocks of them conſiſting of two or three hundred.

In manning hawks to fly at antelopes, they ſtuff the ſkins of theſe animals with ſtraw, and feed the hawk between their horns, placing food there for that purpoſe: hence they are accuſtomed to hover round the head, which proves the deſtruction of theſe creatures. I was informed, that it is in this manner the Tartars manage hawks to fly at foxes and wolves. Theſe particulars may poſſibly appear immaterial; however as they may contribute to amuſe the reader, it was thought not improper to inſert them.

After reſting the 16th, we travelled next day four agatz, to the foot of a very high mountain, where we found a few poor cottages, deſerted by their inhabitants on our approach. The water was in plenty and good. Tne weather was very cold, and no fire-wood could be got, except a little we brought along with us. One of our people, ſtraggling too near the rocks, was dangerouſly wounded with a ſtone, throw by ſome of theſe cottagers who had retired thither. On theſe rocks I ſaw a creature like a goat, called by the Germans Steinbuck; it is much bigger than the common kind of theſe animals, and its horns are of a prodigious ſize.

The 18th, we advanced five agatz farther; and the 19th, ſeven agatz, to a large village called Katchoochana, where the Chan of Mugan has a good houſe. The weather being cold and froſty, we continued here all the 20th.

The 21ſt, we travelled five agatz to a village under a great mountain, where was a water-mill for grinding corn, the firſt machine of that ſort I ſaw in Perſia.

The 22d, we came to a ſmall town called Aggar. The Kalentar ordered the citizens to arm and oppoſe our entry; and, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of our conductor, he perſiſted unalterable in his purpoſe, affirming he had no order to admit ſuch a body of armed men He did not however refuſe us proviſions, wood and water, for money. We were therefore obliged to content ourſelves with theſe, and lodge in our tents on an open field in cold weather.

Next day, we proceeded two or three agatz, to a large populous village, where the people, in imitation of thoſe at Aggar, aſſembled in arms, and barricadoed all their entries, refuſing us admittance; they beat our quarter-maſter, a Perſian officer belonging to the conductor, for offering to force his way into the place. We therefore lodged again in the open air, They ſent out ſome fire-wood, and whatever elſe they could ſpare. I muſt confeſs I could ſcarce blame theſe people for their behaviour; becauſe, had we been admitted, the inhabitants muſt all have left their own houſes, and where could a parcel of poor women and children have found ſhelter in ſuch extremity of cold!

The 24th, we continued our journey between two great mountains, where the north wind was very piercing. We paſſed an old ruinous caravanſery, and arrived in the evening at an empty village, which the natives had forſook the day before. All next day we halted, being Chriſtmas.

The 26th, we marched about four agatz, to another village. The inhabitants were ſo hoſpitable as to afford us lodging, but charged dear for every thing we needed, eſpecially wood, which was bought at the rate of three-pence for ſeven pounds.

On the 27th, we travelled over exceeding high mountains, from whence, I was told by an Armenian merchant in our company, might be ſeen, in a clear day, the top of the famous mount Ararat, called by the Perſians Aggry, by the Armenians Meſſin; the

ſummit

ſummit is conſtantly covered with ſnow, and often with a cloud: it is the higheſt of all that chain of mountains in Armenia on which we then ſtood.

How far my information might be true I cannot determine, but certain it is, that when the Armenians ſee this mountain, they make a ſign of the croſs, and ſay their prayers, as is their cuſtom when they approach any place which they eſteem ſacred.

In the evening we arrived at the city of Tauris, Terris, or Tebris, as it is pronounced by ſome. The ambaſſador was met about half a mile from that place by the Kalentar, and chief officers, who, after the common ſalutations, conducted him to his lodgings. Our baggage was depoſited in a large caravanſery in the neighbourhood.

CHAP. V.—*Occurrences during our Stay at Tauris. Our Journey thence to Iſpahan.*

TAURIS is a large and populous city, the capital of the province of that name, and the reſidence of the Chan. It is ſituated in a fruitful plain, encompaſſed by the high rocks of mount Tauris, about ten days journey from Shamachy and twenty-five from Iſpahan, I mean to a caravan. It is ſuppoſed to be the ancient metropolis of Media. It is ſtill of conſiderable extent, but not near what it has been. There are yet to be ſeen many curious remains of ancient grandeur, particularly an old temple, converted into a moſque, now neglected and ruinous. The roof is ſupported by many ſtately pillars of porphyry, almoſt entire, ſome whereof are of a greeniſh colour, with other colours and veins of gold interſperſed. The proportions ſeemed to be regular, and the workmanſhip very fine and curious. In ſhort, I am unable to deſcribe the ſymmetry and beauty of theſe pillars, and wonder how they have eſcaped the fury of ſo many barbarians. It is no leſs ſurpriſing where were got ſuch maſſy pieces of marble, ſeeing nothing like them is now to be found in this country. Theſe particulars demonſtrate the ancient grandeur and riches of this place. It is however a deplorable truth, that this country in general hath undergone ſo many revolutions ſince the time of Alexander the Great, her firſt conqueror, that, a few places excepted, the preſent names and deſcriptions of cities and provinces bear almoſt no reſemblance to thoſe of antiquity, ſo that one can ſcarce imagine them accounts of the ſame places: to ſuch a degree hath time and barbarous invaders changed the appearances of things! Fire and ſword have raged to deſtroy magnificent cities; ſtately temples and palaces are demoliſhed; whole provinces depopulated, and fruitful fields converted into a deſert, by diverting the ſprings, or turning the rivers that watered them into other channels. Such are the conſequences of lawleſs ambition on the fineſt productions of nature and art: the laſt is a circumſtance to which few countries are ſo much expoſed as Perſia; for, in the inland part of it, there is almoſt no rain, which obliges the inhabitants to water all their vegetables from ſprings and brooks. They often convey even rivers ſeveral leagues, in channels under ground, for this purpoſe. The dew indeed is very plentiful, but would be inſufficient of itſelf for the purpoſes of vegetation.

The ſtreets of Tauris are narrow and irregular. The houſes are built of bricks made of mud, mixed with chopped ſtraw, and dried in the ſun; the governor's palace, indeed, and a few more houſes, are built of ſtone, and make a good appearance. The roofs are generally flat, and covered with a terrace. The walls are white-waſhed on the inſide, and look very white and clean. The floors of every houſe are ſpread with carpets, or mats, according to the circumſtances of the inhabitants. The people of diſtinction have great halls of audience in their outer courts, arched with ſquare bricks, which are plaſtered and painted with flowers; this is done at a ſmall expence, and makes a very fine ſhow.

There

There are ſeveral well-built moſques, with ſtately minorets, or pillars, which the moulla aſcends to call the people to prayers; alſo a high building for the muſic that plays evening and morning, as mentioned at Shamachy. There are alſo ſome large caravanſeries: ſo that no ſtranger can be at a loſs for lodging at a ſmall expence. The city is quite open, having no caſtle or fortification to defend it. Indeed one would imagine the deſert mountains, ſcarcity of water, and other obſtructions, would be a ſufficient defence againſt all invaſions: the fury of the Turks, however, in their wars with Perſia, ſurmounted all theſe obſtacles.

Tauris is ſupplied with water from a brook, called Shankuy, which runs through the city, and ſome ſprings in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants are moſtly Perſians, though there are among them many Armenians. They have a conſiderable commerce in raw ſilk, and manufactories of carpets, and ſilk and cotton ſtuffs. They have great crops of wheat and barley, when at the trouble and expence of watering the fields; but their principal ſupport is rice, brought from the province of Guilan, where it grows very plentifully: for this kind of grain, which of all other thrives beſt on wet land, agrees wonderfully with that rich moiſt ſoil near the Caſpian Sea.

The Capuchin miſſionaries have a convent at this place for the uſe of the Armenians of the Roman Catholic profeſſion; which is ſuperintended by two Fathers of that order.

About a league from the city, on the road to Iſpahan, are ſeen the ruins of a bridge, on the top of a hill, where, I believe, no water has run ſince the deluge. It is ſaid that it was built by a whimſical prieſt, in order to introduce himſelf to the King, Shach Abbaſs, who could not avoid taking notice, when he paſſed that way, of ſuch an extraordinary appearance.

About four or five leagues from Tauris, in a plain called Roomy, there are ſeveral ſprings of water that petrify wood, and, I have been informed, even reptiles, ſuch as lizards. One thing is certain, that, after a ſtagnation of this water, for a certain time, there is a ſubſtance like marble found at the bottom, which the Perſians cut into any breadth or length at pleaſure. I have ſeen of it two or three inches thick. It is eaſily poliſhed, and is diaphanous, but not tranſparent. After ſawing it into ſlabs, they fix them for windows in their bagnios and private apartments. Perhaps it is not improbable the large pillars, formerly mentioned, might be hewn out of this kind of marble.

During our ſtay at Tauris little material happened. The weather continued very cold, which, together with want of horſes and camels, detained us longer than we expected. I could not but pity the poor people of this place; the cold was ſo exceſſive, and bread and other neceſſaries ſo dear, that I was informed many of them periſhed in the ſtreets.

January 2d, 1717, Monſ. Ricard, a French Jeſuit, arrived, in his way to Iſpahan, with ſome letters from Rome to the Sophy. He ſent Monſ. Duffus, one of his retinue, with his compliments to our ambaſſador.

The Chan being abſent, the Vizir, who is his lieutenant, came the 6th, in great ſtate, to viſit the ambaſſador; who, on the 11th, returned the compliment, attended with all his retinue. He was received in a magnificent hall, ſpread with fine carpets. There was a ſeat placed for the ambaſſador; but the reſt of the company ſat croſs-legged on the carpets, in the Perſian manner.

The 20th, there was a great fall of ſnow, which very much ſoftened the cold piercing northerly winds.

The

The 23d, having with great difficulty procured horſes and camels, we left Tauris, and travelled two agatz through deep ſnow, which incommoded us not a little, particularly on account of the camels, which cannot bear deep roads.

The 24th and 25th, the roads were impaſſable. I ſaw here a male camel trample one of his keepers under his feet: for, at this ſeaſon, when the females are rutting, the males are very furious and ungovernable, and muſt be managed with great caution.

The 26th, we travelled two agatz to a ſpacious well-built caravanſery, founded by Shach Sephy, ſufficient to contain ſome hundreds of men and horſes. Here we halted ſome time, and proceeded in the afternoon five agatz farther. In this day's journey you have the choice of two roads, both leading to Iſpahan: one through the cities of Ardeville and Caſbin, and the other by Zengan and Sultany: the laſt whereof we chooſed, being ſomewhat ſhorter.

Ardeville is reported to be a very fine place, and is famous for the monuments of Shach Sephy the Firſt, and other Perſian princes and heroes eſteemed for their virtue and piety. A great many devout people come from all parts of the country to worſhip at theſe tombs, where a conſiderable charity is daily diſtributed to the poor pilgrims; to ſupport which, there is a fund ſettled by the King, with proper officers appointed to ſuperintend the management of it, and prevent frauds. I wanted much to viſit this place, but found it impracticable.

The 27th, we advanced three agatz, through deep ſnow, to a caravanſery built of bricks. We were at no loſs for water while the ſnow lay upon the ground. The next day we reached a large village, called Kara-China, inhabited by Perſians and Armenians. About a mile from the place we were met by an Armenian prieſt, attended by a company of country people, who came to welcome us as fellow-Chriſtians. One of them carried a painted crucifix, raiſed on a long pole, others played on flutes and hautboys, and other muſical inſtruments, to which one or two perſons kept time, by beating two thin braſs plates againſt each other; and many of them ſung hymns and pſalms. In this manner they accompanied us to our lodgings, where we were better accommodated than we had been hitherto. We received from theſe people, in particular, very good wine and grapes, which they preſerve through the winter by hanging them in dry and open places.

About this time many of our people had ſore eyes, and ſwelled faces, cauſed by the ſtrong reflection of the ſun-beams from the ſnow. The Perſians themſelves are liable to the ſame diſorders. As a remedy they wear a fillet of net-work, made of black horſe-hair over their eyes, which I found, by experience, altogether effectual.

The 31ſt, we ſet out early, and travelled four agatz to Turkoma, a large village. The ſnow continued very deep. Here we were obliged to wait for our camels, ſome of which did not arrive till next day.

February 2d, we travelled eight agatz, to a little town called Mianna, where is a caravanſery for horſes only. Here we buried another of our people.

The 4th, after two hours march, we paſſed a river, over which is a ſtone-bridge, ſtanding under a high mountain, called Kaplanton. Leaving that place, we ſaw, on the left hand, the ruins of an old fortification. We repaſſed the river on another ſtone-bridge; thence to a caravanſery, called Tzamatura, and at night reached another, called Sartzam, being eight agatz from Mianna. Here we halted till our camels arrived; the greateſt part whereof came not before next day. We perceived the depth of the ſnow to leſſen daily as we advanced to the ſouth.

The 7th, we travelled five agatz to a ſmall town named Zengan, where we lodged in a good caravanſery. The Sultan, or chief magiſtrate, waited on us, and gave us a friendly and hoſpitable reception. He has under his juriſdiction both this place and Sultany; at each he reſides half the year by turns.

Here we met a Ruſſian merchant, who had about fifteen or twenty camels loaden with various kinds of merchandiſe, going to Bucharia.

We halted two days on account of the deep ſnow in this neighbourhood; and the 10th, after travelling ſix agatz, came to Sultany. This place is at preſent ſmall and inconſiderable, though it appears to have been a great and famous city in former times. There are ſtill to be ſeen ſeveral ſtately moſques and minorets; one of theſe moſques is the tomb of a Perſian prince, called Chudabendie, which has a braſs gate of lattice-work, ſeemingly of great antiquity. In the ſame moſque is the tomb of Sultan Bajazat, ſon to Chudabendie.

On the 12th, we travelled four agatz to a village, where we ſtaid all night; and the 13th, three agatz to another, through deep ſnow, which prevented our proceeding next day.

The 15th, we travelled five agatz, and the 16th, four, to a large village called Guiga Zayn. At this place a Ruſſian youth applied to the ambaſſador for freedom and protection. He had been carried away by the Tartars from ſome of the ſouthern provinces of Ruſſia, and was ſold ſome years before in Perſia. He was forced to turn Mahometan; had almoſt forgot his mother tongue, and was obliged to explain himſelf by an interpreter. The ambaſſador afforded him the protection he ſought. His maſter claimed either his ſlave, or the money he had paid for him; neither of which demands could be granted.

The 18th, we arrived at Sexabbatt, a village four agatz from the former; where we quartered that night, and reſted all the next day.

The 20th, we advanced three agatz to Arazant, a ſmall village. This diſtrict being much peſtered with ſtrong gangs of highwaymen, we marched with great circumſpection; and in the night the baggage was guarded, both by our own people and the conductor's ſoldiers.

The 21ſt, after a journey of three hours we came to an old caravanſery, called Idjoop, where we reſted; then advanced four agatz to another, called Kockera, ſituated in an extenſive plain. The ſnow was now altogether gone, and the water at this place very bad. In an upper room of this caravanſery I ſaw the names of many Europeans cut on the wall, in different languages: among which was that of Olearius, ſecretary to the Holſtein ambaſſadors, who publiſhed a very exact account of that fruitleſs embaſſy.

The 22d of February, we ſet out very early, and in three hours reached Denggie, a caravanſery, where we halted for refreſhment; and at night arrived at Saba or Sava, ſeven agatz from Kockera.

Saba appears, from many ruins, to have been a place of great note. It ſtands in a fruitful and extenſive plain, which produces all ſorts of fruit natural to the climate, particularly pomegranates, the largeſt I have ſeen. The trees were now in full bloom, and had a very fine appearance. Some years ago this place was almoſt ruined by a deluge. It has been repairing ever ſince, but is ſtill far from its former condition.

The 24th, our road lay through a deſert and barren plain, abounding with ſaltpetre. We travelled ſix agatz to Jeffrabatt, a new caravanſery, and the 25th, five agatz, to the town of Koom.

About two leagues from Koom we ſaw a round hill to the left, called in Turkiſh Gedeen-Gedmaze, which ſignifies, that whoever goes up never returns; which the Perſians ſay was the fate of a page ſent up by Shach Abbaſs, with a lighted torch in his hand. However this be, it is certainly no eaſy matter to aſcend this place; becauſe the whole hill conſiſts of ſand, which is ſhifted from place to place by the wind, and muſt ſoon tire whoever attempts to climb it.

Koom is reckoned among the chief towns in Perſia, and is the reſidence of a Chan. It is ſituated in a fertile plain, well watered by a pretty large river, over which is a fine ſtone-bridge. In the town is a ſpacious caravanſery, and ſeveral well built moſques and minorets. One of theſe moſques is highly eſteemed by the Perſians, becauſe of the ſepulchre of Shach Sephy and his ſon Shach Abbaſs the Second, and that of Sidy Fathima, grand-daughter to their prophet Mahomet. Theſe tombs are much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of Perſia, who reſort hither once a-year to pay their devotions, and are ſupported by a fund appropriated to that purpoſe.

Before you reach the moſque you paſs through three neat courts, and, in the middle of the fourth, where the moſque ſtands, there is a large baſon of clear water. Above the gate are engraven in gilt letters the names of the deceaſed princes, with ſome verſes in their praiſe. The monument of Sidy Fathima ſtands in the front of the building, encompaſſed with a grate-work of pure ſilver, very valuable. To each of the princes are conſecrated magnificent apartments, where the prieſts read the Koran night and day.

This is alſo a place of refuge for debtors, and unfortunate people, who are maintained at the public expence. Adjoining to the moſque is a large hall, where alms are daily diſtributed to the poor. Few Chriſtians are admitted into this ſacred place. The ambaſſador, however, with a few of the retinue, obtained this favour. Koom is famous for manufacturing the beſt blades in all Perſia for ſabres and poinards.

The 27th, we travelled from Koom five agatz to Kaſſim-abbatt, a conſiderable village, where we lodged. The weather now began to be ſo hot, that we could travel only in the morning and evening.

On the 28th, after travelling ſix agatz, we came to Sinnbzyn, another village. Here our huntſman caught a porcupine, and brought it home alive.

March 1ſt, we arrived at a place called Kaſhan, ſix agatz from the former. At ſome diſtance we were met by the Doroga, or judge, attended by about fifty horſemen. He came to ſalute the ambaſſador, and conducted him to his lodgings. The houſe belonged to the Shach, and was pleaſantly ſituated in the middle of a fine garden, planted with various kinds of fruit-trees.

Kaſhan is a large and populous city. It is ſituated in a fertile plain, which ſecures plenty of all neceſſaries, and contains ſeveral well-built moſques and caravanſeries. The market-place is well furniſhed with merchandiſe of different kinds. The common manufactures of Perſia are found here, viz. ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, carpets, beſides ſome other articles, which make this place of conſiderable trade.

This city is much peſtered with ſcorpions, eſpecially the black kind, reckoned the moſt venemous. Their ſting proves mortal in a few days, nay, even hours, if proper remedies be not applied. The cure uſed by the Perſians is, to anoint the wound with the oil of theſe animals, extracted by frying. Of this oil they have generally a quantity in reſerve. If it is wanting, they bruiſe any ſcorpion, and apply it to the part affected. Either of theſe remedies taken in due time, ſeldom fail of ſucceſs. The Perſians have ſuch a dread of theſe creatures, that, when provoked by any perſon, they wiſh a Kaſhan

ſcorpion may ſting him. They are the more terrible, as few houſes are free from them; for moſt of the floors being of earth, and covered with carpets or mats, below theſe the ſcorpions find or make holes for themſelves, where they lurk unſeen. They do not indeed often hurt, unleſs touched ſuddenly. It is adviſeable for all travellers to examine diligently the place where they are to ſleep, before they go to bed. As the ſcorpion is well known, it will be unneceſſary to ſay any more of it.

The 5th, we reached Buzabbatt, five agatz from Kaſhan. The weather was very hot. At this place I ſaw a creature called the ſtellio, or tarantula, and by the Perſians inkureck. It is in ſhape and ſize ſomewhat like a large ſpider, but overgrown with hair. I was informed that it neither ſtings nor bites, but drops its venom upon the ſkin, which is of ſuch a nature that it immediately penetrates into the body, and cauſes dreadful ſymptoms; ſuch as giddineſs of the head, a violent pain in the ſtomach, and a lethargic ſtupefaction. The remedy, as in the former caſe, is the application of the ſame animal when bruiſed to the part, by which the poiſon is extracted. They alſo make the patient drink abundance of ſweet milk, after which he is put in a kind of tray, ſuſpended by ropes fixed in the four corners; it is turned round till the ropes are twiſted hard together, and, when let go at once, the untwining cauſes the baſket to run round with a quick motion, which forces the patient to vomit.

They alſo make them dance to muſical inſtruments, which the ſick perſon ſometimes does, of his own accord, till he drops down upon the ſpot. One of theſe terrible creatures happened to fall out of the ceiling upon my hand as I was going one night to bed; I ſhook it off inſtantaneouſly without receiving the leaſt harm. Every thing was moved and ſearched for it, but to no purpoſe, there being many holes in the floor. It may eaſily be imagined that apprehenſion would prevent my ſleeping much that night.

The 6th, we travelled five or ſix agatz to Kaltabbatt; and the next day five, to Nattanee, a ſmall town ſituated under ſome high mountains. Here the Shach has a pretty little palace, with gardens, fountains of fine water, and caſcades. We lodged in the palace. The jackals were ſo bold that they howled under the windows all the night long, and carried off ſome of our poultry. On the top of a mountain near this place, ſtands a high tower, built by Shach Abbaſs, which is ſeen at a great diſtance.

The 8th, we left Nattanee, and in three hours paſſed a fine houſe, with gardens, built by Shach Abbaſs, and ſituated by itſelf in a pleaſant plain. About three hours after we came to Tutrin, an old caravanſery, where we lodged. The heat increaſed daily as we advanced to the ſouth. The 9th, we reached Ruck, eight agatz diſtant from Tutrin, and four hours journey from the city of Iſpahan.

The 10th, being the vernal equinox, when the new year commences among the Perſians, we halted all day. In the evening thirty fine horſes, with rich furniture, were ſent from the Shach's ſtables to the ambaſſador. Some of the bridles were ornamented with gold, others with ſilver. Two lions were brought by a Perſian to be ſhewn to the ambaſſador. They were led into a court-yard and let looſe upon a goat; but, inſtead of the goat, they ran at ſome of our people, who narrowly eſcaped by getting into a houſe and ſhutting the doors. It ſeems the ſight of ſo many ſtrangers had frightened them; for the keeper himſelf with difficulty chained them, and one of them even bit his hand.

The 11th, we advanced two agatz, to Davilett-abbatt, a village.

On the morning of the 13th, the Maymander Baſha, or chief conductor, arrived with many attendants. In the evening we mounted; and, being accompanied with a numerous train of courtiers, and other people, we travelled two agatz to the ſuburbs of the city, where we lodged in a palace called Tuchtzy, belonging to the Shach.

The 14th, in the morning, came a number of horſes ſufficient for the ambaſſador and all his train; this being the day appointed for our public entry.

About noon the Maymander Baſha returned to conduct the ambaſſador to his lodgings in the city. He was attended by many perſons of diſtinction.

After noon we mounted, and entered the city. We paſſed through many ſtreets crowded with ſpectators, as were alſo the tops of the houſes. It was ſaid that the Sophy himſelf was at a window *incognito*, with ſome of his ladies. Curioſity had cauſed ſuch a crowd, that, had not the way been cleared by the Perſian guards, it would have been impoſſible for us to paſs along. At laſt, we reached the end of our journey; a noble palace in the middle of the city, with a garden, three courts, and apartments ſufficient for the ambaſſador and all his retinue.

The Order of the Entry.

An Officer.
Three dragoons.
A kettle-drum.
Four trumpeters.
Thirty dragoons, three a-breaſt, with drawn ſwords.
Six ſpare horſes, with ſumptuous trappings.
The ſteward.
Twelve footmen.
Two pages.
Three footmen.
Two interpreters.
Two hey-dukes in Hungarian habits.
The Ambaſſador, with the Maymander Baſha, and interpreter.
The prieſt and one gentleman.
Myſelf and one gentleman.
Two clerks.
Faulconers, huntſmen, &c.

CHAP. VI.—*Occurrences during our Stay at Iſpahan.*

THE 15th, the agents of the Engliſh and Dutch factories, viz. Mr. Coppin the Engliſh agent, ſent Meſſrs. Batſon and Reynardſon, the Dutch agent likewiſe ſent two gentlemen of their company to ſalute the ambaſſador.

The 16th, the Maymander Baſha invited the ambaſſador to an audience of the Etmadowlett, or prime miniſter, which he would not comply with till he had an audience of the Shach, and delivered his credentials, though it is uſual firſt to take an audience of that miniſter. This day I viſited the Engliſh factory, where I met with a friendly reception.

On the 27th was a great fall of rain, ſuch as had not been ſeen at Iſpahan for ſeven years: it was the cauſe of great joy in this ſultry dry climate, though to me it ſeemed nothing extraordinary.

April 1ſt, I went to Julffa to ſee a friend, accompanied by Mr. Batſon. It is a large place in the ſuburbs, inhabited by Armenians, who have the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion. On the 10th, I dined at the Dutch houſe, the weather very hot.

May

May 4th, the ceremonial part of the ambaſſador's introduction to the Shach being previouſly agreed on, he was this day to have his firſt audience. In the morning horſes were ſent from the King's ſtables, all of them magnificently equipped, with grooms to attend them; many of the ſaddles and bridles were garniſhed with gold and ſilver.

We marched in the ſame order as at our entry above mentioned, only the dragoons had not their ſwords drawn. After paſſing through ſeveral ſtreets we came to the great market-place, called Bazar, and then to a gate called Aila-capy, i. e. God's Gate, where we diſmounted. Acroſs this gate is hung a chain, and none are permitted to enter on horſeback except the Shach himſelf. We walked through the guards drawn up on each ſide, to an inner court, and thence to an arched gate, ſurrounded with benches and ſpread with carpets. Here the ambaſſador was deſired to ſit down till the Shach was ready to receive him. We waited at leaſt two hours, during which time all the miniſters of ſtate and officers of the houſehold paſſed us in great ſtate; after them came a large elephant, mounted by his keeper and adorned with gold and ſilver ſtuff; then two large lions, led by their keepers with chains of maſſy gold.

When this parade was over, an officer informed the ambaſſador that the Shach waited for him; whereupon, proceeding immediately through the gate, we entered a ſpacious garden. The firſt thing that preſented was a noble view of twenty horſes ſtanding in a row, richly capariſoned, having all their ſaddles and bridles ornamented with gold and ſilver, and ſome of them ſet with ſapphires, emeralds, and other precious ſtones of great value. The horſes were all tied to a rope fixed to the ground at the extremities by a ſtake of gold, near which lay a mallet of the ſame metal for driving it, according to the cuſtom of Perſia; the hind-feet were alſo faſtened to a rope to prevent kicking: this is an excellent precaution, for, though they were all ſtoned horſes, they could neither hurt one another nor any thing elſe; the chains that bound their hind-feet, with the ſtakes and mallets, were alſo of gold. The Perſian horſes are well managed, neither do I think them ſo vicious as thoſe in Europe; whether they are naturally more gentle I ſhall not determine, perhaps it is entirely owing to the milder treatment of their grooms. At each end of the row ſtood a large veſſel of gold full of water for the horſes to drink.

Approaching nearer to the hall of audience we paſſed the two lions, chained to the ground, one on each ſide of the paſſage; near them were placed two baſons of gold filled with water for drink; next to the lions ſtood the elephant, with his keeper on his back. As the ambaſſador paſſed both the lions couched, and the elephant bent his fore-knee, at the word pronounced by the keepers.

We now turned to the left and had a full view of the hall of audience, about an hundred yards diſtant. It ſeemed to ſtand by itſelf in the middle of the garden; it is indeed contiguous to the ſeraglio on the ſouth, but is quite open to the north. Before the entry is a large fountain of pure water, which ſprings upward in three pipes, and falls into a baſon filled with roſes, jeſſamine, and many other fine flowers.

When we came to the ſtair, we were deſired to put off our ſlippers, and our ſervants were no further admitted. The ambaſſador only and ſix of his retinue (among whom I was) entered the hall. We aſcended by eight ſteps of marble, the whole breadth of the hall. From the roof hung a canvaſs, which was ſtretched out over the ſtair, and ſhaded the whole inſide of the edifice. The hall is a ſpacious ſquare building with a terrace roof; the ceiling is very magnificent, being all arched and ſet with mirrors of different magnitudes till within three feet of the floor, which is quite covered with ſilk carpets, interwoven with branches and foliage of gold and ſilver. In the middle were two baſons, into which ſeveral pipes, each about eight feet high, ſpouted water, which, falling

falling upon roſes and other flowers, has a fine effect on a hot day. The farther end of the hall is a ſemicircle; here ſat the Shach upon a ſofa, raiſed about a foot from the floor, which was elevated four ſteps above the reſt of the hall; he was attended by twenty eunuchs; one carried his ſabre, another his bow, a third the quiver with arrows, a fourth the calianne, or tobacco-pipe, ſo that each had his office of ſtate.

The ambaſſador was received in the hall by the maſter of the ceremonies, called Iſhaggan Baſha, to be by him introduced to the Shach. He continued ſitting upon his ſofa, with his legs acroſs, while all his miniſters of ſtate ſtood in their places, clothed magnificently in their robes; which they never wear except on ſolemn days, and, when theſe are over, they leave them in a wardrobe at court, appointed for keeping them. I muſt confeſs the appearance was very ſplendid, and put me in mind of the accounts left us by the ancients of the magnificence of the Kings of Perſia.

At our entry into the hall we were ſtopped about three minutes at the firſt fountain, in order to raiſe the greater reſpect; the pipes were contrived to play ſo high that the water fell into the baſon like a thick rain; nothing could be diſcovered for ſome time, and the Shach himſelf appeared as in a fog. While we moved forward every thing was ſtill as death; the maſter of the ceremonies took the ambaſſador by the arm, and conducted him within ſix yards of the throne, who, offering to advance, in order to deliver his credentials, was prevented by the Etmadowlett, or prime miniſter; this miniſter received the credentials and laid them before the Shach, who touched them with his hand as a mark of reſpect. This part of the ceremony had been very difficult to adjuſt; for the ambaſſador inſiſted on delivering his letters into the Shach's own hands, the Perſian miniſters, on the other hand, affirmed that their Kings never received letters directly from the ambaſſadors of the greateſt Emperors on earth.

The ambaſſador now made a ſhort ſpeech, which the Sophy anſwered, through the Etmadowlett, in very obliging terms. He then enquired after his Czariſh Majeſty's health, and aſked ſeveral queſtions about the Swediſh war, and whether the ambaſſador had ſuffered any hardſhips on the road during ſo long a journey? To all which he returned anſwers ſuitable to the occaſion. At laſt he was deſired to take his ſeat, to which he was led by the maſter of the ceremonies: it was about a foot high, and placed at the diſtance of ten yards from the King. A little behind the ambaſſador were placed his attendants, on ſeats nearly of the ſame height. During all this ceremony muſic played, conſiſting of a variety of inſtruments which were not unharmonious, and the Mufti, or high prieſt, read, without intermiſſion, chapters of the Koran.

Before the ambaſſador was ſeated the preſents from His Czariſh Majeſty to the Sophy, carried by fifty men, were brought to the entry, and received by the proper officers: they conſiſted of ſables and other valuable furs, falcons, a variety of fine tea, muſical clocks, gold watches ſet in diamonds, &c.

As ſoon as the ambaſſador had taken his ſeat all the miniſters of ſtate ſat down on their hams, on both ſides of the hall, in rows; for none are allowed to ſit croſs-legged in preſence of the Sophy.

There was now placed before the company little tables on which were ſet all kinds of ſweetmeats and confections; and before the ambaſſador was laid a golden calianne, or tobacco-pipe, which the Perſians reckon an high inſtance of reſpect.

The muſic continued playing, and the Mufti coninued ſtill reading, but every thing elſe was very ſilent. Several meſſages paſſed between the King and the ambaſſador, by means of the maſter of the ceremonies and our interpreter. The King ſpoke the Perſian language and the ambaſſador the Ruſſian, while the other two uſed the Turkiſh.

In

In the mean time ſome pure water, with a bit of ice in it, was brought in golden baſons to drink. About an hour after victuals were brought by a number of ſervants, who carried them on their heads in large ſquare baſkets. Firſt the Shach was ſerved, and next the ambaſſador with his retinue, then all the officers of ſtate that ſat in the hall. The grand ſteward of the houſehold waited on the King, and his aſſiſtants on the reſt of the company, according to their different ranks. At the ſame time our ſervants were entertained in the garden.

The entertainment conſiſted moſtly of different kinds of rice boiled with butter, fowls, mutton, boiled and roaſted lamb. The whole was ſerved in large gold or china diſhes, and placed in the baſkets, which ſtood on a long cloth ſpread above the carpet. The diſhes were interſperſed with ſaucers filled with aromatic herbs, ſugar, and vinegar. But, according to the cuſtom of the country, we had neither napkins, ſpoons, knives, nor forks; for the Shach himſelf eat with his fingers, and every one followed his example. There were indeed, beſides the common bread, ſome very large thin cakes, which we uſed inſtead of napkins to wipe our fingers. They are made of wheat-flour; the Perſians ſometimes eat them; they are not diſagreeable. Our drink was ſherbet, and water cooled with ice. Formerly it was uſual on ſuch occaſions to drink wine, and have women to dance and ſing. But the preſent Sophy, being a ſober and devout prince, thought it proper to aboliſh a cuſtom productive of ſo many indecencies, and directly contrary to the rules of the Koran. We had therefore only men to ſing, and no dancing.

The ambaſſador, and all the gentlemen who were admitted into the hall, continued with their heads covered during all the time of the audience. They only, on entering the royal preſence, uncovered once, and bowed to His Majeſty.

When the entertainment was over the ambaſſador took his leave, and returned to his lodgings, conducted by the Maymander Baſha, in the ſame manner as in the morning. The ſtreets were lined with the Sophy's guards, to prevent any inconvenience from the vaſt crowds of people.

The ſame evening the Shach ſent a preſent to the ambaſſador of the golden calianne he had uſed at court; it was neatly wrought in filigree, and valued at forty or fifty pounds ſterling; alſo twenty large diſhes of ſolid gold, filled with variety of ſweetmeats. Thoſe who brought them returned immediately, leaving the plate, which remained at the ambaſſador's lodgings above ſix weeks. All this time it was uncertain whether ſuch a valuable treaſure was forgot, or intended as a preſent. The diſhes however were at laſt demanded, and delivered. They weighed about thirty pounds a-piece, but were of mean workmanſhip, being all beat out with a hammer. From this and many ſimilar inſtances, ſome conception may be formed of the immenſe riches whereof the Sophy is poſſeſſed.

The Shach's name is Huſſein; he is about thirty years of age, of a middle ſtature, open countenance, and has a ſhort black beard. It is ſaid his legs are remarkably ſhort, in proportion to his body. He is very good-natured, and of a beneficent diſpoſition. He has ſeveral children by different ladies. Tachmaz the oldeſt, at preſent in his minority, ſeldom appears out of the Haram. Huſſein himſelf, though a prince adorned with many virtues, yet being educated in the Haram among the women, is little acquainted with the world, and leaves the management of the empire wholly to his miniſters: in them he places an entire confidence; and they, in their turn, perſuade him that it is below his dignity to attend to any public affairs whatever. At this very time there was a formidable rebellion begun at Chandahar, a ſtrong town on the borders

of

of India by Mery-Mahmut, an enterprifing and powerful chief, who took advantage of the weaknefs of the prefent adminiftration.

The Perfian miniftry neglected and defpifed thefe rebels, threatening, in their ftyle, to fend fome troops to cut them all to pieces. Time hath fhewn the vanity of thefe high words. I muft obferve, that they want neither men nor money; but their foldiers were undifciplined, and, above all, they had no officers of fufficient abilities to command them.

The 9th of May, the ambaffador had his firft audience of the Etmadowlett. We were conducted in the fame manner as when we went to court. The entertainment was likewife of the fame kind, but much more magnificent. The palace was grand, and had a fine garden adjoining. The Etmadowlett, whofe name is Phatalychan, was by birth a Georgian, of Chriftian parents, but educated in the feraglio. He is a tall well-fhaped man, of a friendly afpect, and a great favourite of the Sophy. After we returned home the Etmadowlett fent the ambaffador a prefent of a fine horfe, with a faddle and bridle, richly mounted, after the Perfian fafhion, and a gold calianne, little inferior to that given by the Shach. It was reported that no foreign ambaffador had ever been treated with fo much refpect.

The 11th, the ambaffador had a fecond audience of the Sophy, at the fame palace as formerly, called Tavalea Telcar, i. e. The Palace near the Stables; it was very fhort, and no entertainment was given. Next day he received from the Shach a prefent of fome excellent Sherras wine, and a gold bottle that contained about two quarts, with a fmall cup of the fame metal.

On the 15th, the ambaffador had a fecond audience of the Etmadowlett, relating to the fubject of the embaffy.

Three days after the Hackim Baftha, or chief phyfician, fent me an invitation to vifit him. He received me in a very courteous obliging manner; and detained me above two hours, talking on different fubjects. He told me that the phyficians in Perfia made vegetables, and their virtues, their chief ftudy; they dealt but little in minerals and chemical preparations. Then he afked me, whether the European phyficians admitted opium in their prefcriptions? I told him they did, with great fuccefs. To which he replied, that the qualities of that drug were known to very few. He enquired whence tea came? how it fhould be made? and what were its virtues? All which I anfwered to his fatisfaction. Hence it is evident, that the Perfians have no correfpondence nor commerce with the Chinefe. The phyfician is an elderly man, of a grave deportment, and might pafs for a doctor any where. On taking my leave, he told me he was forry he could not converfe with me but by means of an interpreter, which was tedious and difagreeable.

The fame day the Dutch commiffary, Mynheer Vonkettler, made his public entry at Ifpahan, as envoy from the governor of Batavia to the Shach of Perfia. He was preceded by fix elephants, fent as a prefent to the King by the governor. He had a numerous retinue, and was attended by feveral gentlemen, and made as grand an appearance as if he had been a miniftcr from any court of Europe. He took up his lodgings at the Dutch factory. Mr. Kettler told me that he was born in Courland; that, in his youth, he had inlifted as a foldier in the fervice of the Dutch Eaft India company; by his uncommon abilities he had raifed himfelf from that low fituation to the honourable place he now held.

The following day Mr. Kettler fent two of his retinue to compliment our ambaffador; and, both our gentlemen being indifpofed, I was fent next day to return the compliment.

The 28th, I dined at the Dutch houſe, where we had a grand entertainment.

June 2d, the ambaſſador intended to go a-hunting, and to take a view of the country about Iſpahan. But an officer came from court, deſiring him to delay it till another opportunity; for the Shach had pitched on that day to viſit a country-houſe, in company with his ladies; on which occaſion it is death for any one to be ſeen near the place where the court paſſes. To prevent accidental tranſgreſſions in this reſpect, a cryer is previouſly diſpatched to warn the inhabitants, who proclaims through the ſtreets and along the road, that nobody, under pain of death, ſhall appear either in the way, or from any houſe near it, by which His Majeſty and the ladies are to march. The Shach rides on horſeback, attended only by eunuchs. The ladies are mounted aſtride, ſome on horſes, others on mules and aſſes. They are all veiled with white muſlin, ſo that nothing can be ſeen of them but the eyes and noſe.

The Perſians tell a pleaſant ſtory of Shach Abbas's behaviour on an occaſion of this nature. The Shach at a certain time was riding along, attended by his concubines, when he happened to meet a poor country-fellow upon the road. He was immediately brought before the King; and, expecting inſtant death, fell on his knees, moſt ſubmiſſively begging pardon for ſo heinous an offence, and pleaded ignorance in his excuſe, having neither ſeen nor heard of any cryer. The prince was pleaſed with the ſimplicity and innocence of the peaſant, ordered him to take courage, and all the ladies to unveil; then deſired him to pick out any of his concubines he liked beſt, and he ſhould have her for a wife. This treatment diſpelled his fear; he pitched on one that pleaſed him moſt. The Shach approved ſo much of his taſte that he carried him to court, where he ſoon became a great favourite.

The 9th, I dined at the Engliſh factory, where Mr. Coppin, and the other gentlemen belonging to the company received me in the moſt friendly manner. The day was very hot, and in the evening we ſupped near a fountain in the garden. On a ſudden we felt a guſt of wind, as hot as if it had come from the mouth of an oven. It was ſoon over without any bad effect. But I was informed that theſe hot winds are very dangerous in travelling over the deſerts, and often kill people immediately. The only reſource, on perceiving them coming, is to fall down flat, with the face to the ground, and continue in that poſture till they are gone.

On the 12th, the ambaſſador had a third audience of the Shach at Farrabbatt, a country-houſe near the city. It is an extremely pleaſant place, adorned with gardens, fountains, and caſcades, ſurrounded with parks for all kinds of game. While we were at ſupper on the terrace we had a ſqual of wind, which almoſt carried away every thing, and actually ſwept off the thin broad cakes which the Perſians uſe inſtead of napkins.

The 16th, Monſ. Ricard, whom I mentioned at Tauris, and twelve miſſionaries of different orders, were invited to dine with the ambaſſador. Several of theſe gentlemen had been long in India and Ethiopia, which rendered their converſation very entertaining.

The 21ſt, the ambaſſador was invited to dinner by the Devettar, or keeper of the great ſeal and ſtandiſh. Here, as in all other countries, this is an office of great truſt. We were entertained with more magnificence than by the prime miniſter, or even at court. Soon after we entered there were ſerved up a great variety of ſweetmeats, and all kinds of fruit that the climate afforded. Coffee and ſherbet were carried about by turns. We were placed croſs-legged on the carpets, except the ambaſſador, who had a ſeat. During this part of the feaſt we were entertained with vocal and inſtrumental muſic, dancing boys, tumblers, puppets, and jugglers: all the performers executed their parts with great dexterity. Two of them counterfeiting a quarrel, one beat off

the other's turban with his foot, out of which dropped about fifteen or twenty large ſerpents, which run or crawled about the room. One of them came towards me with great ſpeed, which ſoon obliged me to quit my place. On ſeeing us alarmed, they told us the creatures were altogether inoffenſive, as their teeth had been all drawn out. The fellow went about the room and gathered them into his turban again like ſo many eels. The victuals were now ſerved in a neat and elegant manner. Every thing was well dreſſed in the Perſian faſhion. Our hoſt was very cheerful, and contributed every thing in his power to pleaſe his gueſts. He excuſed himſelf handſomely enough for not having wine, as it was not then uſed at court.

On the 23d, the Maymander Baſha brought a meſſage from the Shach to the ambaſſador, intimating, that the buſineſs of his embaſſy being now finiſhed, he might chooſe his own time to depart. This was not very agreeable news to the ambaſſador, who alledged, that before he could procure ſhipping to tranſport him to Aſtrachan, the ſeaſon would be far advanced, and oblige him to winter in ſome part of Perſia.

July 1ſt, the Shach ſent the ambaſſador, and the principal parts of his retinue, what the Perſians call the kalatt. It conſiſts of a tunic, a long robe of gold and ſilver ſtuff, a ſaſh and turban, and ſome pieces of Perſian ſilk, whereof about ten or a dozen fell to my ſhare. The whole value was not conſiderable; but the Shach beſtows this mark of favour to all foreign miniſters who come on friendly errands. On this occaſion, he ſent the ambaſſador, in particular, a preſent of two fine horſes from his own ſtables.

The 3d, the ambaſſador had his laſt audience of the Shach at a palace in the city; when he received an anſwer to the Czar's letter, and immediately took leave ſtanding, without further ceremony.

The 8th, the Shach ſent the ambaſſador another preſent, conſiſting of an elephant, two lions, two leopards, ſix monkies of different kinds, three parrots, two white and one green, three fine horſes, and an Indian bird called Myana; it is in colour, ſhape, and ſize like a blackbird, and whiſtled a very fine note.

Auguſt the 3d, we began to prepare for our journey homeward, which took up much time. The 18th we removed from our lodgings in the city to a houſe belonging to the Shach in the northern ſuburbs, called Tauchtzy.

The 26th, I took leave of my friend Mr. Coppin, who ſet out this day on his journey to England, by way of Aleppo. The Engliſh factory at Iſpahan are very well ſituated in the middle of the city, have a ſpacious garden adjoining, and are ſeparated from the reſt of the town by a wall. Moſt of the great houſes in the city are ſurrounded in the ſame manner, which renders it very extenſive.

Iſpahan is ſituated nearly in 32 degrees north latitude, on a fruitful plain, in the province of Hierack, anciently the kingdom of the Parthians. About three or four Engliſh miles diſtant from the city, to the ſouth, runs an high ridge of mountains from eaſt to weſt. Shach Abbaſs the Great transferred the ſeat of the Perſian government from Caſbin to this place.

Iſpahan is plentifully ſupplied with water from the river Schenderoo, which runs between the city and the ſuburbs, keeping its courſe to the north. It riſes near the city, and is fordable almoſt every where unleſs during great rains, which ſeldom happen. After paſſing this place its courſe is but ſhort, for it ſoon loſes itſelf in dry parched plains. Over the Schenderoo there are three ſtately ſtone-bridges in ſight of one another; but the one in the middle, betwixt the city and that part of the ſuburbs called Julpha, which terminates the ſpacious ſtreet Tzar-bach, far exceeds any ſtructure of that kind I ever ſaw. It is broad enough for two carriages and a horſeman to paſs a-breaſt,

abreaſt, and has galleries on each ſide, which are covered for the convenience of people on foot; and watchmen are ſtationed at each end to prevent diſorders. There are few houſes in the town which have not their chauſes, i. e. ciſterns of water conveyed in pipes from the river: a moſt ſalutary and refreſhing circumſtance, in ſuch a dry and ſultry climate.

The city is populous, and, as I already obſerved, very extenſive. As moſt of the inhabitants have their houſes apart, ſurrounded with gardens, planted with fruit and other trees, at a diſtance it appears like a city in a foreſt, and affords a very agreeable proſpect.

The ſtreets are generally very narrow and irregular, excepting that leading to the great bridge already mentioned. This noble ſtreet is very broad and ſtraight, and near an Engliſh mile in length. On each ſide are the King's palaces, courts of juſtice, and the academies for the education of youth, with two rows of tall chinar-trees, which afford a fine ſhade. Theſe trees have a ſmooth whitiſh bark, and a broad leaf, like the plane-tree. At certain diſtances there are fountains of water that play continually, round which are ſpread carpets; and thither the Perſians reſort to drink coffee, ſmoke tobacco, and hear news: which I muſt confeſs is very agreeable in hot weather.

About half a mile below the city is a fine plain upon the banks of the river, where the Perſians every evening exerciſe their horſes in riding, and accuſtom them to the diſcharge of fire-arms. They alſo ſhoot at butts with bows and arrows, and throw blunted darts at one another: at which they appear very dextrous.

The city is almoſt quite defenceleſs, having only a ſlight wall round it, built of mud dried by the ſun, which is broken down in many places: ſo that if the army is defeated in the field, Iſpahan cannot defend itſelf one day; for even all the artillery I ſaw conſiſted of about twenty braſs cannon, which ſtood in the grand court before the palace-gate, and were more for parade than real uſe.

The houſes here, as in other places of Perſia, are generally built with bricks hardened by the ſun. The roofs are flat, and covered with a terrace. They make but a mean appearance from the ſtreet, though within they are neat and clean, and very convenient for the Perſian manner of life. The Shach's palaces, the public edifices, and the houſes of all perſons of diſtinction, are built with ſtone.

As the ſtreets are not paved, when it is windy, the city is ſometimes involved in ſuch a cloud of duſt that the ſun is ſcarcely viſible. This obliges the inhabitants to water the ſtreets at leaſt every evening. Theſe guſts of wind are very diſagreeable, but they happen ſeldom, and are of ſhort duration.

At Iſpahan are many manufactories of ſilk and cotton, and a great many ſilk-worms in the neighbourhood. As the conſumption of ſilk is very conſiderable at this place, little of it is exported. The making carpets, however, employs the greateſt number of hands, for which the demand is great; as they are preferable in quality, deſign, and colour to any made elſewhere.

The fields about the city are very fertile and produce plentiful crops of excellent wheat and barley; but then they muſt all be watered on account of the dryneſs of the ſoil, which is a work of labour and expence. Beſides theſe I ſaw no other grain.

The Perſians tread out their corn with oxen or aſſes. For this purpoſe they make a circle about twenty or thirty feet in diameter, on the circumference whereof the ſheaves are laid. There is a light ſledge or hurdle drawn by the cattle, in which the driver ſits, and directs them round and round as often as is neceſſary; and new ſheaves are always added when the former ones are trodden ſufficiently. This operation alſo ſoftens the ſtraw, and renders it very good provender. There is no hay in Perſia; and

the beſt horſes are kept in a condition for any ſervice by this food, and a ſmall quantity of dried barley, twice a-day.

They have flocks of large ſheep, whereof the mutton is very good, but the wool coarſe. In the province of Karamenia, indeed, they have exceeding fine wool, ſome of which I have ſeen little inferior to ſilk. Their horned cattle are buffalos, which afford them milk, and are uſed in ploughing the ground, and drawing carriages. They have alſo the common kind of cattle of different ſizes. The better ſort of people eat chiefly mutton and fowls, but very little beef.

Beſides the cattle I have mentioned there is another kind, having a high riſing upon the ſhoulder, with clean limbs, which are very handſome.

As I have formerly obſerved that the Perſians make uſe of ice to cool their water in ſummer, it may be aſked, where are got ſuch quantities, in ſo hot a climate, as are daily ſold in the ſtreets for that purpoſe? I was informed, that there were people who made it their buſineſs to watch the froſty nights in the winter ſeaſon; on which occaſions they went to the mountains near the city, and threw water on certain places, which being frozen, they continued to repeat the operation till the ice was of convenient thickneſs; then they cut it in pieces and carry it into caves hewn in the rocks, where it is perſerved during the ſummer. What they cannot carry off before the ſun riſes is covered to defend it from his heat.

While I remained at Iſpahan I viſited the Shach's aviary. It contains a great variety of all kinds of birds, many of which had come from India and other foreign parts. Among the reſt were a couple of turkeys, which it ſeems are rare birds in Perſia. The place is very neat and elegant. The aviary is about fifteen feet high, and covered with a net-work of braſs-wire to prevent the birds flying away.

Proviſions of all kinds are very dear at Iſpahan, which is ſufficiently apparent from the number of poor that go about the ſtreets. Nothing, however, is ſo extravagantly high as fire-wood.

The Roman Catholics have three convents in the city, viz. thoſe of the Carmelites, Capuchins, and Auguſtins. The Jeſuits and Dominicans have their ſeparate convents in the ſuburbs of Julpha, which is inhabited by Armenians, who are allowed the free exerciſe of their religion.

There is a conſiderable number of Jews in the city, who are either merchants or mechanics.

In the neighbourhood of the city is a tribe of people, called by the Perſians Giaur, who worſhip fire, being the poſterity of the ancient inhabitants of this country, who paid divine honours to that element. They are a poor indolent race, and live in naſty huts, or in tents. They ſpeak a different language from the Perſians, have black hair, and are of a ſwarthy complexion. They have ſome ſheep and cattle, but many of them go about the ſtreets begging.

About three or four miles to the ſouthward of the city are to be ſeen the ruins of a tower on the top of a mountain, where it is ſaid Darius ſat when Alexander the Great fought the ſecond battle with the Perſians. I was alſo told that, about two days journey from Iſpahan, are diſtinguiſhable the remains of the tomb of Queen Eſther, a lady celebrated in holy writ for many virtues. Theſe, and many other places, I intended to have examined on the ſpot, but was unluckily prevented for want of time.

While we lay at Tauchtzy waiting for horſes and camels, two of our ſervants were ſtung with ſcorpions, but were ſoon cured, by timely application of the oil of ſcorpions, prepared after the Perſian manner, without any other remedy. The jackals made a diſmal howling under our windows every night.

I have

I have now finiſhed my obſervations on whatever ſeemed moſt remarkable in and about the city of Iſpahan. I ſhall only add, that, among the many lofty and pompous titles which this mighty monarch aſſumes, there are ſome very extraordinary; of which I ſhall mention one: "That the greateſt Kings of the earth may think it an honour to drink out of his horſe's footſteps." Several more inſtances might be given in the oriental ſtyle fully as extravagant.

The Shach's Palaces.

1. Tzel Sootun, or that of forty pillars.
2. Tevela Telear, near the ſtables.
3. Haſta-Behaſi, chambers of paradiſe.
4. Othiat Tallard, near the Haram.
5. Guldeſta, houſe of eunuchs.
6. Tauchtzy, at the north entry.
7. Farrabbatt, ſouth-eaſt from the city.

Perſia is at preſent divided into ſixteen provinces, many of them of great extent. I ſhall mention their preſent names, together with thoſe they ſeem to have borne among the ancients, diſtinguiſhing the latter by Italics.

1. Turkomania,— *Great Armenia.*
2. Diarbeck,— *Meſopotamia.*
3. Kurdiſtan,— *Part of Aſſyria.*
4. Hierack Arabee,— *Chaldea, or Babylon.*
5. Hierack Aggemy,— *Region of the Parthians.*
6. Shirvan,— *Towards the north-weſt coaſt of the Caſpian Sea.*
7. Guilan and Meſanderan,— *Hyrcania.*
8. Aſtrabatt,— *Margiana.*
9. Uſbeck,— *Bactria:*
10. Koraſſan,— *Aria.*
11. Sableſtan,— *Parapomiſia.*
12. Sigiſtan,— *Drangiana.*
13. Arachoſia.
14. Machran.
15. Karamenia,— *Reaching to the Gulf of Ormus.*
16. Pharſiſtan,— *Old Perſia, whereof Perſepolis was the capital city.*

I have added the ancient names according to the beſt information I could procure; for, under the various revolutions of this country, the records have been almoſt wholly either loſt or deſtroyed: ſo that the Perſians themſelves know very little of the ancient hiſtory of their country.

CHAP. VII.— *From Iſpahan to Shamachy; Occurrences during our Stay there.*

SEPTEMBER 1ſt, having procured horſes and camels and every thing neceſſary, and having alſo got a conductor from the Shach, we this day left Iſpahan in order to return to Ruſſia. We travelled ſhort ſtages along the ſame road by which we came to Iſpahan. Little material happened for a conſiderable time, and I ſhall not repeat what I formerly obſerved; I ſhall only take notice, that many of the places through which we paſſed were much infeſted by ſtrong gangs of highwaymen. We were therefore obliged

obliged to travel very cautiouſly, and to keep our people together near the baggage, but particularly to procure a ſafe caravanſery for our lodgings. The weather continuing very hot was the reaſon of our making eaſy marches; and theſe chiefly in the mornings and evenings, and ſometimes in the night, when it could be done with ſafety.

We travelled in this manner till the 26th of September, when we arrived at a village called Arrazant, where we lodged. Next day, inſtead of purſuing the ſame route by Tauris, we turned to the right, and took the road leading to Caſbin and Guilan.

The 27th, we proceeded five agatz, to Membereck; and the 28th four, to the city of Caſbin. This place is ſituated in a ſpacious plain, having a ridge of high mountains to the north. I mentioned formerly that Caſbin was once the ſeat of government, and the reſidence of the Perſian monarchs. There are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of many ſtately moſques, palaces, and other public edifices. The city appears to have been in former times very large and flouriſhing, but is now much contracted and decayed.

The plague raged here all the preceding ſummer, which had almoſt depopulated the place; and, although the fury of that contagious diſtemper was much abated, people continued to die daily, which made us reſolve to remain no longer than was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to prepare things for our journey to Guilan. This could not be ſoon accompliſhed at a time of ſuch public calamity.

In the mean time many of our people were ſeized with peſtilential fevers, who all recovered but one. He died ſuddenly, with the uſual ſymptoms of the plague. I and ſeveral of our people were likewiſe taken with fevers, occaſioned by our being lodged in houſes where the Perſians had lately died. Theſe circumſtances made the ambaſſador reſolve to leave the place at all events. During the time therefore which we were obliged to wait for horſes and camels, we removed out of town about a mile, to a garden belonging to the Shach, provided for us by the commandant of the city and province. Here we ſet up our tents, and in this ſituation, by the help of free air and good water, our people recovered ſurpriſingly, ſo that in a ſhort time moſt of them were able to ride; another gentleman only and myſelf were carried in litters between two mules.

The 12th of October, we ſet out again, purſuing our journey northward. After travelling about two leagues through a plain we aſcended a high and ſteep mountain, and, proceeding onward about a league, came to a ſmall village, where we lodged. All the inhabitants had forſaken their houſes. Whatever elſe was wanting, we had here the comfort of pure air, which had ſuch an effect on me that next day I was able to mount on horſeback, though, at ſetting out, I was ſcarcely in condition to bear the eaſy motion of the litter.

We continued our journey aſcending and deſcending many ſteep rocks and mountains for four days, when we arrived at Menzyly, a little town ſituated in a charming valley, where grow abundance of citrons, oranges, olives, beſide grapes and other fruits. Theſe I own were tempting objects, but ſad experience taught many of us to value them no more than ſloes or bramble berries. Menzyly is governed by a kalentar, or judge; it is a pretty romantic place, encompaſſed by high mountains on all ſides, which decline to the north, and are covered with graſs. This is a rare ſight in Perſia, and is cauſed by the great autumnal rains; for along the ſouth coaſt of the Caſpian Sea it rains at this ſeaſon almoſt without intermiſſion, for the ſpace of ſix weeks or two months. In this and the neighbouring villages are bred a great number of ſilk-worms, which produce the beſt and greateſt quantities of raw ſilk made in the province of Guilan; from whence it is exported by the Armenian merchants partly through Ruſſia to Holland, and partly by land to Aleppo, for the Levant trade.

Having ſtaid two days at Menzyly, we ſet out again in heavy rains, through deep roads, which greatly incommoded our camels: for they often ſlipped, and ſometimes fell down under their burthens; however in five days we reached Reſhd, the capital of the province of Guilan.

Reſhd ſtands in a plain ſurrounded with great woods on every ſide, about a day's journey from the neareſt ſhore of the Caſpian Sea, where is a very good harbour for ſhips of ſmall burthen.

The houſes are thinly ſcattered, reſembling rather a large village than a town. As the ground at this place is very flat, the inhabitants are obliged to chooſe the dryeſt places to build on. In the market-place I ſaw about eight pieces of cannon, mounted on ſorry carriages; among which was a neat braſs field-piece, with the name of that noted prince the Duke of Holſtein Gottorp upon it: it ſeems to have been left here accidentally by the ambaſſadors of that Duke to the then Shach of Perſia.

The houſes are mean in compariſon with thoſe in other parts of Perſia; the roofs are raiſed and tiled to carry off the great falls of rain.

The marſhes and pools with which Reſhd is ſurrounded renders it very unhealthy, eſpecially in the heat of ſummer, when it is often viſited with the peſtilence; and, although it is a place of the greateſt plenty, the inhabitants look as half ſtarved. I was told they were obliged to confine themſelves to a ſcanty diet; that, if they allowed themſelves the leaſt indulgence, even ſo far as to eat their rice with butter, they were liable to agues, the reigning diſtemper in this climate. Many of our people were actually ſeized with theſe agues, though none of them proved mortal. Here, as at the capitals of the other provinces, we were obliged to remain a conſiderable time, much longer than we inclined; for every province bears the expence of ambaſſadors from the time they arrive at its capital till they reach the capital of the next province, where freſh ſupplies of money and cattle are to be procured. The obtaining theſe things, and the rainy weather, detained us in this diſagreeable place. The pools are full of frogs that chatter like magpies, and make ſuch a loud croaking beſides their chattering, that a perſon cannot ſleep till he is accuſtomed to that noiſe.

The country above Reſhd is very fruitful, particularly in rice, which grows plentifully on the marſhy grounds, and is ſufficient to ſupply moſt of the other provinces of Perſia; there is alſo plenty of fruit natural to the climate. The Armenians who inhabit Reſhd make good wine, both red and white; and even in the woods you may ſee the vines loaden with cluſters of grapes twiſting about the trees, which are left to the birds, as they are not worth gathering amid ſuch plenty.

Great flocks of fieldfares, thruſhes, blackbirds, with vaſt quantities of ſtorks, cranes, ſwans, wild-geeſe, and all other kinds of water-fowl, come hither from the north during the winter, and return to the northern regions in the ſpring.

The ſtaple of Guilan is raw ſilk, of which they make great quantities, both for their own conſumption and for exportation.

While we remained at Reſhd two ambaſſadors arrived from the Aijuka Chan, Prince of the Kolmuck-Tartars, in their way to Iſpahan.

November 9th, we left Reſhd, and travelled through thick woods to the ſhore, along which we kept to the left, in all about five agatz, and then lodged in a ſmall empty village.

The 13th, we proceeded ſix agatz to a ſmall town called Keſhker. This day the road lay through pleaſant woods. At ſome diſtance from ſea we met with ſome groves of orange-trees, where we found bloſſoms, ripe and green fruit on the ſame tree. The great rains detained us ſome days at Keſhker; during which a new Maymander arrived

rived from Iſpahan, who arreſted the former one for ſome fault he had commited on the road.

The 20th, we travelled from Keſhker to the ſhore three agatz, and halted a little, then along the ſhore four agatz farther, and at midnight reached an empty village; a diſagreeable circumſtance, after marching in conſtant rain the whole day, which had rendered the rivers almoſt impaſſable to camels.

From the 21ſt to the 27th, we advanced along the ſhore. The roads were very good. At laſt we came to a town called Aſtara, where we halted for refreſhment. There is nothing remarkable about this place, except its pleaſant ſituation.

December 1ſt, we reached Siarakent, a large village. And next day Langgara, ſituated on the ſhore at the mouth of a river, an agatz diſtant from the former. And the 3d to Kyzillagatch, five agatz from Langgara. This day we paſſed along ſeveral large bridges, over very deep rivers. In great rains and ſtrong northerly winds, theſe rivers ſwell above their banks, and, ſpreading to a great extent round the bridges, render them impaſſable.

The 5th, we travelled five agatz to Tzamachava. I was ſurpriſed at the great flocks of water-fowl near this place: ſo numerous were they that one of our people killed eight geeſe at one diſcharge.

The 7th, we entered the plains of Mugan. I deſcribed what ſeemed moſt remarkable in this deſert when going ſouthward, and ſhall not recapitulate any thing I formerly obſerved. The road was very good. We lodged at the river Bulgara, ſix agatz from Tzamachava, the water of the river is muddy and brackiſh. Next day we advanced ſeven agatz, and lodged again in tents; for there are no houſes in this plain, and only pit water, very brackiſh.

On the 9th, we travelled ſeven agatz to ſome ſmall huts beyond the river Kure, which we paſſed on a bridge of boats. We paſſed this river about a day's journey above this place, in going to Iſpahan, when I made my remarks upon it. Seven agatz from theſe huts ſtands a place called Karakurody, the laſt ſtage in the deſert, where we lodged on the 11th.

The 12th, we arrived at Shamachy, five agatz from the laſt ſtage. Since the time we left this place it had ſuffered grievouſly by the plague, which raged here all the preceding ſummer. It was now much abated, though not quite extinguiſhed. This was a diſagreeable circumſtance; many of our people were ſickly, and two of them died of the diſtemper: for the empty houſes where the Perſians had died, notwithſtanding every precaution, particularly ſmoaking the walls, ſtill proved infectious.

I was informed, that about ſeventy thouſand perſons had been carried off by the peſtilence within the laſt eight months, in Shamachy and the province of Shirvan.

The 15th, my old acquaintance Monſ. Yeiiſky, the Dantzicker, whom I formerly mentioned, came to viſit me. He was ſo altered by ſickneſs that I ſcarcely knew him. He told me what diſmal havoc the plague had made, particularly in his own family. I aſked, why he did not retire to the country for better air? His anſwer was, whither could he fly from God Almighty! This I find to be the general opinion of the Mahometans, both Perſians and Turks. The ſame day I had a viſit from Father Backond, the only miſſionary at preſent in theſe parts, his companion Father Ricard being dead of the plague.

The ſeaſon being now far advanced, it became proper to pitch on ſome place for winter-quarters. The terrible peſtilence which had prevailed ſo long, and with ſuch deſtruction, greatly deterred us from chooſing this place. The ſuperior convenience, however, of it, the preſent abatement of the plague, and chiefly becauſe a province is not obliged

to ſupport the expences of an ambaſſador till he arrives at the capital, and ſeveral other reaſons, determined us to winter at Shamachy.

January 15th, 1718, the Chan came to town from the country, where he had been all the laſt ſummer.

The 21ſt, the ambaſſador paid the Chan a viſit, which was returned the 25th.

Nothing material happened during the winter; only we often heard of the bad ſucceſs of the Shach's forces, which were ſent to Chandahar againſt the rebel Mery Mahmut, and of many incurſions into the Perſian provinces, made by the mountaineers who inhabit between the Black and Caſpian Seas.

March 10th, one of our gentlemen, Monſ. Lepuchin, was ſent away by land to Aſtrachan, with an elephant and all the horſes. He was eſcorted by thirty Ruſſian ſoldiers, and ſome Aſtrachan Tartars. In his march, between Derbent and Terky, he was attacked by ſome hundreds of the mountaineers, called Shaffkalls, who killed one man and two horſes, and wounded ſeveral men and the elephant. Meeting, however, with a warm reception, they thought proper to retire, but carried off three of the horſes. The gentleman arrived ſafe without any further misfortune at Aſtrachan.

April 14th, ſhips, commanded by Captain Rentle, arrived at Niezabatt, in order to tranſport the ambaſſador to Aſtrachan. He could not, however, proceed immediately to embark, for we were obliged to wait for an anſwer to an expreſs, which the Chan had diſpatched to Iſpahan on affairs of importance, which did not return till the end of May. All of us impatiently deſired to leave Shamachy before the great heat came on. In the mean time we diverted ourſelves with hunting. I went often to ſee the ſilkworms feeding on mulberry-leaves. The inhabitants were apprehenſive that the plague would break out again in the ſummer; and we had already buried twenty-two of our people ſince our arrival on the frontiers of Perſia.

On the night of the 8th of May, there were ſuch flaſhes of lightning as had not happened in the memory of man; though the night was dark, I could plainly ſee the cattle in the adjacent fields by means of the coruſcations; the lightning was accompanied with dreadful claps of thunder, which laſted above two hours.

CHAP. VIII.—*From Shamachy to St. Peterſburg.*

JUNE 16th, we left Shamachy, and in four days arrived ſafe at Niezabatt, where we found ſhips waiting to receive us.

On the 21ſt, we began to load the veſſels with all poſſible diſpatch, which was ſoon accompliſhed by the aſſiſtance of ſome Ruſs ſoldiers who had wintered at this place. Since I have mentioned theſe ſoldiers, I ſhall briefly relate how they happened to be on this coaſt.

The people of Chiva, a territory eaſtward from the Caſpian Sea, having ſeveral times robbed and plundered ſome caravans of Ruſſian merchants going to Bucharia, His Czariſh Majeſty determined to ſend a ſmall body of regular troops, and ſome Coſſacks, to demand ſatisfaction for ſuch outrages committed in time of peace. For this purpoſe, Mr. Beckvitz, a captain of the guards, who was appointed to command in this expedition, repaired to Aſtrachan, in ſummer 1716, in order to make all the neceſſary preparations againſt next ſpring. Having accordingly embarked his men, proviſions, and ammunition at the proper ſeaſon, he ſteered his courſe along the Caſpian Sea, and landed at a place called Kraſna-vooda, i. e. Red Water, as near to Chiva as he conveni-

ently could. This place was barren an uninhabited. Having therefore moored his tranſports, he erected a ſmall fort to ſecure his retreat, in caſe of accidents.

In the mean time, he ſent a friendly meſſage to the Chan of Chiva, to notify his arrival, and to deſire that he would furniſh him with proviſions and quarters for his men; for which he offered to pay ready money. The crafty Tartar returned for anſwer, that he might come to Chiva with the greateſt ſafety, where all his demands ſhould be granted. At the ſame time ſent him a preſent of fruits and freſh proviſions, and guides to conduct him on the road, accompanied with the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect to His Czariſh Majeſty. Mr. Beckvitz, having left about three hundred men in the fort, to guard the camp and proviſions, proceeded with the reſt, and a few field-pieces, towards Chiva.

In three or four days, he arrived in the neighbourhood of the town, where he was met by ſeveral of the chiefs, who came with compliments from the Chan, and to ſettle matters relative to the cantonment of the ſoldiers. This particular was difficult to adjuſt.

Mr Beckvitz inſiſted that all his men ſhould be quartered in the town, and nothing but infatuation could have influenced him to alter ſo prudent a reſolution. But the Tartars ſtarted many objections againſt putting it in execution, and pretended that the Chan and themſelves were willing to agree to it, but the people were averſe, and jealous of having ſo many armed men lodged within their walls; and therefore they propoſed, as a means of quieting the minds of the people, that he ſhould ſeparate his men, in order to be quartered more conveniently in the adjacent villages, and that himſelf ſhould have lodgings in the town, with a ſufficient guard to attend him. This motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by all the old officers, who looked on it as a ſtratagem laid for their deſtruction. And ſuch in reality it proved in the end.

Mr. Beckvitz, deluded by falſe promiſes, at laſt conſented to canton his men. No ſooner were they divided into ſmall parties than they were incloſed, and attacked by great numbers of Tartars, and moſt of them either killed or taken priſoners, who were afterwards ſold for ſlaves. A few of them, taking the alarm, ſtood to their arms, and made a brave defence, for ſome time endeavouring chiefly to regain their camp and ſhips; but having a barren deſert to paſs, and the Tartar horſe haraſſing them day and night, they were at laſt obliged to ſubmit to fatal neceſſity. The imprudence of the general was the ſole cauſe of all theſe misfortunes; for, being in no want of proviſions or ammunition, had he only kept his men together, the whole combined power of theſe Tartars could not have prevented his regaining the camp and ſhipping.

The camp was next attacked by the Tartars, but they were repulſed by the garriſon, which having now intelligence of what had paſſed at Chiva, demoliſhed the fort, reimbarked the men and ſtores, and ſet ſail for Aſtrachan. The ſeaſon was now too far advanced to gain that port; this circumſtance, together with hard gales of contrary winds, obliged them to put into Niezabatt, in order to paſs the winter. Here they were hoſpitably received by the Perſians; and the preſence of the ambaſſador at Shamachy contributed greatly to the relief of theſe poor unfortunate people.

Unhappy Beckvitz himſelf happened to be taken priſoner. He was ſent for to the Chan's tent, on ſome pretence of buſineſs, where they firſt ſtruck off his head, then, after venting their barbarous rage on his dead body, they flayed it, and having ſtuffed the ſkin with ſtraw, placed it, a miſerable ſpectacle, on one of the city gates.

This unfortunate gentleman was the ſon of a petty prince, or chief of a tribe, in Tzerkeſſia, and had been ſent to Ruſſia in his infancy, as a hoſtage for his father's fidelity.

Being

Being now on the point of departing from Perſia, called by the Perſians Iran, and alſo Pharſiſtan, I ſhall cloſe what I have to offer regarding that country, by giving a liſt of the principal officers of ſtate who attend that mighty monarch at the megiliſs, i. e. public audience of ambaſſadors; they ſit in the hall of audience according to their reſpective ranks, and have all of them, on thoſe occaſions, magnificent capes and robes of ſtate, kept in the King's wardrobe for that purpoſe.

1. The Etmadowlett, prime miniſter.
2. Spaſſelaar, general in chief.
3. Kurtſy Baſha, general of 12,000 men.
4. Kular-agaſſy, director of the priſons.
5. Tfengy Baſha, general of muſketeers.
6. Iſhek-agaſſy Baſha, maſter of ceremonies.
7. Divan Begg, chief juſtice.
8. Toptſhy Baſha, maſter of the ordnance.
9. Vaggian Aviz, ſecretary of ſtate.
10. Meriſh-kaz Baſha, grand falconer.
11. Dgevedar Baſha, general of the artillery.
12. Milachurd Baſha Giloff, maſter of horſe.
13. Milachurd Yaſſy Baſha, maſter of the field-horſes.
14. Kolopha.
15. Mamalek, comptroller of the houſehold.
16. Kchaſſa, cabinet ſecretary.
17. Nazyr Daftar, ſteward of the houſehold.
18. Viſir Iſpahan, chief magiſtrate of Iſpahan.
19. Viſir Kurtſy, general of horſe.
20. Viſir Kule.
21. Chaſnadar Baſha, chief treaſurer.
22. Kaliphar Kaſhkar, chief judge in civil affairs.
23. Doroga Taftar, judge of the city.
24. Sachapt Tauchtzy.
25. Sachapt Narvis, chief aſtrologer.
26. Hakim Baſha, chief phyſician.

The following officers attend the Shach wherever he goes:

1. The Ibrahim Aga, chief of the eunuchs.
2. Yeuſh Baſha, chief of the white eunuchs.
3. Achmet Aga, chief of the black eunuchs.
4. Klitch Kurtſhy, ſword-bearer.
5. Tzatyn Baſha, quiver-bearer.
6. Saddach Kurtſhy, bow-bearer.
7. Tfang Kurtſhy, muſket-bearer.
8. Dgid Kurtſhy, dart-bearer.
9. Kalchan Kurtſhy, target-bearer.

The following are the chief doctors of the law of Mahomet:

1. Sadyr Chaſſa, the ſame office in Perſia as that of the Mufti in Turkey.
2. Sadyr Mammalek.
3. Fazyl
4. Shach Iſlam.
5. Chazy.
6. Mullah Baſha.
7. Mudaraſs.
8. Piſhnamaſh.
9. Mutaſhett Baſha.
10. Woaſham Baſha.

Theſe are the principal; beſides whom there are many other officers too numerous to recite. With the foregoing liſt I cloſe what I have to ſay regarding Perſia.

The 26th, we ſet ſail from Niezabatt with a fair wind at ſouth-eaſt, which laſted only a few hours; after which we were becalmed for three days.

July 2d, the wind became again fair, and carried us with a gentle breeze out of the deep water into ſoundings; but turning contrary, we came to anchor in thirty fathom water, where we lay till the 10th, when it blew a very hard gale, which drove us from our anchors out to ſea; and, continuing for two days, brought us again in ſight of the Perſian ſhore, which was at this time no very agreeable object.

The 13th, the wind chopped about favourable, and ſo continued, with little variation, till the 18th, when we arrived ſafe at Aſtrachan, to the great joy of all our company.

September 7th, leaving Aſtrachan, we ſailed up the Volga. Our progreſs, contrary to the courſe of the river, was very ſlow and tedious. In calms the boats were drawn up by men, who went upon the banks; but in hard gales, we were obliged to haul them near the ſide, and lie ſtill.

October 12th, after a voyage of five weeks we arrived at the town of Saratoff, about eight hundred verſt diſtant from Aſtrachan. The winter drawing on prevented our farther progreſs by water. We therefore unloaded, and diſcharged the boats, being reſolved to remain here till the ſnow fell, when we might proceed by land in ſledges.

November 1ſt, there had now been a little fall of ſnow, ſufficient to ſmooth the roads, and this day we ſet out from Saratoff in ſledges.

The 3d, we came to a little town called Petroſky, about ninety verſt from Saratoff.

The 8th, we came to a large town called Penze, ninety verſt from the former. As we advanced to the north the froſt and ſnow daily increaſed, which made the roads very ſmooth and eaſy. Before we left this place, a ſudden rain obliged us to halt a few days. Here we met with Brigadier Kropotoff, who, with ſome regiments of dragoons had winter quarters at this place.

The 14th, the froſt and ſnow returning, we ſet out from Penze.

The 15th, we reached Saranſky, eighty verſt from the former. Here we found many Swediſh officers taken at Poltava, who were well quartered in a plentiful country.

The 17th, we left Saranſky, and the 21ſt, arrived at Arzamaſs, an hundred verſt from Saranſky.

The 24th, we came to Murum, three hundred and ſixty verſt from Saratoff, which I mentioned in going ſouthward by water. From Saratoff to Petroſky the country is ſomewhat

ſomewhat dry and barren, but the reſt of the country through which we paſſed is very fruitful, producing all kinds of corn, fine woods, particularly of oaks, interſperſed with many villages; and the face of the country, conſtantly varied by plain and gently riſing grounds, affords a moſt beautiful proſpect. From Murum we came to the town of Wolodimir, an hundred and thirty verſt from Murum. This place is large and well peopled, and famous for being formerly the reſidence of a great prince of the ſame name.

The 30th, we arrived ſafe at the city of Moſco, an hundred and forty verſt from the former, and ſeven hundred and ſeventy from Saratoff.

December 19th, we proceeded towards St. Peterſburg, where we arrived on the 30th. Nothing material happened during our return through Ruſſia; and what was moſt remarkable in the country I deſcribed in going ſouthward. I cannot help taking notice of an extraordinary caſe of one of our people, in an exceſſive cold night. The fellow, expecting to baniſh all feeling of cold from himſelf, drunk a large quantity of ſpirits, which produced a drowſineſs, that ended in ſleep in an open ſledge. On arriving at a village, the perſon was found ſtiff, ſpeechleſs, and apparently quite dead; but being carried to a brook hard by and plunged ſeveral times in the water, and then rubbed with ſnow, and brought into a warm room, with proper regimen he ſoon recovered, and was able to proceed next day.

I have often obſerved, in other inſtances, that the uſe of ſpiritous liquors in cold weather is the worſt of remedies; for, though they warm at firſt, they leave a chillneſs behind them, not to be got clear of for a conſiderable time. I have found by experience nothing preferable to weak warm liquors, mixed with a little ſpirits. The Ruſſian travellers carefully avoid the exceſſive uſe of brandy in ſtrong froſts.

Thus I have finiſhed my account of a long, tedious, and dangerous journey, which laſted for three years, attended with many difficulties, not eaſily conceived by thoſe who have not travelled the ſame road. At our return to St. Peterſburg we found His Majeſty at that place, who, I was informed, was well ſatisfied with the conduct of his ambaſſador, whoſe principal errand was to cultivate and cement amity, and a good correſpondence between the two crowns of Ruſſia and Perſia.

Notwithſtanding the war with Sweden had continued near twenty years, this active monarch had not neglected, nor even ſuſpended the building and adorning his new capital. During my abſence the appearance of things was ſo changed, that I could ſcarce imagine myſelf in the ſame place; ſo ſurpriſing was the alteration in ſo ſhort a time. Beſides, this prince had fitted out a navy of thirty ſhip of war, and three hundred gallies: enterpriſes which might have been the work of ages, but not ſuperior to the ſingle induſtry and activity of Peter the Firſt.

A JOURNEY FROM ST. PETERSBURG IN RUSSIA, TO PEKIN IN CHINA, WITH AN EMBASSY FROM HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, PETER THE FIRST, TO KAMHI EMPEROR OF CHINA, IN THE YEAR 1719.

Names of the principal Perſons who compoſed the Train of the Ambaſſador, Leoff Vaſſilovich Iſmayloff.

Secretary of the Embaſſy,
Laurence de Lange.
The Ambaſſador's Secretary,
Ivan Glazunoff.
Gentlemen of the Embaſſy,
Kneaz Alexander Safeckin,
Nicolaus de Pauli Kreſtitz,
Lukian Neſteroff,
Alexie Divioff,
David Grave,
The Author of this Journal.
Gregory, a Prieſt.

Interpreters, clerks, a band of muſic, valets, footmen, &c. in all to the number of about ſixty perſons; beſides a troop of twenty-five dragoons, for our eſcort, from Tobolſky to Pekin, and back.

CHAP. I.—*From St. Peterſburg to Tobolſky, the Capital of Siberia.*

WHEN I arrived at St. Peterſburg from Iſpahan, I met with a very ſenſible mortification, on finding that my very worthy friend, Dr. Areſkine, was no more; he died about ſix weeks before my arrival. Not long after which, upon being informed that an embaſſy was preparing for China, and that His Majeſty had nominated Leoff Vaſſilovich Iſmayloff, a gentleman of a family very well known and much reſpected in Ruſſia, and a captain of the guards, for that employment, I became very deſirous of making that journey in his train.

Upon my acquainting my very good friend, Artemy Petrovich Valenſky, with my deſire, he, without loſs of time, recommended me to Leoff Vaſſilovich Iſmayloff, the appointed ambaſſador, in ſuch a manner as produced, on all occaſions, marks of friendſhip and regard for me, as well during the journey, as alſo after our return, until he died in 1736.

The time between my return from Iſpahan and my ſetting out for Pekin, I ſpent with much ſatisfaction with my friends and acquaintance at St. Peterſburg. Among whom I eſteemed as ſuch, not only ſeveral worthy perſons of my own countrymen, as well in trade, as in the ſervice of His Majeſty; but alſo not a few of the Ruſſian gentry, to whom I became known on occaſion of my journey to Perſia, and of whom I found many to be perſons of much worth and honour.

At length the preſents for the Emperor of China being got ready, as well as the ambaſſador's diſpatches, I ſet out from St. Peterſburg the 14th of July, 1719, in company with Meſſieurs Lange and Grave, attended by a few ſervants; the firſt was a native of Sweden,

Sweden, and the other of Courland. We travelled to the city of Moſco in ſmall parties, the more eaſily to procure poſt-horſes. The weather being very hot obliged us to make ſhort ſtages, confining us moſtly to the mornings and evenings. Having in my Perſian journal deſcribed what is moſt remarkable on this road, I have nothing to add to what I have there obſerved.

Nothing material happened during our journey to Moſco, where we arrived on the 30th of July, and joined the ambaſſador, who had arrived there two days before, having paſſed us on the road. We took up our lodgings at the houſe of Mr. Belayof, near the triumphal arch. Here we ſpent five weeks in preparing barks to go by water to Cazan, and neceſſaries for ſo long and unfrequented a road. This interval we paſſed very agreeably, being invited to all the entertainments the place afforded.

September 9th, having ſhipped our baggage, and prepared every thing for our departure, we went ourſelves on board; and, after firing nine guns, rowed down the river Moſco. There is a ſhorter way from Moſco to Siberia through Yaroſlave; but as we were incumbered with heavy baggage, conſiſting chiefly of preſents from His Majeſty to the Emperor of China, it was thought beſt to proceed as far as poſſible by water.

Accordingly, we continued our courſe down the Moſco river to Kolumna, then into the river Ocka; and, paſſing Pereſlave-Reſanſky, Murum, and other towns of leſs note, we arrived at Niſhna-Novogorod, ſituated to the right hand, on a high bank of the Ocka, at its confluence with the Volga. Leaving Niſhna, we entered the river Volga, and proceeded towards Cazan.

After a voyage of ſix weeks, we arrived at Cazan on the 20th of October. We intended to have continued our route farther down the Volga to the river Kama, which falls into the Volga about ſixty verſt below Cazan, and then up the Kama to Solikamſky; but the advancement of the ſeaſon, and the froſt coming on apace, made us reſolve to remain at Cazan till the winter ſet in, leſt we ſhould run the hazard of being frozen up near ſome uninhabited place on the Kama.

In conſequence of this reſolution, the barks were diſcharged, and we took up our lodgings in the city. Here I found many of my old friends and acquaintance, particularly the Swediſh officers; among others General Hamilton, General Roſen, and Baron Wachmaiter, who ſtill remained priſoners of war, regretting the hard fate of their long captivity. We ſtaid here about five weeks, waiting for the ſnow falling to ſmooth the roads; and in the mean time were employed in preparing ſledges, and other neceſſaries for our journey. Having formerly made my remarks on this route, and particularly on Cazan and its neighbourhood, I ſhall now purſue our journey towards Siberia.

November 24th, we ſent off the heavy baggage; but Monſieur Iſmayloff, with a few of the gentlemen, remained ſome days longer, becauſe it was diſagreeable travelling on rough roads with loaded ſledges. At laſt, on the 28th, late in the night, the ambaſſador quitted Cazan, keeping to the north-eaſtward. There being many villages on the road, we changed horſes as often as occaſion required.

The 29th, we travelled through woods, conſiſting chiefly of tall oaks, fir, and birch. This part of the country is very fruitful, producing plenty of cattle, corn, and honey. The hives are not made like thoſe in England; the inhabitants take the trunk of a lime tree, aſpin, or any ſoft wood, of about five or ſix feet long; having ſcooped it hollow, they make a large aperture in one ſide, about a foot in length, and four inches broad; they then fix croſs rods within the trunk for the bees to build upon, and having done this, cloſe up the place carefully with a board, leaving ſmall notches for the

bees to go in and out. Theſe hives are planted in proper places, at the ſide of a wood, and tied to a tree with ſtrong wythes, to prevent their being deſtroyed by the bears, who are great devourers of honey. The wax and honey exported yearly from Cazan, make a very conſiderable article of trade. I have ſeen above an hundred hives near one village; and was informed that they have a method of extracting the honey and wax without killing the bees, which would certainly be worth knowing; but I was told it ſo indiſtinctly that I could not underſtand it, and had no opportunity of ſeeing it practiſed.

The villages through which we paſſed were moſtly inhabited by the Tzermiſh and Tzoowaſh Tartars, whom I have formerly mentioned. The three following days the roads were rough and narrow, lying through dark woods, interſperſed with ſome villages and corn-fields. We paſſed the Ick and ſeveral ſmaller rivers, and then the Viatka, a pretty large one; all which diſcharge themſelves into the Kama.

After a tedious journey of ſix days, we came to a ſmall town called Klinof, or more commonly Viatka, from the river of that name running near it. The ſituation of this place is very pleaſant, having round it corn-fields and fine paſture; and the rivers in the neighbourhood abounding with a great variety of fiſh.

The country about Klinof is reckoned ſo proper paſturage for ſheep, that His Majeſty ordered ſome thouſands of German ſheep, moſt eſteemed for their wool, to be bought and ſent thither, with a view to eſtabliſh a manufactory at this place, for clothing his army. He alſo cauſed a German ſhepherd to be engaged in his ſervice, who is ſettled here, and enjoys a conſiderable ſalary. The flocks are already ſo numerous, that I am perſuaded they will in time anſwer the end propoſed. A thouſand other inſtances might be produced of the unbounded genius of this great and active prince, who ſpares no expence, and overlooks nothing that can contribute either to the honour or advantage of his empire. I cannot omit another ſeemingly inconſiderable article; I mean pump-leather. This commodity was formerly brought from England and Holland, at no ſmall charge; to ſave which, His Majeſty gave orders to engage an Engliſh tanner for a certain number of years, whom he ſent to Cazan, where the beſt hides are, to teach the natives the art of dreſſing them. This ſcheme has fully anſwered the end in view, and produced abundance not only of pump-leather, but of every other kind of leather whereof that country hath any need.

There being no verſt-poſts on this, though on moſt other roads in Ruſſia, I compute the diſtance between Cazan and Klinof to be about five hundred verſt; each verſt meaſures one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-ſix yards and two feet Engliſh. Here I met with ſeveral Swediſh officers, who paſſed a ſolitary life in a pleaſant and plentiful country. We halted one day to refreſh ourſelves; and the next, being the 5th of December, we left the baggage to follow leiſurely, and ſet out again towards Solikamſky. On the 7th, we reached Kay-gorod, a ſmall town. We perceived the cold becoming daily more intenſe as we proceeded northward along the banks of the Kama.

The 8th, we quitted Kay-gorod, in a vehement cold. Though there was little wind, and a thick fog, the froſt continued ſo penetrating, that ſeveral of our people, who were moſt expoſed, had their fingers and toes frozen. Moſt of them recovered by the common method of rubbing the numbed parts with ſnow; but, had we not halted from time to time at villages to let them warm themſelves, they muſt have periſhed by cold. On the 9th, we arrived at the town of Solikamſky, derived from Sole ſalt and Kama the river, on the banks of which it is ſituated. Our arrival was a moſt agreeable circumſtance, as the piercing froſt ſtill prevailed.

Solikamsky is a large and populous town, and the capital of a province of that name; which is at present annexed to the government of Siberia. Its situation is very pleasant, upon the eastern bank of the Kama. This river is of great fame in these parts of the world. It rises far to the north, and in its course receives the Parma, Pilva, Koyva, and many other rivers, which together form a mighty stream, very nearly equal to the Volga, into which it discharges itself, about sixty verst below the city of Cazan, and loses its name. Its long course to the south-west is now turned short, by the current of the Volga, and carried towards the south-east. The Kama is well stored with variety of excellent fish. On the banks are fine corn-fields and pasture grounds, but often interrupted by thick woods, especially to the north. These woods are stocked with different kinds of game, and wild beasts natural to the climate.

Solikamsky is famous for having many salt-pits in its neighbourhood, the property of my worthy friend Baron Stroganof, by virtue of a grant from His Majesty. The Baron has brought these works to such perfection, that he is able to serve all Russia with salt, and could besides furnish a considerable quantity for exportation, were there any demand. The salt is of a brownish colour, and very good of the kind.

The common method of procuring this salt is as follows: they dig pits in the earth till they come to the salt rock, which seems to lie in these parts at a certain distance from the surface, as coals do in other places of the world. When the pit is finished, it is naturally, and of course, filled with water; which, standing for a convenient time, till it is sufficiently impregnated with salt, is then drawn out, with pumps and other engines, and put into large iron cauldrons, where it is boiled to a proper consistence; when, the water being evaporated, the salt is left upon the bottom.

I was informed of another curious and extraordinary process, by which they draw salt-water from a fresh-water river, which I cannot omit taking notice of. In the rivers near this place, there is a mixture of salt-water arising from the springs, which either have their source in the salt-rocks, or run through them. It is the business of the inhabitants to discover the places where these springs empty themselves into the rivers, which they do by diving, or some other manner; having done this, they make a large frame of strong thick balks or beams joined very close, about fifteen or twenty feet square, and of depth enough to reach the bottom of the river, while part of it remains above the surface; when the ice is very strong, they sink this machine into the river, over the place where the salt spring issues, and drive strong piles of wood all around, to hinder its being forced from this position by the current, or by floating ice in the end of winter. During the winter, they draw out all the water, mud, and sand, contained within the machine, and sink it still deeper until it hath penetrated the bottom of the channel of the river, and prevented all further communication between it and the salt-spring. The frame is now filled only with the salt-water, issuing from the spring, from whence it is drawn, and the salt extracted, as formerly described.

However tedious and expensive this process may seem, these people perform it with great readiness and ease; and, what is still more extraordinary, without regular instruction in any art subservient to that purpose, but by the mere force of natural genius. The Baron has a great number of hands constantly employed in this service. And the woods for fuel are inexhaustible.

When the salt is made, it is laid up in granaries, till the season of transporting it to Mosco, St. Petersburg, and other places. The barks for this purpose, called by the Russians lodia, are of a construction somewhat uncommon. I have seen some of them longer and broader than any first rate man of war in England, and not one iron nail in the whole fabric. All of them are flat-bottomed, having one tall tree for a mast, and

a ſail of light canvaſs in proportion. To manage this mighty machine, ſix or eight hundred men are neceſſary. The rudder is nearly as long as the bark, and ſo unwieldy, that ſometimes it requires forty or fifty men to ſteer it. They load theſe ſhips very deep, and let them float down the Kama into the Volga; where, if the wind is not favourable, they are obliged to draw them, againſt the ſtream, to the place of their deſtination.

I cannot leave Solikamſky without mentioning the rich iron-mines in the country adjacent, at Kathenaburg, and other places of that diſtrict, which produce iron equal, perhaps, in quality to the beſt in the world. Theſe works have of late been brought to great perfection, by the ſkill and indefatigable induſtry of Mr. Demidof, a native of Ruſſia, enabled and encouraged to carry them on by a beneficial grant from His Majeſty, who is always ready to aſſiſt and protect thoſe who, by their ingenuity, form projects to the advantage of his country.

Theſe works, I am informed, are ſtill capable of great improvement. The ore is very good, and riſes in many places to the very ſurface of the earth, and may be dug at a ſmall expence. As for wood to ſmelt it, no place in the world can have greater advantage. Beſides, all the machines may be driven by water; and there is an eaſy communication by the rivers to St. Peterſburg, for exportation, and to many other parts of Ruſſia, for inland conſumption.

In theſe mines are often found magnets of various ſizes. I have ſeen ſome of them very large, and of high virtue.

There are ſeveral other iron-works in Ruſſia; for inſtance, at Tula, Olonitz, and other places; but the metal is of an inferior quality to that of Siberia. Beſides theſe of iron, there alſo rich mines of excellent copper at this place, which, being lately diſcovered, are capable of great improvement. The copper-ore alſo riſes to the very ſurface.

In the neighbourhood of Solikamſky is found the foſſil called aſbeſtos; of which is made a kind of cloth like linen, that may be put into the fire, and taken out again unconſumed. This cloth was known among the ancients, and uſed by them on ſeveral occaſions. At preſent, it goes by the name of the incombuſtible linen.

The aſbeſtos, like many both curious and uſeful diſcoveries, was found out by mere accident in theſe parts. I ſhall briefly relate in what manner: a certain huntſman being about to load his fowling piece, and wanting wadding, obſerved a great ſtone in the woods, which ſeemed to have ſome flakes upon it like looſe threads; he ſoon found that, by rubbing, it turned into a ſoft downy ſubſtance fit for his uſe: he therefore filled his pocket with it; but, having fired his piece, was ſurpriſed to ſee that the gunpowder had no effect upon the wadding. This raiſed his curioſity ſo far, that he kindled a fire on purpoſe, into which he put the aſbeſtos; but ſtill took it out entire, and of the ſame uſe as formerly. This experiment ſo frightened the poor ſportſman, that he imagined the devil had taken poſſeſſion of the foſſil. On returning home, he narrated what had happened to the prieſt of the pariſh, who, amazed at the relation, repeated it ſo frequently, that at laſt he told it to a perſon who was acquainted with that quality peculiar to the aſbeſtos; and, on examination, found the flakes to be that foſſil.

The weather is much colder at Solikamſky than at other places ſituated ſeveral degrees nearer to the north pole. Perhaps its great diſtance from any part of the ocean may be partly the cauſe of the exceſſive cold which ſometimes prevails.

December 10th, the ambaſſador took poſt-horſes, and ſet out for Tobolſky, leaving the baggage to follow as ſhould be moſt convenient. About midnight we came to a

village called Martinſky; here having changed horſes, we ſoon reached the mountains named Verchaturſky-gory, where we found the ſnow very deep, and a ſtrong froſt ſtill continued. We kept on our journey, aſcending and deſcending theſe high and ſteep mountains for the ſpace of fifteen hours. In ſuch of the valleys as are fit for culture, are found Ruſſian villages well peopled. And, where the woods are cut down, there appeared a beautiful landſcape, even at this bleak ſeaſon.

Theſe mountains divide Ruſſia from Siberia. They run in a ridge from north to ſouth, inclining a little to the eaſt and weſt of theſe points. They are quite covered with wood, conſiſting of tall firs of different kinds, larixes, birch, and other trees natural to the climate; and abound with game, and various kinds of wild beaſts. Their length, from north to ſouth, I cannot aſcertain; but compute their breadth, where we paſſed, to be about forty Engliſh miles. But they are not near ſo high as the mountains I have ſeen in Perſia, and other parts of the world.

Having paſſed theſe mountains, we deſcended, on the 11th, into a country finely varied with plains and riſing grounds, interſperſed with woods, villages, corn-fields, and paſturage; and, in the evening, reached the town called Verchaturia, from Verch, which ſignifies high, and Tura, the name of the river on which the town ſtands. This river is navigable, and runs to the eaſt till it empties itſelf into the Tobol. Verchaturia is pleaſantly ſituated upon a riſing ground, and fortified with a ditch and palliſades. It is governed by a commandant, who has under him a garriſon, conſiſting of ſome regular troops and Coſſacks. What makes Verchaturia conſiderable, is its being a frontier town, and commanding the only entry from Ruſſia into Siberia. Here is a cuſtom-houſe, where all merchants are obliged to make entry of what ſums of money or merchandiſe they carry into Siberia, or from Siberia into Ruſſia; on all which is charged a duty of ten per cent. to His Majeſty. Though this impoſt may appear high, it is really very moderate, conſidering the profits which the trade yields, and it extends only to the money to be employed in traffic; for every merchant is allowed a certain ſum for his expences, free of all duty.

The country adjacent to Verchaturia is inhabited by a race of people called Vogullitz, who differ in language, dreſs, and manners, from any nation I ever ſaw. Their features and perſons have a reſemblance of the Tzoowaſhians near Cazan. They have ſome obſcure notions of the Deity, and are very fond of a kind of wizards called Shamans, whom they hold in great eſteem. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully of theſe Shamans afterwards. The Vogullitz know nothing of agriculture, but live in huts in the woods, and ſubſiſt by hunting and fiſhing. They are an honeſt inoffenſive people, but not very numerous; ariſing, perhaps, from their unſocial and uncomfortable manner of life. The Archbiſhop of Tobolſky hath of late, by his pious labours, converted many of them to Chriſtianity; who now begin to build houſes, and cultivate ſome appearance of ſociety, and probably, in time, the reſt will follow ſo laudable an example. This, however, will depend much on the encouragement they meet with from the clergy and ſub-governors of provinces. I viſited them as often as any opportunity offered, both in their huts and houſes, and endeavoured to procure ſome information about their original, or from whence they came to ſettle in theſe northern parts, but could obtain nothing ſatisfactory on either of theſe heads.

Before we enter Siberia, it will not be perhaps improper to give a ſhort account of the ſingular manner in which this moſt extenſive country was diſcovered by the Ruſſians.

About the beginning of the laſt century, a certain Don Coſſack, named Yarmak Timetheovitz, being obliged, by ſome accident, to leave his native country, and having

no means of ſubſiſtence, he, with a few accomplices, betook themſelves to robbing on the high-ways. He ſoon became famous and powerful; for he robbed only the rich; and, by a generoſity uncommon in ſuch a character, liberally beſtowed to ſuch as were in want. He never killed, nor even hurt any perſon, unleſs compelled to ſuch outrages in his own defence. This behaviour ſo raiſed his reputation, that all the idle fellows in the country enliſted themſelves in his gang, proud to follow ſo brave and enterpriſing a leader. He became at laſt ſo troubleſome, that the governors of the ſouthern provinces ſent out troops to apprehend him; but, being previouſly informed of the deſign, he withdrew from the land; and procuring boats upon the Volga, commenced pirate on that river. Being attacked here alſo, he was forced to croſs the Caſpian Sea, and ſhelter himſelf on the Perſian ſhore, where he paſſed ſome time under the diſguiſe of a merchant. Being again diſcovered, he was obliged, by the Perſians, to quit their coaſt: and now his only refuge was to return to the Volga, where he behaved with great circumſpection, often lurking in woods and villages; and, being in no want of money, paid the inhabitants liberally for every thing he needed. Foreſeeing, however, that ſuch a numerous gang could not be long concealed, he took the reſolution of leaving the Volga, and ſteered his courſe up the river Kama, at that time little frequented by the Ruſſians, or any other nation; here he hoped to find, at leaſt, a ſafe retreat during the winter. Yarmak, therefore, with his followers, amounting to the number of two hundred, continued their voyage up the Kama, till they were ſtopped by the ice, at no great diſtance from a large village, now belonging to Baron Stroganof. The inhabitants were alarmed at the ſight of ſo many armed men, whom they were not able to oppoſe, and therefore gave them an hoſpitable reception. Yarmak demanded only proviſions and winter-quarters for his money, promiſing to leave them unmoleſted next ſpring. In conſequence of this declaration, he and his followers paſſed the winter very quietly in this remote place; afraid, however, at the approach of ſummer, of being diſcovered by the government, and uncertain what courſe to ſteer, it was at laſt determined to croſs the mountains of Verchaturia, and go to the eaſtward, in hopes of finding ſome inhabited country, or at leaſt a ſafe retreat.

Having paſſed the mountains, they arrived at the river Tur; and, finding it navigable, ſoon made a ſufficient number of canoes for the whole gang. After rowing for ſome days down the Tur, they diſcovered ſeveral villages of Mahometan Tartars, who were ſurpriſed at the ſight of ſuch a number of ſtrangers, of whom they had before never ſo much as heard. Yarmak, having got what intelligence he could procure of the ſituation and government of the country, purſued his voyage to the river Tobol, where he found the towns populous, and the land well cultivated. His approach alarmed the King of the Tartars, who aſſembled a numerous body of horſe and foot, armed with bows and arrows, lances, and other ſuch weapons, with whom our adventurer had many ſkirmiſhes, and defeated great multitudes, by means of his fire-arms, which had never before been known in theſe parts. The poor Tartars were as much amazed and terrified at the ſight of the Ruſſians, and their arms, as the inhabitants of Mexico on the arrival of the Spaniards in America, to which Siberia may, in many reſpects, be compared.

Yarmack, finding his enemies daily more numerous the nearer he approached the reſidence of the Tartar King; having alſo loſt many of his men, in continual encounters, and ſpent the greateſt part of his ammunition; knowing, beſides, of

no place of ſafety, where he might paſs the winter, which is both long and ſevere in this quarter, at laſt determined to retreat. He therefore ſteered his courſe to the weſt, up the Tobol and Tur rivers. The furious Tartars gave him no reſt, but haraſſed him perpetually from the banks. He himſelf and a few more eſcaped, with a conſiderable booty, and returned to the village, where they wintered the preceding year. The inhabitants, on ſeeing the rich furs and other ſpoils, gave them a welcome reception. And Yarmak did not forget to diſpenſe his favours liberally among thoſe who had entertained him in his diſtreſs, when he fled from juſtice.

Our adventurer had now time to reflect on his miſerable circumſtances. He conſidered, that his lurking in theſe parts, though remote from any town, could not be long a ſecret: to make another attempt againſt the Tartars, with a handful of men, ill provided with arms and ammunition, might perhaps be ruinous, and certainly unſucceſsful. He therefore reſolved to ſubmit himſelf to His Majeſty's clemency, in hopes of obtaining a gracious pardon for himſelf and his accomplices, on condition of pointing out the way to a rich and eaſy conqueſt of a country which he had lately diſcovered. The propoſal was made at court by a friend, and was of too great importance to be neglected. In ſhort, Yarmak was brought to Moſco, under a ſafe conduct, where he communicated the whole affair. He begged His Majeſty's pardon, and aſked a certain number of troops, which he promiſed to lead to a glorious conqueſt. His Majeſty granted him a pardon, approved of the expedition, and gave immediate orders for the troops to attend him. They marched to Solikamſky, where they paſſed the winter in making preparations for the enterprize, which was to be undertaken in the ſpring.

During this interval, Yarmack behaved with ſurpriſing prudence and activity, and diſcovered himſelf to be a perſon of uncommon genius. He collected ſuch of his former followers as remained, and formed them into a company in whom he could confide on all occaſions.

At the proper ſeaſon, the troops ſet out towards Siberia. On coming into the inhabited part of the country, they found many ſtraggling parties of Tartars in arms, ready to oppoſe them, and a number of boats upon the rivers, full of armed men. The King of the Tartars himſelf was on board of one of theſe veſſels. This expedition was of ſhort duration; and, in the iſſue, fully anſwered the expectation of the Ruſſians. I cannot omit a few particulars of the laſt action. The Tartars in the boats, being purſued by the Ruſſians, a battle enſued on the river Irtiſh. Yarmak obſerving the King's barge, ordered his crew to board her; which he endeavouring to do at the head of his men, jumped ſhort, fell into the river, and was drowned, to the great grief of all his followers. Thus fell poor Yarmak! Notwithſtanding this misfortune, the Ruſſians gained a complete victory. The brave King of the Tartars loſt his life in the action. His ſon, and the reſt of the royal family, were taken priſoners, and ſent to Moſco, where they were honourably received by the Czar, and treated according to their quality. The Prince had an extenſive property granted him in Ruſſia, which the family enjoys to this day, together with the title of Sibirſky Czarevitz, or Prince of Siberia; which, I believe, is a more generous treatment of the conquered than any of the mighty monarchs of Peru or Mexico, or any of their lineage, have experienced.

December 11th, we left Verchaturia, in deep ſnow. The cold was exceſſive, and the ſky clear.

Next day, we came to a large village, having a few of the Vogullitz Tartars in the neighbourhood; and the 13th, arrived at the town of Epantſhin. From Verchaturia

to

to this place the country is moſtly covered with woods. About the villages there are large plains, for corn or paſturage. The cattle are in good condition. The horſes, particularly, being of the Tartar breed, are larger and better ſhaped than ordinary, and fit for any uſe.

Epantſhin is but a ſmall place, fortified with a ditch and palliſades, and defended by a few ſoldiers in garriſon. This place is ſometimes alarmed with incurſions of the Tartars, called Koſſatſhy-Orda, and Kara-Kalpacks; but the Ruſſians have of late ſo fortified their frontiers, that theſe rovers appear ſeldomer than formerly. Both theſe tribes are Mahometans, live always in tents, and ſpread themſelves, with their flocks, in the great deſert. Both are very numerous, and own ſubjection to different chiefs, whom they call Batteer, which ſignifies a hero. Theſe are choſen by themſelves; and are the moſt famous among them for their abilities in military exploits. They are at continual war with the Kalmucks, who inhabit along the Volga, and with all their other neighbours. They are not able to ſtand againſt regular troops; and when attacked by them, retire into the wild deſert, with their families and cattle, whither none, but people accuſtomed to their manner of life, can follow them.

The country of the Kara-Kalpacks, or Black-Caps, ſo called from a kind of caps they commonly wear, turned up with black lamb-ſkins, lies to the ſouth-weſt, towards the Volga. That of the Koſſatſhy-Orda extends to the ſouth-eaſt, as far as the river Irtiſh. The courſe of this river I ſhall have occaſion to mention afterwards.

The 14th, we came to a pretty large town, called Tuma, ſituated upon the north bank of the river Tuma, from whence the place takes its name. The banks of the Tuma are high and ſteep. There is a very convenient wooden bridge at this place. The Tuma has its ſource far to the weſt; and in its courſe is augmented by the Tura, and ſeveral other rivers. It continues to run to the eaſt, till meeting with the Tobol, it loſes itſelf and name.

The country between Epantſhin and Tumen begins to be more open, and better peopled, than that weſtward of theſe places. For, beſides the Ruſſians, who make the greateſt part of the inhabitants, we meet ſeveral villages inhabited by the deſcendants of the ancient Mahometans, who were natives of theſe places. Theſe Tartars ſubſiſt by agriculture, and paſs their lives without care or diſturbance, in the free exerciſe of their religion, and other privileges.

Tumen is a pretty neat place, and well fortified: the ſtreets are ſpacious, and the houſes built in a ſtraight line. The adjacent country is covered with fine woods, interſperſed with villages, corn-fields, and paſturage; and proviſions of all kinds are very plentiful. The merchants of this place have a conſiderable trade in furs, particularly the ſkins of foxes and ſquirrels; which, indeed, are not ſo valuable here as they are to the eaſtward.

Early on the 15th, we left this place, keeping on our courſe along the banks of the Tuma, till we arrived at the river Tobol, which we croſſed, and proceeded along the eaſtern bank, through a fine country, and well peopled. Though the froſt ſtill continued ſtrong, it was not near ſo violent and piercing as about Solikamſky; which may proceed from the woods being cut down, and the country cultivated. On the other ſide of the river, indeed, the face of the country appeared flat and moraſſy, abounding with tall and dark woods.

The 16th, about noon, we were in ſight of the city of Tobolſky, though diſtant from us about twenty Engliſh miles. It ſtands upon a very high bank of the Tobol. The walls are white, and the croſſes and cupolas of the churches gilded, and make a very fine appearance. About two o'clock we arrived ſafe at the city of Tobolſky, the capital of

of this mighty province, and the reſidence of the governor. We lodged in the broad ſtreet, leading to the governor's palace, and the courts of juſtice.

We travelled betwen Tumen and Tobolſky, about two hundred and fifty verſt, in the ſpace of thirty hours. Sledges are the moſt ſimple and convenient machines for travelling on ſnow that can be imagined. And the perſon in the ſledge may either ſit or lie along upon the couch, according to his inclination.

CHAP. II.—*Occurrences at Tobolſky, Obſervations on the Kalmucks, &c. and Journey continued to Tomſky.*

TOBOLSKY is ſituated in latitude 58 degrees 40 minutes north, at the conflux of the Irtiſh and Tobol. From this laſt the city has its name. Both theſe rivers are navigable for ſeveral hundred miles above this place. The Irtiſh, after receiving the Tobol, becomes a noble ſtream, and diſcharges itſelf into the Oby. This ſituation was choſen by the Ruſſians, both for its ſtrength and beauty. Formerly the Tartar princes had their abode at a place about thirty verſt ſouth from Tobolſky, which is now neglected and ruinous.

Tobolſky is fortified with a ſtrong brick wall, having ſquare towers and baſtions at proper diſtances, and is well furniſhed with military ſtores. Within the town ſtand the governor's palace, courts of juſtice, ſeveral churches built of brick, particularly a large cathedral, and the palace of the Archbiſhop. From the walls you have a very extenſive proſpect of a fine country, eſpecially to the ſouth. To the weſt the land is alſo flat, and overgrown with tall woods. The inhabitants are chiefly Ruſſians, of different profeſſions; many of them are merchants, and very rich, by the profitable trade they carry on to the borders of China, and many places of their own country.

Theſe live moſtly upon the hill. Under the hill, in the ſuburbs, along the banks of the river, are ſeveral large ſtreets, called the Tartar-ſtreets, occupied by the remains of the ancient inhabitants of theſe parts. Here, as at other places, theſe people enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion, and the privileges of trade. They reſemble, in their perſons, religion, language, and manners, the Tartars of Cazan and Aſtrachan: their houſes are cleanly: they are very courteous to ſtrangers, and eſteemed honeſt; on which account they get credit in their commercial affairs. Beſides the fortification formerly mentioned about the town, the whole ſuburbs are ſurrounded with a ditch and palliſades.

When we were at Tobolſky, Siberia was ſuperintended by Mr. Petrof Solovy, vice-governor, a perſon well acquainted with the buſineſs of the government, and a Captain of the guards. The former governor, Kneaz Gagarin, had incurred His Majeſty's diſpleaſure, and was recalled: and his ſucceſſor, Kneaz Alexie Michaylovitz Cherkaſky, a nobleman worthy of ſuch an important truſt, was not yet arrived.

As in moſt other towns through which we paſſed, we found here many Swediſh officers of diſtinction. Among others, Monſieur Dittmar, formerly ſecretary to Charles XII. King of Sweden. He was a native of Livonia, and equally eſteemed for his probity and capacity. He was much reſpected by the late governor, who, indeed, was a friend to all theſe unfortunate gentlemen. They were allowed to walk about at large, a hunting or fiſhing, and even permitted to travel to other places, to viſit their countrymen. For my part, I think the greateſt favour His Majeſty ſhewed theſe priſoners, was the

the cantoning them in theſe parts, where they may live well at a ſmall expence, and enjoy all the liberty that perſons in their circumſtances can expect.

I cannot but obſerve, that the Swediſh priſoners, diſperſed in moſt of the towns in this country, contributed not a little to the civilizing the inhabitants of theſe diſtant regions, as they were the means of introducing ſeveral uſeful arts, which were almoſt unknown before their arrival.

Many of the officers, being gentlemen of liberal education, the better to ſupport their tedious captivity, devoted their time to the ſtudy of the more agreeable and entertaining parts of ſcience, particularly muſic and painting; wherein ſome of them attained to great perfection. I was preſent at ſeveral of their concerts; and was not a little ſurpriſed to find ſuch harmony, and variety of muſical inſtruments, in this part of the world.

They ſometimes amuſed themſelves with teaching young gentlemen and ladies the French and German languages, muſic, dancing, and other ſimilar accompliſhments, whereby they gained many friends among the people of diſtinction; a circumſtance to men in their ſituation both honourable and uſeful.

In Tobolſky there are always about five or ſix thouſand regular troops, horſe and foot, beſides a number of irregulars. Theſe troops, added to the natural ſtrength of the place, effectually ſecure it from any attacks of the neighbouring Tartars.

The woods and fields about Tobolſky are ſtored with all kinds of game natural to the climate; ſuch as the *coq-limoge*, *coq-bruiere*, and *gilinots*; the laſt are about the ſize of a partridge, their fleſh is white and very agreeable. There is another kind of theſe *gilinots* ſomewhat larger, with rough feet, which, in the winter, turn white as a dove. Alſo the common partridge, which, on the approach of winter, flies off to more temperate climates; woodcocks, a great variety of ſnipes, which fly off in the autumn, after having hatched their young. As for water-fowl, no country in the world can produce ſuch numbers and variety; they are alſo birds of paſſage. In my Perſian journal, I gave an account of the vaſt flocks of theſe fowls on the ſhores of the Caſpian Sea.

Here alſo you meet with ſeveral kinds of ſmall birds about the ſize of a lark, particularly thoſe called ſnow-birds. They come to Siberia in vaſt flocks in autumn and remain till the ſpring, when they diſappear. Many of them are white as ſnow, ſome ſpeckled, and others all over brown. They are reckoned a very fine and delicious diſh.

I obſerved another very pretty bird about the ſize of a thruſh, having beautiful red and yellow feathers in the wings and tail, with a tuft of brown feathers on its head, which it raiſes at pleaſure. Theſe are alſo birds of paſſage; and, as they breed no where in Europe or Aſia, that I know of, perhaps both theſe and the ſnow-birds may come to Siberia from the northern parts of America. This conjecture will appear not improbable, when it is conſidered, that theſe birds are of a hardy nature, and the flight not ſo far as is generally imagined.

In the woods are various kinds of wild beaſts, ſuch as bears, wolves, lynxes, ſeveral ſorts of foxes, ſquirrels, ermins, ſables, martins, and roſio-macks, called feelfreſs by the Germans. The furs are better of their kinds than thoſe of any other country. The ermins commonly burrow in the open fields, and are caught in traps baited with a bit of fleſh; this is done only in the winter, when they are altogether white, and the fur moſt valuable. In ſummer moſt of theſe animals turn brown, when they are not killed, becauſe, at this ſeaſon, the fur is of little uſe. There are alſo otters in the rivers and lakes, whoſe ſkins yield a conſiderable profit. Indeed furs of all ſorts, in this country, are very profitable. At preſent few ſables are caught in this neighbourhood; it is ſaid they

they fly from ſmoke, which, perhaps, is partly true; yet I am apt to believe, that theſe poor animals are chaſed away towards the north to the wild woods, on account of the high value of their ſkins.

The woods of Siberia abound alſo with veniſon of ſeveral ſorts; as elk, rein-deer, roe-buck, together with an incredible number of hares, which change their colour from brown in ſummer to white in winter. The hares are generally caught by the country-people in toils, more on account of their ſkins than their fleſh, of which they make but little uſe. The ſkins are bought by the merchants, and ſent in great quantities to St. Peterſburg, and other ports, in order to be exported to England, Holland, and other countries, where they are chiefly manufactured into hats.

Having deſcribed the land animals, I ſhall now give ſome account of the fiſh. In my opinion, there are few countries in the world ſo well watered with navigable rivers and lakes as Siberia; and few rivers and lakes produce greater quantities, or more variety of excellent freſh water fiſh, than thoſe in this country. For, beſides ſturgeon, white-fiſh, ſterlet, and others, to be found in the Volga, and the rivers in Ruſſia, there are ſeveral kinds peculiar to this part of the world; particularly the muchſoon, about the ſize of a large carp, and much eſteemed by perſons of delicate taſte.

Southward from Tobolſky the ſoil is fruitful, producing abundance of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and other grain. The cattle alſo are very numerous, and in winter are fed with hay. In a word, proviſions of all kinds are extremely reaſonable. From what I have ſaid, it will appear, that Tobolſky is by no means ſuch a diſagreeable place as is generally imagined. Whatever the opinions of mankind may be, it is the buſineſs of a traveller to deſcribe places and things without prejudice or partiality, and exhibit them fairly as they really appear. This principle it ſhall be my ſtudy to keep always in view.

Captain Tabar, a Swediſh officer, was at this time writing a hiſtory of Siberia. He was a gentleman very capable for ſuch a performance; and, if it ſhall ever be publiſhed, it cannot fail of giving great ſatisfaction to the curious.

Before I leave Tobolſky, it will not be improper to give a ſhort account of the famous river Irtiſh, that paſſes this place. It continues its courſe a little to the eaſtward of the north, in a ſtrong but ſmooth current, viſiting ſeveral ſmall towns and villages, and receiving many leſſer ſtreams, and a large river called Konda, running eaſtward, till it diſcharges itſelf into the Oby, at a town called Samariofsky-yamm, about ſix hundred verſt below Tobolſky.

The Irtiſh takes its riſe from a great lake, named Korzan, in a mountainous country, about fifteen hundred verſt to the ſouthward of Tobolſky. The country about this lake is inhabited by the Black Kalmucks, a mighty and numerous people, governed by a prince called Kontayſha. From theſe the Kalmucks on the Volga are deſcended. After the Irtiſh hath run for many miles through a hilly country covered with wood, it paſſes through a fine fruitful plain, inhabited by the Kalmucks, till it comes to a houſe called Sedmy-palaty, or the Seven Rooms, ſituated to the right in coming down the river. It is very ſurpriſing to find ſuch a regular edifice in the middle of a deſert. Some of the Tartars ſay it was built by Tamerlane, called by the Tartars, Temyr-ack-ſack, or Lame-temyr; others by Gingeez-chan. The building, according to the beſt information I could obtain, is of brick or ſtone, well finiſhed, and continues ſtill entire. It conſiſts of ſeven apartments under one roof, from whence it has the name of the Seven Palaces. Several of theſe rooms are filled with ſcrolls of glazed paper, fairly written, and many of them in gilt characters. Some of the ſcrolls are black, but the greateſt part white. The language in which they are written is that of the Tonguſt, or Kalmucks. While I

was at Tobolſky, I met with a ſoldier in the ſtreet with a bundle of theſe papers in his hand: he aſked me to buy them; which I did for a ſmall ſum. I kept them till my arrival in England, when I diſtributed them among my friends; particularly to that learned antiquarian Sir Hans Sloane, who valued them at a high rate, and gave them a place in his celebrated muſæum.

Two of theſe ſcrolls were ſent, by order of the Emperor Peter the Firſt, to the Royal Academy at Paris. The Academy returned a tranſlation, which I ſaw in the rarity-chamber at St. Peterſburgh. One of them contained a commiſſion to a lama or prieſt; and the other a form of prayer to the Deity. Whether this interpretation may be depended on, I ſhall not determine. The Tartars eſteem them all ſacred writings, as appears from the care they take to preſerve them. Perhaps they may contain ſome curious pieces of antiquity, particularly of ancient hiſtory. Above the Sedmy-palaty, towards the ſource of the Irtiſh, upon the hills and valleys, grows the beſt rhubarb in the world, without the leaſt culture.

Several days journey from the Palaces, down the Irtiſh, on the weſtern bank, ſtands an old tower named Kalbazinſhabaſhna, or the tower of Kalbazin. Below this is the lake Yamiſhoff, to the right, where the Ruſſians have built a ſmall fort, for the conveniency of making and gathering ſalt from that lake, great quantities whereof are made by the ſun; it is brought in barks down the river to Tobolſky, and other places. This fort created ſome jealouſy to the Kontayſha; he ſent an ambaſſador to the governor of Siberia, requeſting to have it demoliſhed; but this demand not being granted, the difference came to an open rupture, the event of which time muſt diſcover.

Deſcending farther, you meet with another ſettlement of the Ruſſians, called Shelezinſky, from a rivulet of that name in its neighbourhood. A little below Shelezinſky ſtands Omuſka, a conſiderable town, which alſo derives its name from a river. Both theſe places are ſituated on the eaſtern bank of the Irtiſh. You now paſs ſome inconſiderable places before you arrive at Tara, a little town ſituated on the weſtern bank, on the road leading from Tobolſky to Tomſky, through a country called Baraba, of which I ſhall give ſome account as we proceed to the eaſt.

Between Tara and Tobolſky are a few ſmall towns, and many villages, inhabited by Mahometan Tartars. And the country abounds with corn, cattle, and fine paſturage.

I have now pointed out the courſe of the Irtiſh till it reaches Tobolſky, and from thence till it empties itſelf into the river Oby. I have nothing further to remark concerning Tobolſky and the country around it, and ſhould therefore now purſue our journey to the eaſtward; but, before I leave this place, I imagine it will not be improper to ſubjoin a few more particulars relative to the Kontayſha, Prince of the Kalmucks, whom I formerly mentioned. I am the more inclined to do this, as I can entirely depend on my intelligence, having procured it from perſons who have been in that country, and ſeen this prince; but particularly from an ingenious and penetrating gentleman, who fills a public office in this place, and was employed in ſeveral meſſages to him from the late governor of Siberia.

The territories of this prince are bounded by three of the moſt potent empires in the world; on the north by Ruſſia, by China on the eaſt, and by the country of the Great Mogul to the ſouth. From the two firſt he is ſeparated by deſert plains, and from the third by almoſt impaſſable mountains. To the ſouth-weſt his frontiers reach near to Bucharia. The Kontayſha is a very powerful prince, and able to bring into the field, at a ſhort warning, an hundred thouſand horſemen, who are all of them able-bodied men, well mounted, and armed with bows and arrows, lances and ſabres. This is a

greater number of horſe than any prince that I know can muſter, except His Ruſſian Majeſty, and the Emperor of China. Theſe Tartars live in tents all the year, removing from place to place, as called by neceſſity or inclination. This is the moſt ancient and pleaſant manner of life. It is entertaining to hear them commiſerate thoſe who are confined to one place of abode, and obliged to ſupport themſelves by labour, which they reckon the greateſt ſlavery.

The Kontayſha has always ſome thouſands of his ſubjects encamped near himſelf, who treat him with great veneration and reſpect. And, in juſtice to him, it muſt be confeſſed, that he is as attentive to the intereſts of his people, and as aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, in particular, as if they were his own children.

The Kalmucks are not ſuch ſavage people as they are generally repreſented; for I am informed, a perſon may travel among them with greater ſafety, both to his perſon and effects, than in many other countries.

The Kontayſha received the deputies from the governor of Siberia, like ambaſſadors from foreign princes, and treated them accordingly. This ſhows what high reſpect theſe eaſtern princes entertain for his Czariſh Majeſty, when the governor of Siberia is regarded as a ſovereign. The ceremony on theſe occaſions was as follows:—

The deputy with his ſervants were admitted into the tent, where the Kontayſha ſat with his queen and ſeveral children about him. He deſired all of them to ſit down on carpets or mats; for the Kalmucks, like moſt Aſiatics, uſe no chairs. They were entertained with tea before dinner; and after it, the Kontayſha diſmiſſed the deputy in a friendly manner, telling him he would ſend for him next day to receive an anſwer to the governor's letter, which he punctually performed. This anſwer was expreſſed in very plain and conciſe terms. Theſe Tartars in general write with brevity and perſpicuity. I have ſeen ſeveral of their letters tranſlated, which pleaſed me extremely, as they contain no tedious preambles, nor diſguſting repetitions, which ſerve only to perplex the reader.

The Emperor of China was ſome time ago engaged in a war with the Kontayſha, about ſome frontier towns, of which the latter took poſſeſſion, and maintained his claim with a ſtrong army. The Emperor ſent againſt him an army of three hundred thouſand men, under the command of his fourteenth ſon, who is reckoned the beſt general of all his children. Notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in numbers, the Kontayſha defeated the Chineſe in ſeveral actions. The Emperor, at laſt, thought it beſt to accommodate the difference, and a peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of both parties.

It muſt be obſerved, that the Chineſe, being obliged to undertake a long and difficult march, through a deſert and barren country, lying weſtward of the long wall, being alſo incumbered with artillery and heavy carriages, containing proviſions for the whole army during their march, had their force greatly diminiſhed before they reached the enemy. The Kontayſha, on the other hand, having intelligence of the great army coming againſt him, waited patiently on his own frontiers till the enemy was within a few days march of his camp, when he ſent out detachments of light horſe to ſet fire to the graſs, and lay waſte the country. He alſo diſtracted them, day and night, with repeated alarms, which, together with want of proviſions, obliged them to retire with conſiderable loſs.

This method of carrying on the war, by waſting the country, is very ancient among the Tartars, and practiſed by all of them from the Danube eaſtward. This circumſtance renders them a dreadful enemy to regular troops, who muſt thereby be deprived

of all ſubſiſtence, while the Tartars, having always many ſpare horſes to kill and eat, are at no loſs for proviſions.

I have only to add, that the Kontayſha muſt be the ſame prince who, in our European maps, is generally called the Great Cham of Tartary. As no Europeans travel through that country, theſe maps muſt be very erroneous. It is, however, to be expected, that the Ruſſians will in time make a more complete diſcovery of the eaſtern parts of Aſia.

Our baggage did not arrive at Tobolſky till the 23d of December. The people refreſhed themſelves till the 27th, when they again ſet out, taking the road along the Irtiſh to Tara. The ambaſſador and his retinue remained, to paſs the reſt of the holidays.

January 9th, 1720, we proceeded towards Tara. We paſſed through many Tartar villages; and at night lodged in one of their little huts, and warmed ourſelves at a good fire on the hearth. Theſe houſes conſiſt generally of one or two rooms, according to the ability of the landlord. Near to the hearth is fixed an iron kettle, to dreſs the victuals. In one end of the apartment is placed a bench, about eighteen inches high, and ſix feet broad, covered with mats, or ſkins of wild beaſts, upon which all the family ſit by day, and ſleep in the night. The walls are built of wood and moſs, conſiſting of large beams, laid one above another, with a layer of moſs between every two beams. All the roofs are raiſed. A ſquare hole is cut out for a window, and to ſupply the want of glaſs, a piece of ice is formed to fit the place exactly, which lets in a good light. Two or three pieces will laſt the whole winter. Theſe Tartars are very neat and cleanly, both in their perſons and houſes. They uſe no ſtoves as the Ruſſians do. Near the houſe there is commonly a ſhade for the cattle.

We continued our journey along the banks of the Irtiſh, having the river to the right or left, as the road lay from one Tartar village to another.

The 15th, we reached Tara, a ſmall town, reckoned about five hundred verſt from Tobolſky. In all this road we did not meet with a Ruſſian village, except a ſmall one near Tara. The country abounds with woods, corn-fields, and fine paſturage; which appeared ſufficiently from the quantities of hay, and the good condition of the cattle, though the face of the country was covered with deep ſnow. We found the air at Tara much milder than at any place ſince we left Kazan.

Tara is ſituated on the Irtiſh, and fortified with a deep ditch, ſtrong palliſades, and wooden towers, ſufficient to defend it againſt the ſudden attacks of the Tartars, called Koſſatſhy-orda, who inhabit weſtward of the Irtiſh, and are very troubleſome neighbours.

Here we laid in proviſions for our journey over the Baraba, which ſignifies, in the Tartar language, a marſhy plain. Its inhabitants are a mixture of different Tartar tribes, called Barabintzy, from the name of the country in which they live. They are a poor miſerable people, being treated as ſubjects both by the Emperor and the Contayſha, and obliged to pay a tribute, in fur and ſkins of wild beaſts, to each. They have no grain or cattle of any kind, except a few rein-deer, and ſubſiſt by hunting and fiſhing. What fiſh they conſume not in the ſummer, are dried and ſmoked for their winter proviſions. They are partly of the Mahometan, and partly of the Kalmuck religion; but this difference cauſes no diſputes.

It is generally reckoned, that more robberies are committed in Baraba than in any country on the road to China; not by the natives, for they are very honeſt and hoſpitable, but by the Kalmucks, who come to collect tribute for the Contayſha, who ſometimes pick up travellers, and carry them off, with all their effects. It was ſaid, that a

ſtrong party of them, having intelligence that the ambaſſador was to paſs that way, waited to intercept him; on which account, he took thirty dragoons, and ſome Coſſacks, from the garriſon of Tobolſky, to eſcort him to Tomſky; which was a ſufficient guard againſt any robbers who might attack us; and he knew the Contayſha was too polite a prince to authoriſe his ſubjects to moleſt any foreign miniſter who had done him no injury, notwithſtanding the differences that ſubſiſted between him and His Czariſh Majeſty.

Our baggage having waited at Tara till our arrival, we left that place on the 18th; and next day came to a large Ruſſian village, ſixty verſt from Tara, and the laſt inhabited by Ruſſians, till you paſs the Baraba, and come to the river Oby.

In the places through which we paſſed, the ambaſſador ſent for all the hunters and ſportſmen, that he might inquire what kinds of game and wild beaſts were in their neighbourhood. Hunting is the employment of moſt of the young fellows in this country, and is very profitable, as they ſell the furs to great advantage. We found that this place produced great plenty, both of game and wild beaſts, but few fables. In the ſpring, a number of elks and ſtags come hither from the ſouth; many of which are killed by the inhabitants, both on account of their fleſh and their hides. What of the fleſh is not conſumed freſh they ſalt. The hides are very large, and are dreſſed into excellent buff. The huntſman having found the track of a ſtag upon the ſnow, purſues it upon his ſnow ſhoes, with his bow and arrows, and little dog, till the animal is quite fatigued; for, the ſnow on the ſurface being melted by the heat of the ſun, and congealed at night by the froſt, but not ſtrong enough to bear the weight of ſuch an animal, he ſinks deep at every ſtep, and the ſharp ice cuts his ancles, and lames him; ſo that he becomes an eaſy prey to the hunter.

One of theſe hunters told me the following ſtory, which was confirmed by ſeveral of his neighbours: that in the year 1713, in the month of March, being out a hunting, he diſcovered the track of a ſtag, which he purſued; at overtaking the animal, he was ſomewhat ſtartled, on obſerving it had only one horn, ſtuck in the middle of its forehead. Being near this village, he drove it home, and ſhowed it, to the great admiration of the ſpectators. He afterwards killed it, and eat the fleſh, and ſold the horn to a comb-maker in the town of Tara, for ten alteens, about fifteen-pence ſterling. I inquired carefully about the ſhape and ſize of this unicorn, as I ſhall call it, and was told it exactly reſembled a ſtag. The horn was of a browniſh colour, about one archeen, or twenty-eight inches long, and twiſted from the root till within a finger's length of the top, where it was divided, like a fork, into two points very ſharp.

The 19th, we entered the Baraba, and continued travelling through it for ten days, when we came to a large Ruſſian village called Tzauſky Oſtrogue, from a rivulet of that name, which diſcharges itſelf into the Oby, a little diſtance eaſtward from this place. Here is a ſmall fort, ſurrounded with a ditch and palliſades, mounted with a few cannon, and garriſoned by ſome militia of the country, in order to prevent the incurſions of the Kalmucks. We ſtaid a day at this place, to refreſh ourſelves, and having changed horſes, proceeded towards Tomſky.

Baraba is really what its name ſignifies, an extenſive marſhy plain. It is generally full of lakes, and marſhy grounds, overgrown with tall woods of aſpin, alder, willows, and other aquatics; particularly many large birch-trees, having their bark as white and ſmooth as paper. The lakes abound with various kinds of fiſhes, ſuch as pikes, perches, breams, eels, and particularly a fiſh called karraſs, of an uncommon bigneſs, and very fat. Theſe the inhabitants dry, in ſummer, for winter proviſions, which are all the food to be found among them. I have eat of it often, and thought it not diſagreeable.

In

In winter they uſe melted ſnow for water. They are very hoſpitable; and deſire nothing in return of their civilities, but a little tobacco to ſmoke, and a dram of brandy, of which they are very fond. The dreſs, both of men and women, conſiſts of long coats of ſheep-ſkins, which they get from the Ruſſians and Kalmucks, in exchange for more valuable furs. As they wear no other apparel, nor even ſhirts, they are very naſty. Their huts are moſt miſerable habitations, and ſunk about one half under ground. We were glad, however, to find them, as a baiting place, in ſuch a cold ſeaſon.

The Barabintzy, like moſt of the ancient natives of Siberia, have many conjurers among them, whom they call Shamans, and ſometimes prieſts. Many of the female ſex alſo aſſume this character. The Shamans are held in great eſteem by the people; they pretend to correſpondence with the ſhaytan, or devil; by whom, they ſay, they are informed of all paſt and future events, at any diſtance of time or place. Our ambaſſador reſolved to inquire ſtrictly into the truth of many ſtrange ſtories, generally believed, concerning the Shamans, and ſent for all of fame in that way in the places through which we paſſed.

In Baraba we went to viſit a famous woman of this character. When we entered her houſe, ſhe continued buſy about her domeſtic affairs, without almoſt taking any notice of her gueſts. However, after ſhe had ſmoked a pipe of tobacco, and drunk a dram of brandy, ſhe began to be more cheerful. Our people aſked her ſome trifling queſtions about their friends; but ſhe pretended to be quite ignorant, till ſhe got more tobacco and ſome inconſiderable preſents, when ſhe began to collect her conjuring tools. Firſt, ſhe brought the ſhaytan; which is nothing but a piece of wood, wherein is cut ſomething reſembling a human head, adorned with many ſilk and woollen rags of various colours; then a ſmall drum, about a foot diameter, to which were fixed many braſs and iron rings, and hung round alſo with rags. She now began a diſmal tune, keeping time with the drum, which ſhe beat with a ſtick for that purpoſe. Several of her neighbours, whom ſhe had previouſly called to her aſſiſtance, joined in the chorus. During this ſcene, which laſted about a quarter of an hour, ſhe kept the ſhaytan, or image, cloſe by herſelf, ſtuck up in a corner. The charm being now finiſhed, ſhe deſired us to put our queſtions. Her anſwers were delivered very artfully, and with as much obſcurity and ambiguity as they could have been given by any oracle. She was a young woman, and very handſome.

On the 29th of January, we reached the Oby, which we croſſed on the ice, and entered a country pretty well inhabited by Ruſſians, where we found proviſions and freſh horſes, as often as we wanted them. The country is generally covered with woods, except about the villages, where are fine corn-fields and good paſture grounds. Our courſe lay a little to the northward of the eaſt from Tzauſky Oſtrogue.

February 4th, we arrived ſafe at the town of Tomſky, ſo called from the noble river Tomm, upon the eaſtern bank of which it ſtands.

CHAP. III. — *Occurrences at Tomſky: Obſervations on the Tzulimm Tartars, &c. and Journey continued to Elimſky.*

THE citadel of Tomſky is ſituated on an eminence, and contains the commandant's houſe, public offices, and barracks for the garriſon. The fortifications, like moſt others in this country, are of wood. The town ſtands under the hill, along the banks of the river Tomm. The country about this place is pleaſant and fruitful. From the top

top of the hill you have a very extenſive view every way, except to the ſouth, where it is interrupted by hills. Beyond theſe hills there is a large, dry, and open plain, which ſtretches a great way ſouthward.

About eight or ten days journey from Tomſky, in this plain, are found many tombs and burying-places of ancient heroes, who, in all probability, fell in battle. Theſe tombs are eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the mounds of earth and ſtone raiſed upon them. When, or by whom, theſe battles were fought, ſo far to the northward, is uncertain. I was informed by the Tartars in the Baraba, that Tamerlane, or Timyr-ack-ſack, as they call him, had many engagements in that country with the Kalmucks, whom he in vain endeavoured to conquer. Many perſons go from Tomſky and other parts every ſummer to theſe graves, which they dig up, and find among the aſhes of the dead conſiderable quantities of gold, ſilver, braſs, and ſome precious ſtones, but particularly hilts of ſwords and armour. They find alſo ornaments of ſaddles and bridles, and other trappings for horſes, and even the bones of horſes, and ſometimes thoſe of elephants. Whence it appears, that when any general or perſon of diſtinction was interred, all his arms, his favourite horſe, and ſervant, were buried with him in the ſame grave: this cuſtom prevails to this day among the Kalmucks and other Tartars, and ſeems to be of great antiquity. It appears from the number of graves, that many thouſands muſt have fallen on theſe plains; for the people have continued to dig for ſuch treaſure many years, and ſtill find it unexhauſted. They are ſometimes indeed interrupted, and robbed of all their booty, by parties of the Kalmucks, who abhor the diſturbing the aſhes of the dead.

I have ſeen ſeveral pieces of armour and other curioſities that were dug out of theſe tombs, particularly an armed man on horſeback, caſt in braſs, of no mean deſign nor workmanſhip; alſo figures of deer, caſt in pure gold, which were ſplit through the middle, and had ſome ſmall holes in them, as intended for ornaments to a quiver, or the furniture of a horſe.

While we were at Tomſky one of theſe grave-diggers told me, that once they lighted on an arched vault where they found the remains of a man, with his bow, arrows, lance, and other arms, lying together on a ſilver table. On touching the body it fell to duſt. The value of the table and arms was very conſiderable.

The country about the ſource of the river Tomm, near which theſe tombs are, is very fruitful and pleaſant. At the ſource of the Tomm the Ruſſians have a ſmall town, called Kuznetſky. The river is formed by the Kondoma, and many leſſer rivers; all which run to the north.

In the hills above Kuznetſky, there had lately been diſcovered rich mines of copper, and ſome of ſilver; which, ſince I was in this country, have been greatly improved.

On the hills and in the woods near this place are many ſorts of wild beaſts, particularly the urus, or uhr-ox, one of the fierceſt animals the world produces, and exceeding in ſize and ſtrength all the horned ſpecies. Their force and agility is ſuch, that no wolf, bear, nor tiger, dare to engage with them. Theſe animals are found in the woods of Poland, and ſome other parts of Europe. As they are well known, I need not deſcribe them.

In the ſame woods is found another ſpecies of oxen, called bubul by the Tartars; it is not ſo big as the urus; its body and limbs are very handſome; it has a high ſhoulder and a flowing tail, with long hair growing from the rump to the extremity, like that of a horſe. Thoſe I ſaw were tame, and as tractable as other cattle. Here are alſo wild aſſes. I have ſeen many of their ſkins. They have in all reſpects the head, tail, and hoofs of an ordinary aſs; but their hair is waved white and brown, like that of a tiger.

There

There is beſides a number of wild horſes, of a cheſnut colour, which cannot be tamed, though they are catched when foals. Theſe horſes differ nothing from the common kind in ſhape, but are the moſt watchful creatures alive. One of them waits always on the heights to give warning to the reſt, and, upon the leaſt approach of danger, runs to the herd, making all the noiſe it can; upon which all of them fly away, like ſo many deer. The ſtallion drives up the rear, neighing, biting, and kicking thoſe who do not run faſt enough. Notwithſtanding this wonderful ſagacity, theſe animals are often ſurpriſed by the Kalmucks, who ride in among them, well mounted on ſwift horſes, and kill them with broad lances. Their fleſh they eſteem excellent food, and uſe their ſkins to ſleep upon inſtead of couches. Theſe are the animals peculiar to this part of the country; and beſides theſe, there are many more common to this place with the reſt of Siberia.

The river Tomm, having paſſed Kuznetſky, Tomſky, and ſeveral other towns of leſs note, empties itſelf into the Oby, at a place called Nikolſky, about an hundred verſt below Tomſky, in a country overgrown with thick woods. Here the Tomm loſes its name, and makes a great addition to the Oby, which now commences a mighty ſtream.

The Tomm abounds with variety of fine fiſh; ſuch as ſturgeon, ſterlet, muchſoon, and the largeſt and beſt quabs, called in French guion, that I have any where ſeen. The method of catching theſe fiſh is by planting pales acroſs the river, in which there is left one narrow opening for the fiſhes to paſs through. Above this opening a hole is cut in the ice, and near it is placed a fire upon ſome ſtones laid for that purpoſe. The fiſh, on ſeeing the light of the fire, ſtops a moment in its paſſage; and, at this inſtant, the fiſherman ſtrikes it with a ſpear through the hole in the ice. This exerciſe requires great quickneſs, for the fiſh is gone in a trice. I killed ſeveral of them myſelf.

Thus, having made a ſhort excurſion up and down the Tomm, and given a brief deſcription of the country adjacent, I return again to Tomſky.

Tomſky is a good market for furs of all ſorts; but particularly of ſables, and black and red foxes, ermins, and ſquirrels. The ſquirrels called Teleutſky, from the name of the diſtrict where they are caught, are reckoned the beſt of that ſpecies. They have a blackiſh ſtripe down their back.

Beſides the common ſquirrel, there is another ſpecies found here called the flying ſquirrel. There is little peculiar in its ſhape or ſize, only it has, at the upper joint of the thigh of the fore-leg, a ſmall membrane, ſtretching to the ſhoulder, ſomewhat like the wing of a bat, which it extends at pleaſure, and is thereby enabled to ſpring much farther, from tree to tree, than it could do without the help of theſe wings. Both the ermins and ſquirrels are caught only in winter, becauſe in ſummer their fur is quite brown, ſhort, and of little uſe.

We waited ſome days at Tomſky for the arrival of our baggage. Here we found ſeveral Swediſh officers, who had good quarters in a plentiful though diſtant place. After our people had refreſhed themſelves for two days, they ſet out again on the road to Yeniſeyſky.

During our abode in Tomſky, we diverted ourſelves with fiſhing and hunting. We were preſent alſo at ſeveral concerts of muſic, performed by the Swediſh officers, at Mr. Koſloff's, commandant of the place. Theſe gentlemen were not leſs expert in touching their inſtruments than their companions at Tobolſky. Mr. Koſloff is a good-natured and cheerful gentleman, and treats theſe officers with great humanity. They had along with them a Swediſh parſon, Mr. Veſtadius, a man of genius and learning.

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The 9th, we were entertained at the commandant's, where were aſſembled ſome hundreds of his Coſſacks, or light horſe, armed with bows and arrows. After going through their uſual exerciſe, they ſhowed their dexterity in ſhooting on horſeback at full ſpeed. They erected a pole for a mark in an open field, and paſſing it, at full gallop, let fly their arrows, and ſoon ſplit it all to ſhivers.

The 12th, about midnight, we went into our ſledges, and ſet out on our journey towards Yeniſeyſky. For the two following days we had tolerably good roads, lying through a pretty fine country, inhabited by Ruſſians. The villages are but thinly ſcattered, yet ſufficiently near one another to afford proviſions and freſh horſes.

On the 14th, we reached a large navigable river, called Tzulimm. We went up this river upon the ice. We met with neither houſe nor inhabitant for the ſpace of ſix days. We could get no freſh horſes, and were obliged to carry both proviſions and forage along with us, which made this part of the road very tedious. During all this time, we had no where to warm ourſelves, or dreſs our victuals, but in the thick overgrown woods, which occupy both ſides of the river. There is great plenty of fallen trees in theſe woods, of which we made large fires. The trees are chiefly pitch fir, riſing like a pyramid, with long ſpreading branches hanging to the ground, which render theſe woods almoſt impaſſable to man or beaſt. We frequently ſet fire to the moſs and dried fibres of theſe firs. In the ſpace of a minute, the fire mounts to the top of the tree, and has a very pretty effect. The kindling ſo many fires warmed all the air around.

In ſummer, the banks of this river are inhabited by a tribe of Tartars, called by the Ruſſians Tzulimmzy, from the name of the river, who live by fiſhing and hunting. We found ſeveral of their empty huts as we went along. In autumn, theſe people retire from this inhoſpitable place towards the ſouth, near to towns and villages, where they can find ſubſiſtence.

The 20th, we arrived at a Ruſſian village called Meletſky Oſtrogue, where we ſtaid a day to refreſh ourſelves and horſes. In the neighbourhood of this place, we found many huts of the Tzulimm Tartars, who ſeem to be a different race from all of that name I have yet mentioned. Their complexion indeed is ſwarthy, like that of moſt of the other deſcendants of the ancient natives of Siberia; but I have ſeen many of them having white ſpots on their ſkins, from head to foot, of various figures and ſizes. Many imagine theſe ſpots natural to the people; but I am rather inclined to believe they proceed from their conſtant diet of fiſh and other animal food without bread. This, of courſe, creates a ſcorbutic habit of body, which often breaks out in infants; and the ſcars falling off, leave that part of the ſkin as if it had been ſcalded, which never recovers its natural colour. I have however ſeen ſeveral children with theſe ſpots, who ſeemed healthy.

The Tzulimms, like other Tartars, live in huts half-ſunk under ground. They have a fire in the middle, with a hole at the top to let out the ſmoke, and benches round the fire, to ſit or lie upon. This ſeems to be the common method of living among all the northern nations, from Lapland eaſtward to the Japaneſe ocean.

The Tzulimms ſpeak a barbarous language, compoſed of words from many other languages. Some of our people, who ſpoke Turkiſh, told me, they had many Arabic words which they underſtood. They are poor, miſerable, and ignorant heathens. The Archbiſhop of Tobolſky in perſon came lately hither, and baptized ſome hundreds of them, who were inclined to embrace the Chriſtian faith. As they are a well-diſpoſed and harmleſs people, probably in a ſhort time they may be all converted.

The river Tzulimm has its ſource about three hundred verſt above Meletſky Oſtrogue; from this place it continues its courſe to the northward till it meets with the river Oby, at a place called Shabannſky Oſtrogue. Oſtrogue, in the Ruſſian language, ſignifies a ſtrong paliſade, incloſing a certain piece of ground. On the firſt ſettlements made by the Ruſſians in theſe parts ſuch incloſures were neceſſary to prevent any ſurpriſe from the inhabitants.

The 21ſt, early in the morning, we left Meletſky, and travelled through thick woods, along narrow roads. Next day we came to a ſmall Ruſſian village, called Melay-keat; where we found our baggage, for the firſt time ſince we quitted Tomſky. Near this place the river Keat has its ſource; and runs towards the weſt till it meets with the Oby. Having changed horſes at Melay-keat, we left our baggage and proceeded on our journey.

On the evening of the 22d, we came to a zimovey, where we halted a little to refreſh ourſelves and bait our horſes. A zimovey is a houſe or two, built in a place at a great diſtance from any town or village, for the convenience of travellers; and is a ſort of inn, where you generally find a warm room, freſh bread, and a wholeſome and agreeable liquor called quaſs, made of malt or rye-meal, ſteeped and fermented; with hay and oats at eaſy rates.

From this place we travelled to Beloy, a large village, where we changed horſes, and proceeded. From hence to Yeniſeyſky the country is well cultivated. Upon the road are many Ruſs villages, where we got freſh horſes as often as we pleaſed, without halting ten minutes. Thus we continued travelling day and night till we arrived, on the 23d, at the town of Yeniſeyſky, where we had a friendly reception, and good entertainment from the commandant Mr. Becklimiſhof, who had come ſome miles from town to meet his old friend the ambaſſador.

Here I found Mr. Kanbar Nikititz Aikinſiof, with whom I got acquainted at Cazan, while we wintered there, in the journey to Perſia. Some croſs accident had been the occaſion of his coming to this place. He enjoyed full liberty to walk about at pleaſure. He underſtood ſeveral languages, was well acquainted with hiſtory, and a cheerful good-natured companion.

Here we paſſed the holidays called Maſslapitza, or the Carnaval, which is held on the week before Lent. In the mean time our carriages arrived, which were diſpatched again as ſoon as poſſible.

The town of Yeniſeyſky is pleaſantly ſituated in a plain, on the weſtern bank of the river Yeniſey, from which the town takes its name. It is a large and populous place, fenced with a ditch, paliſades, and wooden towers. Here is a good market for furs of all ſorts; particularly of the animals called pieſſy, which are of two colours, white and dove-colour. Theſe creatures are caught far to the northward of this place. They are nearly of the ſhape and ſize of a fox; having a ſhort buſhy tail, and a thick ſoft downy fur, very light and warm, which is much eſteemed by the great men in the northern parts of China; and, by them, made chiefly into cuſhions, on which they ſit in winter.

Beſides the above there is here another creature called roſſomack in Ruſs, and feelfreſs by the Germans; becauſe they imagine it eats a great deal more in proportion than other animals. I have ſeen ſeveral of them alive. They are very fierce, and about the ſhape and ſize of a badger; the neck, back, and tail are black, but about the belly the hair is of a browniſh colour. The blacker they are the more valuable. The ſkin being thick is only uſed in caps and muffs. Alſo elks, rein-deer, and ſtags. The latter retire

retire to the ſouth on the approach of winter, and return in the ſpring. Here are likewiſe an incredible number of white hares, which perhaps I may mention afterwards.

I muſt not omit the black foxes, which are in great abundance about Yeniſeyſky. Their fur is reckoned the moſt beautiful of any kind; it is even preferred to the ſable, with reſpect to lightneſs and warmneſs. I ſaw here one of their ſkins valued at five hundred crowns, and ſome of them far exceed this ſum.

Before I leave this place, I ſhall give a ſhort deſcription of the courſe of the famous river Yeniſey, according to the beſt information I could procure. It riſes in a hilly country, at a great diſtance ſouthward from this place; being joined by many rivers in its courſe, it grows into a mighty ſtream, and is, at Yeniſeyſky, full as large as the Volga. It runs the longeſt courſe of any river on this vaſt continent. The firſt town of any note in coming down this river is Kraſſno-yarr, which ſtands on the weſtern bank. It is a place of conſiderable trade, particularly in furs. From this place along the banks are many villages, till the Yeniſey meets the lower Tonguſta, a large river, coming from the eaſt, a few verſt above Yeniſeyſky. Below this place there are many inconſiderable ſettlements till you come to Mangaſeyſky, a town famous for furs, and the ſhrine of an illuſtrious ſaint called Vaſſile Mangaſeyſky, much frequented by the devout people in theſe parts.

Above this place the Yeniſey receives the Podkamena-Tonguſta, a large river, running from the ſouth-eaſt; and at Mangaſeyſky it meets another river called Turochanſky, coming from the weſt. The Yeniſey now continues its courſe almoſt due north, till it diſcharges itſelf into the ocean. This river abounds with variety of excellent fiſh, ſuch as I have already mentioned, but in leſſer quantities.

The 27th, we left Yeniſeyſky, and travelled about eight or ten verſt along the ſouth bank of the river, when we came to thick and tall woods, which obliged us to leave the land and march along the river on ice, which was very uneven. This roughneſs is cauſed by the froſt ſetting in about autumn, with a ſtrong weſterly wind, which drives up great cakes of ice upon one another, in ſome places four or five feet high. If the froſt happens to begin in calm weather, the ice is very ſmooth, and eaſy for ſledges.

The 28th, we proceeded along the Yeniſey, meeting ſometimes with villagers. The rigour of the cold was much abated, but the face of winter appeared every where, without the leaſt ſign of ſpring. At evening we entered the river Tonguſta, which we found as rough as the former; but, as both the banks were overgrown with thick woods, we were obliged to keep along the ice.

Next day, we ſtill proceeded along the river, in blowing weather and driving ſnow.

The 1ſt of March, we overtook our baggage, which we paſſed; it being thought more convenient, both in order to procure lodging and freſh horſes, that the heavy carriages ſhould travel behind.

We continued our journey for ſeveral days along the Tonguſta. We found, now and then, little villages, or ſingle houſes, on the banks. One day, we chanced to meet a prodigious flock of hares, all as white as the ſnow on which they walked. I ſpeak within compaſs, when I ſay there were above five or ſix hundred of them. They were coming down the river, very deliberately, on a ſmall path of their own making, cloſe to the beaten road. As ſoon as they ſaw us, all of them run into the woods, without ſeeming much frightened. I am informed, that theſe hares travel to the ſouth, in much greater flocks than this, every ſpring, and return in autumn, when the rivers are frozen, and the ſnow falls. In moſt of the villages we found plenty of this ſort of veniſon; the inhabitants, however, value it but little; for they catch theſe hares

more on account of their ſkins, of which they make conſiderable profits, than their fleſh.

The Tonguſy, ſo called from the name of the river, who live along its banks, are the poſterity of the ancient inhabitants of Siberia, and differ in language, manners, and dreſs, and even in their perſons and ſtature, from all the other tribes of theſe people I have had occaſion to ſee. They have no houſes where they remain for any time, but range through the woods, and along rivers, at pleaſure; and, wherever they come, they erect a few ſpars, inclining to one another at the top; theſe they cover with pieces of birchen bark, ſewed together, leaving a hole at the top to let out the ſmoke. The fire is placed in the middle. They are very civil and tractable, and like to ſmoke tobacco, and drink brandy. About their huts they have generally a good ſtock of rein-deer, in which all their wealth conſiſts.

The men are tall and able-bodied, brave, and very honeſt. The women are of a middle ſize and virtuous. I have ſeen many of the men with oval figures, like wreaths, on their foreheads and chins; and ſometimes a figure reſembling the branch of a tree, reaching from the corner of the eye to the mouth. Theſe are made in their infancy, by pricking the parts with a needle, and rubbing them with charcoal, the marks whereof remain as long as the perſon lives. Their complexion is ſwarthy. Their faces are not ſo flat as thoſe of the Kalmucks, but their countenances more open. They are altogether unacquainted with any kind of literature, and worſhip the ſun and moon. They have many ſhamans among them, who differ little from thoſe I formerly deſcribed. I was told of others, whoſe abilities in fortune-telling far exceeded thoſe of the ſhamans at this place, but they lived far northward. They cannot bear to ſleep in a warm room, but retire to their huts, and lie about the fire, on ſkins of wild beaſts. It is ſurpriſing how theſe creatures can ſuffer the very piercing cold in theſe parts.

The women are dreſſed in a fur-gown, reaching below the knee, and tied about the waiſt with a girdle. This girdle is about three inches broad, made of deer's ſkin, having the hair curiouſly ſtitched down and ornamented; to which is faſtened, at each ſide, an iron ring, that ſerves to carry a tobacco pipe, and other trinkets of ſmall value. Their gowns are alſo ſtitched down the breaſt, and about the neck. Their long black hair is plaited, and tied about their heads, above which they wear a ſmall fur-cap, which is becoming enough. Some of them have ſmall ear-rings. Their feet are dreſſed in buſkins made of deer-ſkins, which reach to the knee, and are tied about the ancle with a thong of leather.

The dreſs of the men is very ſimple and fit for action. It conſiſts of a ſhort jacket, with narrow ſleeves, made of deer's-ſkin, having the fur outward; trowſers and hoſe of the ſame kind of ſkin, both of one piece, and tight to the limbs. They have, beſides, a piece of fur, that covers the breaſt and ſtomach, which is hung about the neck with a thong of leather. This, for the moſt part, is neatly ſtitched and ornamented by their wives. Round their heads they have a ruff, made of the tails of ſquirrels, to preſerve the tips of the ears from the cold. There is nothing on the crown, but the hair ſmoothed, which hangs in a long plaited lock behind their backs.

Their arms are, a bow, and ſeveral ſorts of arrows, according to the different kinds of game they intend to hunt. The arrows are carried in a quiver, on their backs, and the bow always in their left hand. Beſides theſe, they have a ſhort lance, and a little hatchet. Thus accoutred, they are not afraid to attack the fierceſt creature in the woods, even the ſtrongeſt bear; for they are ſtout men, and dexterous archers. In winter, which is the ſeaſon for hunting wild beaſts, they travel on what are called ſnow ſhoes, without

without which it would be impoſſible to make their way through the deep ſnow. Theſe are made of a very thin piece of light wood, about five feet long, and five or ſix inches broad, inclining to a point before, and ſquare behind. In the middle is fixed a thong, through which the feet are put. On theſe ſhoes a perſon may walk ſafely over the deepeſt ſnow; for a man's weight will not ſink them above an inch. Theſe, however, can only be uſed on plains. They have a different kind for aſcending hills, with the ſkins of ſeals glued to the boards, having the hair inclined backwards, which prevents the ſliding of the ſhoes, ſo that they can aſcend a hill very eaſily; and in deſcending they ſlide downwards at a great rate.

The nation of the Tonguſy was very numerous, but is of late much diminiſhed by the ſmall-pox. It is remarkable, that they knew nothing of this diſtemper till the Ruſſians arrived among them. They are ſo much afraid of this diſeaſe, that, if any one of a family is ſeized with it, the reſt immediately make the patient a little hut, and ſet by him ſome water and victuals; then, packing up every thing, they march off to the windward, each carrying an earthen pot, with burning coals in it, and making a dreadful lamentation as they go along. They never reviſit the ſick till they think the danger paſt. If the perſon dies, they place him on a branch of a tree, to which he is tied with ſtrong wythes, to prevent his falling.

When they go a-hunting into the woods, they carry with them no proviſions, but depend entirely on what they are to catch. They eat every animal that comes in their way, even a bear, fox, or wolf. The ſquirrels are reckoned delicate food; but the ermins have ſuch a ſtrong rank taſte and ſmell, that nothing but ſtarving can oblige them to eat their fleſh. When a Tonguſe kills an elk or deer, he never moves from the place till he has eat it up, unleſs he happens to be near his family; in which caſe, he carries part of it home. He is never at a loſs for a fire, having always a tinder-box about him. If this ſhould happen to be wanting, he kindles a fire, by rubbing two pieces of wood againſt each other. They eat nothing raw, but in great extremity.

The ſables are not caught in the ſame manner as other animals. The fur is ſo tender, that the leaſt mark of an arrow, or ruffling of the hair, ſpoils the ſale of the ſkin. In hunting them, they only uſe a little dog and a net. When a hunter finds the track of a ſable upon the ſnow, he follows it perhaps for two or three days, till the poor animal, quite tired, takes refuge in ſome tall tree; for it can climb like a cat; the hunter then ſpreads his net around the tree, and makes a fire; the ſable, unable to endure the ſmoke, immediately deſcends, and is caught in the net. I have been told by ſome of theſe hunters, that, when hard pinched with hunger on ſuch long chaces, they take two thin boards, one of which they apply to the pit of the ſtomach, and the other to the back, oppoſite to it; the extremities of theſe boards are tied with cords, which are drawn tighter by degrees, and prevent their feeling the cravings of hunger.

Although I have obſerved, that the Tonguſy, in general, worſhip the ſun and moon, there are many exceptions to this obſervation. I have found intelligent people among them, who believed there was a being ſuperior to both ſun and moon, and who created them and all the world.

I ſhall only remark farther, that, from all the accounts I have heard and read of the natives of Canada, there is no nation in the world which they ſo much reſemble as the Tonguſians. The diſtance between them is not ſo great as is commonly imagined.

The 4th of March, we came to a little monaſtery, called Troytza, dedicated to the Holy Trinity; where we found about half a dozen monks, who gave us an hoſpitable reception in their cells, and furniſhed us with proviſions and freſh horſes. The monaſtery ſtands upon the north ſide of the river, on a very pleaſant though ſolitary bank, encompaſſed

encompaſſed with woods, corn-fields, and good paſturage. Moſt of the villages are on the north ſide of the river, as it is higher than the ſouth ſide.

The ſame day, we proceeded on our journey along the river. We met with, daily, great flocks of hares in their progreſs to the weſtward, and many Tonguſians in their huts. It is to be obſerved, that, from this river northward to the Frozen Ocean, there are no inhabitants, except a few Tonguſians, on the banks of the great rivers; the whole of this moſt extenſive country being overgrown with dark impenetrable woods. The ſoil along the banks of this river is good, and produces wheat, barley, rye, and oats. The method taken by the inhabitants to deſtroy the large fir-trees is, to cut off a ring of bark from the trunk, about a foot broad, which prevents the aſcending of the ſap, and the tree withers in a few years. This prepares it for being burnt in a dry ſeaſon; by which means the ground is both cleared of the wood, and manured by the aſhes, without much labour.

The Ruſſians obſerve, that, where the ſort of fir commonly called the Scotch fir grows, the ground never fails of producing corn; but it is not ſo where the pitch, or any other kind of fir, prevails.

The 7th, we came to the head of the Tonguſky, which is formed by the conflux of two other rivers, the Angara and the Elimm. The firſt iſſues from the great Baykall lake, and runs towards the weſt, till it meets the Tonguſky, when it loſes its name. We left the Angara and Tonguſky on our right hand, and proceeded along the Elimm, which we found much ſmoother than the Tonguſky. The Elimm is a conſiderable large and navigable river. The banks on the ſouth ſide are very high, and covered with rugged rocks, overgrown with woods; but, to the north, you meet with ſeveral villages, corn-fields, and paſturage.

We kept on our courſe up the Elimm, a little to the northward of the eaſt, till the 9th, when we arrived at the town of Elimſky, ſo called from the name of the river, which ſtands in a narrow valley, on the ſouth ſide of the river, encompaſſed with high hills and rocks covered with woods. This place is but ſmall, and is only conſiderable, as it ſtands on the road to the eaſtern parts of Siberia; for travellers to China generally take to the ſouth-eaſt, towards Irkutſky; and thoſe who travel to Yakutſky and Kamtzatſky to the north-eaſt.

CHAP. IV. — *Obſervations on Yakutſky and Kamtzatſky, &c. — Journey continued to Irkutſky; and Occurrences there, &c.*

AT Elimſky I met with General Kanifer. He was adjutant general to Charles XII. of Sweden, and much eſteemed by that great warrior, for his military exploits. Kanifer was a native of Courland. He was taken priſoner by the the Ruſſians in Poland, and ſent hither, where he lived in eaſe and ſolitude, and was regularly viſited by all travellers.

This gentleman had a creature, called kaberda, which was brought to him when a fawn, by ſome of the Tonguſy. It is the animal from which the ſweet-ſmelling drug called muſk is taken. The muſk grows about the navel, in form of an excreſcence, which is cut off, and preſerved, when the creature is killed. There are many of them in this country; but the muſk is not ſo ſtrong ſcented as that which comes from China, and more ſouthern climates. The general had bred this creature to be very familiar. He fed it at his table with bread and roots. When dinner was over, it jumped on the table, and picked up the crumbs. It followed him about the ſtreets like a dog.

I muſt confeſs it was pleaſing to ſee it cut caprioles, and play with children like a kid.

The kaberda is a ſize leſs than the fallow-deer, and its colour darker. It is of a pretty ſhape, having erect horns, without branches; is very ſwift, and haunts rocks and mountains of difficult acceſs to men or dogs; and, when hunted, jumps from cliff to cliff with incredible celerity and firmneſs of foot. The fleſh is eſteemed better veniſon than any of the deer kind of larger ſize, whereof there is great variety in theſe parts.

Before I leave Elimſky I ſhall, as uſual, give a ſhort account of ſome of the places adjacent, particularly thoſe to the north-eaſt, towards the river Lena and Yakutſky, according as I have been informed by travellers, on whoſe veracity I could entirely depend.

The people, who travel in winter from hence to theſe places, generally do it in January or February. It is a very long and difficult journey, and which none but Tonguſians, or ſuch hardy people, have abilities to perform. The Ruſſians frequently finiſh it in ſix weeks. The common method is as follows: after travelling a few days in ſledges, when the road becomes impaſſable by horſes, they ſet themſelves on ſnow-ſhoes, and drag after them what is called a nart, containing proviſions and other neceſſaries, which are as few and light as poſſible. This nart is a kind of ſledge about five feet long and ten inches broad, which a man may eaſily draw upon the deepeſt ſnow. At night, they make a large fire, and lay themſelves down to ſleep in theſe narrow ſledges. As ſoon as they have refreſhed themſelves, they again proceed on their ſnow-ſhoes, as before. This manner of travelling continues about the ſpace of ten days, when they come to a place where they procure dogs to draw both themſelves and their narts. The dogs are yoked by pairs, and are more or fewer in number according to the weight they have to draw. Being trained to the work, they go on with great ſpirit, barking all the way; and the perſon, who lies in the ſledge, holds a ſmall cord to guide the dog that leads the reſt. They are faſtened to the ſledge by a ſoft rope, which is tied about their middle, and paſſes through between their hind legs. I have been ſurpriſed to ſee the weight that theſe creatures are able to draw; for travellers muſt carry along with them proviſions for both themſelves and the dogs. Theſe watchful animals know the time of ſetting out in the morning; and make a diſmal howling, till they are fed, and purſue their journey. This way of travelling would not, I believe, ſuit every conſtitution; the very ſight of it ſatisfied my curioſity. Thus, however, theſe people proceed for near three weeks, till they arrive at ſome villages on the Lena, where, leaving the dogs, they procure horſes, with which they travel to the town of Yakutſky. This place has its name from a rivulet, called Yakut, which empties itſelf into the Lena.

I have been, perhaps, too particular in deſcribing the method of travelling with ſnow-ſhoes and dogs; but as theſe things are known to few Europeans, I concluded an account of them would not be diſagreeable. I have ſeen ſeveral Swediſh officers who have travelled to Yakutſky in this manner. I tried the ſnow-ſhoes myſelf, and found them very fatiguing; but time and practice make them eaſy and familiar.

There is a more agreeable road from Elimſky to Yakutſky than that I have mentioned, which is by water, down the river Lena; but this route will not agree with the time and circumſtances of every traveller. Thoſe who travel from Irkutſky by this courſe go by land to a place called Vercholenſky Oſtrogue, ſituated near the ſource of the Lena, where they embark, and fall down the ſtream. Thoſe who go from Elimſky, croſs the country directly, about two days journey, to the firſt convenient place upon the Lena, where they procure veſſels, and ſail down the river to Yakutſky, or any other

other place; but in this paſſage by water they are peſtered with numbers of large gnats and muſkitoes, which leſſen the pleaſure of the voyage.

Before I proceed to the northward, it will not be improper to give a ſhort deſcription of the famous river Lena; which, for the length of its courſe and quantity of water, may be compared to any of the largeſt rivers in the world.

The Lena riſes at a ſmall diſtance northward from the Baykall lake, and runs to the north, with a little variation, till it diſcharges itſelf into the Northern Ocean. I compute the length of it from the ſource to the ocean, to be about two thouſand five hundred Engliſh miles, though it is much more by common report. It is navigable during this whole courſe, having no cataracts ſo great as to prevent the paſſage of veſſels of conſiderable burden. It receives many great rivers, moſt of which come from the eaſt. It may be eaſily imagined, that the Lena cannot fail of being ſtored with various kinds of excellent fiſh, when the other rivers in Siberia afford ſuch plenty and variety. The banks are generally overgrown with tall thick woods, wherein are abundance of game, and wild beaſts. The country between its ſource and the Baykall lake is well peopled, abounding with many Ruſs villages and corn-fields along the banks of the river.

Having formerly mentioned Yakutſky and Kamtzatſky, I ſhall add a few obſervations on theſe two provinces.

The town of Yakutſky, capital of the province of that name, is ſituated on the weſt bank of the river Lena, and governed by a commandant; whoſe office is reckoned very lucrative, as many ſables and other valuable furs are found in that province.

The winter here is very long, and the froſt ſo violent that it is never out of the earth, in the month of June, beyond two feet and a half below the ſurface. When the inhabitants bury their dead three feet deep, they are laid in frozen earth; for the heat of the ſun never penetrates above two feet, or two feet and an half; ſo that I am informed all the dead bodies remain in the earth unconſumed, and will do ſo till the day of judgment.

The town and many villages in its neighbourhood are inhabited by Ruſſians, who have horſes and cows, but no ſheep nor corn. They are plentifully ſupplied with corn from the ſouthern parts of the country, by water-carriage along the Lena. And, in ſummer, they make hay enough to feed their cattle in winter.

The province of Yakutſky is inhabited by a numerous tribe of Tartars, by which name the Ruſſians call the whole of the natives of this country, however they differ from one another in religion, language, and manners. Thoſe of this province are named Yakuty. They occupy a great ſpace of territory round this place, eſpecially to the eaſt, where they border with the extenſive province of Kamtzatſky.

The Yakuty differ little from the Tonguſians, either in their perſons or way of life. Their occupation, like that of the other natives, is fiſhing and hunting. They have flattiſh faces, little black eyes, and long black hair plaited, and hanging down their backs. Many of the men are marked in the face with charcoal, after the manner of the Tonguſians. I have, however, ſeen many of theſe people, both men and women, of good complexions. They often ſell their children to the Ruſſians, who are very fond of them, as they generally make truſty ſervants.

Theſe people, though otherwiſe humane and tractable, have among them one very barbarous cuſtom: when any of their people are infirm through age, or ſeized with diſtempers reckoned incurable, they make a ſmall hut for the patient, near ſome river, in which they leave him, with ſome proviſions, and ſeldom or never return to viſit him. On ſuch occaſions they have no regard to father or mother, but ſay they do them a good

office in ſending them to a better world. Whereby it appears, that even theſe rude ignorant people have a notion of a future ſtate.

Under Kamtzatſky I include all that vaſt tract of land reaching from the river Amoor, along the ſhore of the Eaſtern or Japaneſe Ocean, called by the Ruſſians Tikoe More, or the Calm Sea, to the north-eaſt point of the continent. The country along the ſhore is very pleaſant and healthy, eſpecially to the ſouth, where the climate is temperate. This part of the country produces grain, and, as I have been informed, even grapes and other fruits. The inhabitants are very humane and hoſpitable.

When the Ruſſians firſt entered this province, the Kamtzedans endeavoured to oppoſe them. For this purpoſe they aſſembled great numbers of men armed, after the faſhion of their country, with bows, arrows, and ſhort lances, headed with bone, ſharpened at the point. Whence it appears, that theſe people knew no more the uſe of iron than the Mexicans on the arrival of the Spaniards in America. Their multitudes were ſoon diſperſed by a few Ruſſians with fire-arms, which, in thoſe days, had rifled barrels, and a ſmall bore, which killed at a great diſtance. The poor Kamtzedans, ſeeing their people fall without any viſible wound, and aſtoniſhed with the fire and noiſe of the gunpowder, left the field in the utmoſt conſternation. Their diſpoſitions now were wholly inclined to peace; and a few of their chief men were ſent to the Ruſſians in order to obtain it. They proſtrated themſelves, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, before the leader of the party, and begged of him to grant them peace; which he did, on condition of their paying to His Majeſty an annual tribute of ſables, or other furs. This condition they have punctually performed ever ſince.

Many parts of Kamtzatſky are hilly and mountainous, particularly to the north, and covered with tall woods. At Ochotſky is a good harbour, and timber enough to build a royal navy. There are many great and ſmall rivers that run through the country, and empty themſelves into the Eaſtern Ocean, among which is a great river called Anadeer. To the north of this river towards the ocean lies an extenſive tract of land, little known, and inhabited by a fierce and ſavage people, called by the Ruſſians Anadeertzy, who continue very untractable.

I have nothing further to add concerning theſe remote provinces, only I am perſuaded that the iſlands of Japan can be at no great diſtance from the ſouthern parts of Kamtzatſky. What confirmed me in this opinion is that I ſaw at St. Peterſburg a young man, a native of Japan, who, I believe, is yet alive in the Academy of Sciences at that place. I aſked him, by what accident he was brought ſo far from his own country; and he gave me the following account:—That his father and himſelf, with a few perſons more, being at a noted town called Naggiſaky, on the weſt coaſt of the iſland, employed about ſome affairs of trade, and having finiſhed their buſineſs, intended to return to their own habitations on the north ſhore, by ſailing round the coaſt. Therefore went they on board a ſmall boat, and began their voyage homeward; but, meeting with a ſtrong gale off the land, they were unfortunately driven out to ſea, and in a few days were caſt upon the coaſt of Kamtzatſky half ſtarved, and in the greateſt diſtreſs. In this condition they met with a Ruſſian Officer, who afforded them all that aſſiſtance which common humanity dictates on ſuch occaſions. Notwithſtanding all his care, ſeveral of the old people died, being quite ſpent with fatigue, and want of victuals. That he and another youth, who was ſince dead, were ſent to St. Peterſburg, where His Majeſty was pleaſed to order that they ſhould be provided for in the Academy. This young man could read and write both the Japaneſe and Ruſſian languages.

We ſet out from Elimſky on the 12th; and next day, in the evening, came to a ſmall village upon the north bank of the river Angara, about eighty verſt diſtant from

Elimſky. During theſe two days, we ſaw no houſe nor any inhabitants, the whole of the country through which we paſſed being covered with tall and thick woods. There is a narrow road cut for ſledges, and the trees on each ſide meeting at the top ſhade it by day, and in the night make it very dark, and almoſt diſmal.

We paſſed the night in this village, where we got freſh horſes; and next morning repeated our journey almoſt due eaſt up the river Angara upon the ice. Along the banks we found many villages well peopled. The face of the country had now a different aſpect from what I had ſeen for ſeveral months; ſometimes we ſaw a fine champaign country, exhibiting a beautiful and extenſive proſpect; at other times, the view was agreeably varied with woods and riſing grounds. The north ſide of the river is moſtly overgrown with woods. There are ſome openings along the banks where we found villages, and abundance of cattle and proviſions.

The 15th, we arrived at a large village called Balaganſky, ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the Angara, near a rivulet running from the ſouth called Unga. The ſituation of this place is very pleaſant, as it ſtands in a fruitful plain, and has many corn-fields and woods in the neighbourhood.

Here we found another tribe of the natives of Siberia, who differ in ſome particulars from all thoſe I have formerly deſcribed. They are called by the Ruſſians Bratſky, but by themſelves Buraty. They live in tents all the year, and, having large flocks of ſheep, and many cows and horſes, they remove from place to place, as the convenience of grazing requires. Their language has a great affinity to that of the Kalmucks; and they have prieſts among them who can read and write that language. As to their dreſs and manner of life, I could obſerve little difference between them and the Kalmucks on the Volga; and therefore conclude they have both deſcended from the ſame original. Their faces, however, are not quite ſo flat as thoſe of the Kalmucks, their noſes being ſomewhat higher, and their countenances more open.

The Buraty are ſtout active men, but hate all kind of labour: for, though they have the example of the Ruſſians ploughing and ſowing their ground, and living plentifully on the produce of this rich and fertile ſoil, they chooſe ſtill to live in their tents, and tend their flocks, on which their ſubſiſtence entirely depends.

The chief exerciſe of the men is hunting and riding. They have a good breed of ſaddle-horſes, and their horned cattle are very large. Their ſheep have broad tails, and their mutton is excellent. They have alſo great abundance of goats; for all theſe animals they make no proviſion of fodder, but leave them to feed in the open fields. When the ſnow falls to a great depth, which ſeldom happens in theſe parts, they drive them to the ſouthwards to riſing grounds, where little ſnow lies.

Their arms are bows and arrows, lances, and ſabres, all of which are uſed on horſeback; for, like the Kalmucks, they have no infantry. They are dexterous archers, and ſkilful horſemen.

Theſe people were formerly ſubject to a prince of the Mongals, but now live very quietly under the Ruſſian government. They are at preſent a very numerous people, reaching towards the eaſt and ſouth of Baykall lake, and are generally reckoned very honeſt and ſincere.

As to their dreſs, the men wear a coat, or rather gown, of ſheep-ſkins, girt about the middle, in all ſeaſons; a ſmall round cap, faced with fur, having a taſſel of red ſilk at the top, which, together with a pair of drawers and boots, makes up the whole of their apparel. The women's dreſs is nearly the ſame, only their gowns are plaited about the waiſt, and hang down like a petticoat. The married women have their hair hanging in two locks, one on each ſide of the head, drawn through two iron rings, to prevent

its floating on the breaſt, and looking very like a tye-wig. Round their forehead they wear a hoop of poliſhed iron, made faſt behind, and on their head a ſmall round cap, faced with fur, and embroidered, in their faſhion, to diſtinguiſh it from thoſe of the men. The maids are dreſſed in the ſame manner, only their hair is all plaited, hanging in ſeparate locks round their head, and is as black as a raven: ſome of them have good complexions. Both the men and women are courteous in their behaviour. I ſhould like them much better if they were a little more cleanly. Both their perſons and tents are extremely naſty, from their uſing only ſkins to preſerve them from the cold; on theſe they ſit or lie, round a little fire, in their tents.

The religion of the Buraty ſeems to be the ſame with that of the Kalmucks, which is downright Paganiſm of the groſſeſt kind. They talk indeed of an Almighty and good Being, who created all things, whom they call Burchun, but ſeem bewildered in obſcure and fabulous notions concerning his nature and government. They have two high prieſts, to whom they pay great reſpect; one is called Delay-Lama, the other Kutuchtu. Of theſe prieſts I ſhall have an opportunity to give ſome account afterwards.

In paſſing the tents of the Buraty, I often obſerved a long pole, whereon was hung, by the horns, the head and ſkin of a ſheep. On enquiring the reaſon of this appearance, I was told that the animal, whoſe head and ſkin theſe were, had been ſlain, and offered in ſacrifice to the god who protected their flocks and herds. I could obſerve no images among them except ſome relicks given them by their prieſts, which they had from the Delay-Lama; theſe are commonly hung up in a corner of their tents, and ſometimes about their necks, by way of an amulet, to preſerve them from misfortunes.

The 16th, we came to another large village, called Kamenka, ſituated on the north bank of the river, where we found many of the Buraty in their tents. This day we had ſome rain, which melted much ſnow, and made it dangerous to travel upon the ice, ſo that we were obliged to leave the river, and make the beſt of our way along the banks; for ſeveral of our horſes broke through the ice, and were got up again with no ſmall difficulty.

The 17th, our route lay to the ſouth-eaſt. The alteration of the weather was now very perceptible, the heat of the ſun was very intenſe, and the ſnow ſuddenly diſappeared, leaving no marks of winter, except the ice upon the river, which was vaniſhing very faſt. Thus, in the ſpace of a few days, we paſſed from a cold winter to a warm ſpring; and one would almoſt have imagined we had been imperceptibly dropped into another climate. Our ſledges, in which we had travelled and lodged, for moſt part, during the winter, could now be of no uſe; and we left them to be put on wheel-carriages, in order to follow us as ſhould be convenient.

Having procured ſuch horſes and furniture as the place afforded, we proceeded along the north bank of the Angara, towards Irkutſky. We were eſcorted by ſome Coſſacks, and a party of the Buraty, armed with bows and arrows. We hunted all the way as we travelled; and were not a little ſurpriſed to ſee the Buraty kill many hares with their arrows. This exerciſe was very ſeaſonable, as we had been confined to ſledges for more than three months, during our journey from Cazan to this place.

On the 18th of March, we arrived at the town of Irkutſky, ſo called from the rivulet Irkut, which falls into the Angara near it. It ſtands on the north bank of the Angara, in a large plain, to the north of which the grounds are very high, and covered with woods. On the ſouth ſide of the river, towards the Baykall lake, are high hills, riſing to the ſouth, and covered with tall trees, among which are many larixes and Siberian cedars. The larix, called in Ruſs liſvinitza, is a well known tree in theſe

parts; near the root of it grows a famous drug, called agarick, in form of a muſhroom; it ſheds its leaf in autumn, and in ſummer it looks like a pine; it grows very ſtraight and tall, and is reckoned good timber for ſhip-building; it bears a cone like the fir-tree, containing the ſeed, but not half ſo large.

What is called the cedar is a large tall tree, which never ſheds the leaf; it is white and ſmooth, but has not the leaſt ſmell of cedar. They uſe it chiefly in building houſes, and it makes the fineſt white floors, and freeſt from knots, of any wood I know. The leaves are like thoſe of a pine, but grow in taſſels, very beautiful. The cones are large, and, inſtead of ſeed, like the fir, contain a ſmall nut with a kernel, of which the people in this country are very fond, and eat it by way of a deſert, in place of better fruit. It has a pleaſant taſte, like that of raiſins, and is eſteemed good for the ſtomach.

The town of Irkutſky is fortified with a ditch, and ſtrong palliſades, having towers at certain diſtances. The garriſon conſiſts of ſome regular troops, beſides a number of Coſſacks, or the militia of the country. The town contains about two thouſand houſes, and the inhabitants are plentifully ſupplied with proviſions of all kinds from the neighbouring villages. The adjacent woods abound with variety of game. The river affords ſturgeon, and many other kinds of fiſh, but no ſterlet; becauſe, as I apprehend, they delight in muddy ſtreams, and the water at this place is ſo clear, that, in two fathoms deep, one may ſee the pebbles at the bottom.

At Irkutſky is a good market for furs of all ſorts, and likewiſe for many kinds of Chineſe goods. All merchandiſe muſt be entered at the cuſtom-houſe in this place, and pays a duty of 10 per cent. which produces a conſiderable revenue to His Majeſty.

The 25th of March, our baggage arrived, after ſurmounting many difficulties on the road. They had been obliged to leave many of the ſledges, after taking the baggage off them, and putting it on wheel-carriages.

Our deſign was to have croſſed the Baykall Sea upon the ice, and then proceeded by land to the town of Selinginſky, but we came too late for that purpoſe. The ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that before our carriages arrived, the river was almoſt free of ice. We were informed, indeed, that the ice upon the lake was ſufficiently ſtrong to bear horſes, but, upon conſidering the matter, it was thought moſt adviſeable to remain here, till the ice in the ſea was alſo melted, that we might go by water to Selinginſky; and orders were immediately given that veſſels ſhould be prepared for this purpoſe.

April 1ſt, we croſſed the river, accompanied by Mr. Rakitin the commandant, in order to take a view of the country towards the ſouth. We rode through fine woods of ſtately oaks, and other trees, formerly mentioned. We hunted all the way, and found abundance of game. At laſt we came to a ſmall Ruſſian village, in a fruitful valley, encompaſſed with hills covered with woods, where we lodged. Next day we went ten or a dozen miles farther, in ſearch of wild beaſts, but, finding none, we returned to the ſame village, and the day following to Irkutſky.

The 10th, we were entertained with a famous Buratſky Shaman, who was alſo Lama, or prieſt, and was brought from a great diſtance. As theſe ſhamans make a great noiſe in this part of the world, and are believed by the ignorant vulgar to be inſpired, I ſhall give ſome account of the behaviour of this one, in particular, by which it will appear that the whole is an impoſition.

He was introduced to the ambaſſador by the commandant, accompanied by ſeveral chiefs of his own tribe, who treat him with great reſpect. He was a man of about thirty years of age, of a grave aſpect and deportment. At his introduction he had a cup of brandy preſented to him, which he drank, but refuſed any more.

After

After ſome converſation, he was deſired to exhibit ſome ſpecimen of his art; but he replied, he could do nothing in a Ruſſian houſe, becauſe there were ſome images of ſaints which prevented his ſucceſs. The performance was therefore adjourned to a Buratſky tent in the ſuburbs. Accordingly, in the evening, we went to the place appointed, where we found the ſhaman, with ſeveral of his companions, round a little fire, ſmoking tobacco, but no women among them. We placed ourſelves on one ſide of the tent, leaving the other for him and his countrymen. After ſitting about half an hour, the ſhaman placed himſelf croſs-legged upon the floor, cloſe by a few burning coals upon the hearth, with his face towards his companions; then he took two ſticks about four feet long each, one in each hand, and began to ſing a diſmal tune, beating time with the ſticks; all his followers joined in the chorus. During this part of the performance, he turned and diſtorted his body into many different poſtures, till at laſt he wrought himſelf up to ſuch a degree of fury, that he foamed at the mouth, and his eyes looked red and ſtaring. He now ſtarted up on his legs, and fell a dancing, like one diſtracted, till he trode out the fire with his bare feet. Theſe unnatural motions were by the vulgar attributed to the operations of a divinity; and, in truth, one would almoſt have imagined him poſſeſſed by ſome demon. After being quite ſpent with dancing, he retired to the door of the tent, and gave three dreadful ſhrieks, by which his companions ſaid he called the demon, to direct him in anſwering ſuch queſtions as ſhould be propoſed. He then returned, and ſat down in great compoſure, telling he was ready to reſolve any queſtion that might be aſked. Several of our people put queſtions in abundance; all which he anſwered readily, but in ſuch ambiguous terms that nothing could be made of them. He now performed ſeveral legerdemain tricks, ſuch as ſtabbing himſelf with a knife, and bringing it up at his mouth, running himſelf through with a ſword, and many others too trifling to mention. In ſhort, nothing is more evident than that theſe ſhamans are a parcel of jugglers, who impoſe on the ignorant and credulous vulgar.

The 6th of April, we went to a monaſtery, about five miles to the eaſtward of this place, where we dined with the Archbiſhop of Tobolſky. This prelate had lately come hither to viſit ſome monaſteries, and in his way had baptiſed a number of Oſteaks and other heathens. From this time till the 8th of May little material happened. We waited patiently for the diſſolving of the ice on the Baykall lake, of which we expected to receive the moſt certain knowledge, by means of the floating ice on the Angara; for, when this happens, that river is filled with floating cakes, which are driven along with great fury by the wind and current.

The 11th, the river was now clear of ice. Our baggage was ſhipped on board large flat-bottomed boats, and drawn up the ſtream; the wind being ſoutherly, made the progreſs of the boats very ſlow. The ambaſſador therefore reſolved to remain at this place, till he heard they had nearly reached the lake, which is about forty verſt from Irkutſky.

Before we left this place, Mr. Kremenſky, our interpreter for the Latin tongue, died of a hectic diſorder. He was a Poliſh gentleman, and had laboured under this diſtemper for ſome years.

CHAP. V.—*From Irkutſky, croſs the Lake Baykall, to Selinginſky.—Some Account of the Kutuchtu, &c.*

THE 15th of May, the weather being very hot, we did not ſet out till after dinner, when we left Irkutſky, accompanied by the commandant and ſome other officers of the place.

place. We rode along the north bank of the river, through pleaſant woods, and ſome open fields, till we came, about midnight, to a few fiſhermen's huts, where we halted for a few hours, and repeated our journey early next morning.

At noon, we arrived at a ſmall chapel, dedicated to St. Nicolas, where travellers uſually pay their devotions, and pray for a proſperous paſſage over the lake. About this religious houſe there are a few fiſhermen's huts. Two monks conſtantly attend, to put people in mind of their duty, and receive a ſmall gratuity from the paſſengers.

Here we found our boats waiting for us below the falls of the Angara. From hence you can ſee the lake, burſting out betwixt two high rocks, and tumbling down over huge ſtones, that lie quite croſs the river, which I reckon to be about an Engliſh mile broad. The whole channel of the river is covered with theſe rocks, from the mouth of the lake down to the Chapel of St. Nicolas, about the diſtance of an Engliſh mile. There is no paſſage for the ſmalleſt boats, except along the eaſt ſhore, through a narrow ſtrait, between the rocks and the land. In the moſt ſhallow places, there is about five or ſix feet water, and breadth all the way ſufficient for any ſingle veſſel. But if, by ſtreſs of weather, or any other accident, a boat ſhould have the misfortune to miſs this opening, and be thrown upon the rocks, ſhe muſt immediately be daſhed to pieces, and the whole crew inevitably periſh. The waters, daſhing upon the ſtones, make a noiſe like the roaring of the ſea, ſo that people near them can ſcarce hear one another ſpeak. I cannot expreſs the awfulneſs with which one is ſtruck, at the ſight of ſuch aſtoniſhing ſcenes of nature as appear round this place, and which I believe are not to be equalled in the known world. The pilots and ſailors who navigate the lake ſpeak of it with much reverence, calling it the Holy Sea, and the mountains about it, the Holy Mountains; and are highly diſpleaſed with any perſon who ſpeaks of it with diſreſpect, or calls it a lake. They tell a ſtory of a certain pilot who always gave it that appellation, but was ſeverely puniſhed for his contempt. Being on a voyage in autumn, he and his crew were toſſed from ſide to ſide of the lake, till they were half ſtarved, and in great danger of periſhing. Neceſſity, at laſt, forced this hardy mariner to comply with the prevailing cuſtom, and pray to the Holy Sea and Mountains to have compaſſion on him in ſuch diſtreſs. His prayers were effectual; and he arrived ſafe to land; but was obſerved, ever after, to ſpeak of the ſea with the greateſt reſpect.

The afternoon was ſpent in adjuſting the tackle, and preparing the barks for being drawn up the ſtrong narrow current.

The 17th, the wind being contrary, and blowing pretty freſh, the pilots would not venture out. I, and three more of our company, took this opportunity of walking up to the top of the mountains, where we had a full view of the ſea, and the land to the ſouth on the other ſide of it, and alſo to the weſt, as far as it extends. The land on the ſouth ſide of the lake riſes gradually, till it terminates in hills moſtly covered with wood; but, on the weſtern ſhore, there are very high mountains, ſeveral whereof are overſpread with deep ſnow, which we could eaſily diſcern, though at a great diſtance.

The Baykall Sea, oppoſite to the mouth of the Selinga, is reckoned about fifty Engliſh miles broad, though it is much broader in ſome other places, and about three hundred miles in length. It is wholly freſh water, and is ſupplied by the Selinga, and many other rivers, from the ſouth, and by the higher Angara from the eaſt. The courſe of the ſea is from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt, and has very few ſhelves or rocks. There is only one large iſland, near the middle of it, called Olchon. It is bounded on the north by a ridge of high rocks, which run from one end of it to the other. The only opening by which it diſcharges itſelf is that into the Angara, which, though it is a natural paſſage, appears as if cut through the rocks by art. In my opinion, one cannot imagine

imagine a more beautiful proſpect of nature than is ſeen from the top of theſe mountains, which may eaſily be perceived from the ſhort and imperfect ſketch I have drawn of it. The woods on the ſummit of the rocks are ſhort and thinly ſcattered; but, on their declivity towards the north, and in the valleys, the trees become gradually both taller and larger. There is abundance of game and wild beaſts in theſe woods, particularly the wild boar, which was the firſt of that ſpecies we found in this country; a certain ſign of a temperate climate; for theſe animals cannot endure the exceſſive cold in more northerly parts. The hunting of theſe animals being a dangerous kind of ſport, we carefully avoided their haunts. In the evening, we returned to our barks at the chapel of St. Nicolas.

The Baykall is abundantly furniſhed with various kinds of excellent fiſh, particularly ſturgeon, and a fiſh called omully, in ſhape and taſte reſembling a herring, but broader and larger. The ſea produces alſo great numbers of ſeals, whoſe ſkins are preferred in quality to thoſe of ſeals caught in ſalt-water. I am of opinion, that both the ſeals and fiſh in the Baykall came originally from the Northern Ocean, as the communication between them is open, though the diſtance be very great.

The ſeals are generally caught in winter, by ſtrong nets hung under the ice. The method they uſe is to cut many holes in the ice, at certain diſtances from one another, ſo that the fiſhermen can, with long poles, ſtretch their nets from one hole to another, and thus continue them to any diſtance. The ſeals, not being able to bear long confinement under the ice, for want of air, ſeek theſe holes for relief, and thus entangle themſelves in the nets. Theſe creatures, indeed, commonly make many holes for themſelves, at the ſetting in of the froſt. In this manner, they catch not only ſeals, but fiſh of all kinds, in winter.

The 18th, the wind being favourable, we put off from St. Nicolas's. As we had workmen enough, we left part of them on board, to aſſiſt the pilot, by ſetting poles, while the reſt were employed on ſhore in towing the barks againſt a ſtrong current. In about the ſpace of three hours we got clear of the current, and all hands came on board. We were now quite becalmed, and obliged to take to our oars. We rowed along ſhore to the eaſtward till about noon, when we had an eaſy breeze, which ſoon carried us two thirds over the ſea, under our main-ſail. The wind now chopped about to the eaſt, and blew ſo freſh, that we could not make the river Selinga, which was the port where we intended to land. As theſe barks cannot turn to windward, we were drove about ten miles to the weſtward of the Poſſolſky monaſtery, which ſtands about ſix miles to the weſtward of the Selinga, in a pleaſant and fruitful plain, furniſhing an extenſive view in all directions; where, endeavouring to get to land at any rate, we ſteered into a bay in which we fancied we ſaw the ſhore covered with cockle-ſhells or white ſand. On a nearer approach, our miſtake appeared. For what ſeemed ſhells or ſand, at a diſtance, was only great and ſmall cakes of ice, beating with the waves againſt the main body of the ice, which lay firm, and covered the whole bay. Our people, on diſtinguiſhing the ice, immediately ſtruck ſail, and were in no ſmall confuſion. But Mr. Iſmaeloff ordered the ſail to be again ſet, and to ſteer directly for the ice. In the mean time, all hands were employed in hanging boards about the bow of the veſſel, to prevent the cutting of the planks, and in ſetting poles to puſh off the large cakes. At laſt we came among the ice, which made a terrible rattling at firſt; but the farther we advanced, the eaſier our bark lay, till we came to the main body of the ice, where ſhe remained as unmoved as if ſhe had been in a mill-pond, though it ſtill continued to blow hard. We now quitted the ſhip, and walked about upon the ice, which was yet ſtrong enough to carry horſes. By this time the ſun was

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ſet, which prevented our deſign of going aſhore, for the diſtance was at leaſt five Engliſh miles; and there was a great gap in the ice near the place where we lay.

About midnight, the wind turned weſterly, and, at break of day, we left our ſtation, and ſailed to the eaſtward, and, about noon, entered the river Selinga, where we found our other three barks. They having been two or three miles before us the preceding night, had time enough to reach anchoring ground, and, by this means, eſcaped the ice, ſo little expected at this ſeaſon of the year. We ourſelves, before entering the bay, had ſounded, in order to diſcover whether we could come to an anchor; but no bottom could be found, though we joined ſeveral lead-lines together, amounting to above one hundred and fifty fathoms.

The mouth of the Selinga is ſurrounded with tall reeds, and contains ſeveral iſlands. The entry into it is very difficult, except the wind be fair, becauſe of many flats and ſand-banks, thrown up by the current of the river. Here we found great flocks of all kinds of water-fowl, particularly ſnipes.

The wind continuing fair, we ſailed up the river to a ſmall oratory, dedicated alſo to St. Nicolas, where all hands went aſhore to return thanks for their ſafe paſſage. The prior of the Poſſolſky monaſtery came to this place to ſalute the ambaſſador, and brought a preſent of fiſh, and ſuch other proviſions as theſe religious houſes afford.

In the evening, we proceeded up the river, till night overtook us, when we hauled our boats cloſe to the bank, and lay till next morning, which was the 20th of May. This day being calm, the bark was towed up the river; and we walked along the banks, hunting all the way in a very pleaſant country. At night, we lay by, as formerly.

The 21ſt, the weather was very hot. We continued our voyage in the ſame manner as before.

The 22d, the wind being fair, we hoiſted ſails; and in the evening arrived at a large village, well built and peopled, called Kabbanſky Oſtrogue. This place is pleaſantly ſituated, on a riſing ground upon the weſt bank of the river, ſurrounded with many corn-fields and much paſturage. Here we took new hands on board our barks, and diſmiſſed the former to return in open boats to Irkutſky.

The 25th, we reached another large village, called Bolſhoy Zaimka, ſituated in a fertile country. In the neighbourhood is a ſmall monaſtery, and many leſſer villages. Many of the Buraty were encamped, with their flocks and herds, on both ſides of the river.

The climate on this ſide of the Baykall lake is much more temperate than on the north ſide. The land produces rich crops of wheat, rye, barley, oats, buck-wheat, and peaſe, beſides kitchen roots, and other garden ſtuff. The inhabitants have not yet begun to plant any kind of fruit-trees, which I am perſuaded would thrive exceedingly, as the winters are ſhort, and the ſnow does not lie above ſix weeks or two months. The banks of the river appeared very pleaſant, being finely varied with plains and woods.

The 26th, we came to a large town, called Udinſky, from the rivulet Uda, which runs into the Selinga, on the eaſt bank. This place alſo ſtands in a fertile plain, having hills covered with woods towards the eaſt. In theſe hills are found ſeveral rich ores, particularly of lead; in digging which many hands are now employed. The miners ſay it is of too hard a quality; however, they have extracted conſiderable quantities of ſilver from it; and I have been informed that they alſo found ſome veins of ſilver ore. As theſe works are but lately begun, it is not doubted that they are capable of great improvement, at an eaſy charge, as the metal lies ſo near the ſurface.

Samples of theſe ores have been ſent to St. Peterſburg; and, I am informed, His Majeſty has engaged ſome German miners to make experiments upon them.

Both here and on the Angara iron is to be found in great abundance at the very ſurface: but as the diſtance is too great for exportation, it is not worth the labour. To ſupply the common conſumption of the country, the ſmith takes his bellows, goes to the mine, and ſmelts and works as much iron as he needs. I have ſeen ſome of this iron of an excellent, ſoft, and pliable quality.

Beſides the above mentioned, there are at this place very rich mines of copper. I have ſeen ſome of the ore with large veins of pure copper running through it. I make no doubt but time and future diſcoveries will bring theſe mines to perfection, to the great emolument of the Ruſſian empire.

All this country is under the juriſdiction of the commandant of Irkutſky, who ſends deputies to all the towns of this extenſive province, to adminiſter juſtice, and take care of His Majeſty's revenues. The power of nominating ſub-governors and commandants, is veſted by His Majeſty in the governor of Siberia, which gives him an authority equal to a ſovereign prince.

The ambaſſador, finding the progreſs of the boats againſt the ſtream very ſlow and tedious, being beſides much peſtered with gnats and muſkitoes, reſolved to go by land the reſt of the way to Selinginſky: for which purpoſe, the ſuperintendant of this place ordered horſes, and a proper eſcort, to be got ready againſt next morning on the other ſide of the river, the road on this ſide being interrupted by thick woods and deep rivers.

The 27th, having ſent off our barks, we croſſed the river, and, having no baggage, we ſoon mounted. The road lay through a fine plain, covered with excellent graſs. In the evening, we came to a fountain of pure water, where we lodged in the tents of the Buraty, and ſlept on bull-hides.

The 28th, early, we proceeded, travelling over ſome pretty high hills overgrown with wood. About noon, we came to a river called Orongoy, which we croſſed, on a tall camel, it being too deep for horſes. At this place, we found a number of the Buraty encamped, with their flocks grazing in the neighbourhood.

Our horſes having ſwam the river, we went into one of the Buratſky tents till they were dried. The hoſpitable landlady immediately ſet her kettle on the fire to make us ſome tea; the extraordinary cookery of which I cannot help deſcribing. After placing a large iron kettle over the fire, ſhe took care to wipe it very clean with a horſe's tail, that hung in a corner of the tent for that purpoſe; then the water was put into it, and ſoon after ſome coarſe bohea tea, which is got from China, and a little ſalt. When near boiling, ſhe took a large braſs ladle, and toſſed the tea till the liquor turned very brown. It was now taken off the fire, and, after ſubſiding a little, was poured clear into another place. The kettle being wiped clean with the horſe's tail as before, was again ſet upon the fire. The miſtreſs now prepared a paſte, of meal and freſh butter, that hung in a ſkin near the horſe's tail, which was put into the tea-kettle and fried. Upon this paſte the tea was again poured, to which was added ſome good thick cream, taken out of a clean ſheep's ſkin, which hung upon a peg among other things. The ladle was again employed, for the ſpace of ſix minutes, when the tea, being removed from the fire, was allowed to ſtand a while in order to cool. The landlady now took ſome wooden cups, which held about half a pint each, and ſerved her tea to all the company. The principal advantage of this tea, is, that it both ſatisfies hunger and quenches thirſt. I thought it not diſagreeable; but ſhould have liked it much better had it been prepared in a manner a little more cleanly. Our bountiful hoſteſs, how-

ever, gave us a hearty welcome; and as theſe people know not the uſe of money, there was nothing to pay for our entertainment. We only made her a preſent of a little tobacco to ſmoke, of which theſe people are very fond. I have given this receipt with a view that ſome European ladies may improve upon it.

After this ſhort repaſt, we mounted again; and, in the evening, came to a neat Ruſſian village, on the front of a pleaſant hill covered with wood. This place is ſurrounded with extenſive valleys and fine paſturage, and our accommodation was better than the preceding night. Here we met Mr. Firſoff, colonel of the coſſacks, or militia of Selinginſky, with a ſquadron of horſe, armed with bows and arrows, and ſome firelocks, who came to eſcort the ambaſſador to that place.

The 29th of May, we mounted early, and, by means of our coſſacks, hunted and ranged the woods, as we went along, in the manner of this country, called oblave in the Ruſſian language. Their method is to form a ſemi-circle of horſemen, armed with bows and arrows, in order to incloſe the game. Within the ſemi-circle a few young men are placed, who give notice when the game is ſprung; thoſe only are permitted to purſue, the others being confined to keep their ranks. Our coſſacks with their arrows, killed three deers, and ſeveral hares: and, if killing harmleſs animals can be called diverſion, this may properly be reckoned one of the fineſt. After this faſhion they hunt bears, wolves, foxes, and wild boars.

About noon, we came to a village on the Selinga, where we halted a few hours, and then croſſed the river in boats, which was near a mile broad at this place. Our coſſacks, however, fought no boats, except one to tranſport their arms, cloaths, and ſaddles; which being done, all of them mounted their horſes, and plunged into the river without the leaſt concern. As ſoon as the horſes were ſet a ſwimming, for eaſe to them the men diſmounted, and laying hold of the mane with one hand, guided them gently by the bridle with the other. This is the common method in this country of tranſporting men and horſes, which I look upon to be both ſafe and eaſy, provided the horſe is managed with a gentle hand, without checking him with ſudden jerks of the bridle.

We halted a little, after croſſing the river, till the horſes were dried; after which we mounted, and, in the evening, arrived at the town of Selinginſky, where we intended to wait for our barks, and the reſt of our people.

Selinginſky is ſituated on the eaſt bank of the noble river Selinga, in a deep, barren, ſandy ſoil, that produces almoſt nothing. The choice of this ſituation was extremely injudicious; for, had the founders gone but half a mile further down, to the place where now the inhabitants have their gardens, they would have had a ſituation, in every reſpect, preferable to the preſent.

This place conſiſts of about two hundred houſes and two churches, which are all of them built with wood. It is defended by a fortification of ſtrong palliſades, on which are mounted ſome cannon.

About a mile eaſtward of the town is a ridge of high hills, quite covered with wood. On the other ſide of the river the country is open, dry, and ſomewhat barren, but affords excellent paſture, particularly for ſheep, whereof the Buraty, the inhabitants, have large flocks. They are of that kind which hath broad tails; and their mutton is very good. Theſe people have, beſides, a large ſort of horned cattle, and abundance of horſes and camels, wherein all their riches conſiſt. Here ends the tribe of the Buraty; and the nation of the Mongalls begins.

The Mongalls are a numerous people, and occupy a large extent of country, from this place to the Kallgan, which ſignifies the Everlaſting Wall, or the great wall of China.

China. From this wall, they ſtretch themſelves northward, as far as the river Amoor, and from the Amoor weſtward to the Baykall Sea, where they border with the territories of the Kontayſha, or prince of the Black Kalmucks. On the ſouth, they are bounded by a nation called Tonguts, among whom the Delay-Lama has his reſidence. One may eaſily imagine, from the vaſt tract of land which the Mongalls occupy, that they muſt be very numerous, eſpecially when it is conſidered that they live in a healthy climate, and have been engaged in no wars ſince they were conquered, partly by the Ruſſians on the weſt, and partly by the Chineſe on the eaſt; to whom all theſe people are now tributaries. In former times, the Mongalls were troubleſome neighbours to the Chineſe, againſt whoſe incurſions the great wall was built.

Kamhi, the preſent Emperor of China, was the firſt who ſubdued theſe hardy Tartars, which he effected more by kind uſage and humanity than by his ſword; for theſe people are great lovers of liberty. The ſame gentle treatment hath been obſerved by the Ruſſians towards thoſe of them who are their ſubjects. And they themſelves confeſs, that, under the protection of theſe two mighty Emperors, they enjoy more liberty, and live more at eaſe, than they formerly did under their own princes.

The preſent prince of Mongalia is called Tuſh-du-Chan, and reſides about ſix days journey to the ſouth-eaſt from Selinginſky. The place is called Urga, and is near to where the Kutuchtu or high-prieſt inhabits. When the Mongalls ſubmitted themſelves to the Emperor of China, it was agreed, that the Tuſh-du-Chan ſhould ſtill maintain the name and authority of a prince over his people, but undertake no war nor expedition without the conſent of the Emperor; which has ſtrictly been obſerved ever ſince.

It is very remarkable, that in all the vaſt dominions of Mongalia, there is not ſo much as a ſingle houſe to be ſeen. All the people, even the prince and high-prieſt, live conſtantly in tents; and remove with their cattle from place to place, as conveniency requires.

Theſe people do not trouble themſelves with plowing or digging the ground in any faſhion, but are content with the produce of their flocks. Satisfied with neceſſaries, without aiming at ſuperfluities, they purſue the moſt ancient and ſimple manner of life, which, I muſt confeſs, I think very pleaſant in ſuch a mild and dry climate.

From the river Volga to the wall of China there are three great Tartar princes, the Ayuka-Chan, the Kontayſha, and the Tuſh-du-Chan. Theſe three mighty nations have almoſt the ſame features, religion, and language, and live in the ſame manner. It will eaſily be perceived, by caſting an eye on the map, what an extent of territory theſe princes poſſeſs, whoſe ſubjects go by the general name of Kalmucks. Few languages can carry a traveller over a greater extent of country than that of the Kalmucks. With the Arabic, indeed, a perſon may travel through many places of the eaſt, from Egypt to the court of the great Mogul; but with the Illyric he can travel much further than with either of the former, viz. from the Gulf of Venice to the utmoſt boundaries of Kamtzatſka; for the Ruſſian is a dialect of the Illyric.

The greateſt part of Mongalia is one continued waſte, except the places along the Amoor, and towards the Ruſſian borders on the weſt. The ſoil alſo to the ſouth from Selinginſky, is exceedingly fine, and capable, by proper culture, of producing grain of ſeveral ſorts.

Since I have mentioned the Amoor, I preſume this will be no improper place to give ſome account of that river. It is called by the Tartars Shaggalynoulla, or the Black Dragon, I ſuppoſe from the colour of its waters, and the windings of its courſe. It is formed of two large rivers, whoſe ſources are in the deſert, far to the eaſtward of this place. One is called Argun, which iſſues from a lake named Delay; the other is

Ingoda, on the north bank of which ſtands the famous Ruſſian town Nertzinſky. The conflux of theſe rivers produces the Amoor, which runs towards the eaſt, augmenting daily by means of the many great and ſmall ſtreams it receives, till it becomes one of the largeſt rivers in this part of the world, and, after a long courſe, diſcharges itſelf into the Eaſtern or Chineſe ocean. It is remarkable, that from Cazan to theſe parts, the Amoor is the only river that runs eaſtward. Moſt, if not all, of the great rivers in Siberia have their courſes to the north and north-weſt.

Our barks arrived at Selinginſky on the 4th of June. After we had taken out of them what neceſſaries we wanted, they were diſpatched with the reſt of the baggage, for their greater ſecurity, to His Majeſty's ſtore-houſe at Strealka, about four miles up the river, where the caravan for China then lay.

In the mean time, the ambaſſador wrote a letter to the Allegada, or prime miniſter, at the imperial court of Pekin, to notify his arrival, and deſire his excellency would give orders for his reception on the borders. This letter was ſent to the prince of Mongalia, to be by him forwarded to court; for no ſtrangers are allowed to travel through his territories to China without his permiſſion. The officer who carried the letter to the prince, was treated with great civility, and his letter immediately ſent to court by an expreſs. A few days after, the prince ſent two gentlemen, one of whom was a lama, to congratulate the ambaſſador on his arrival in theſe parts. They were invited to dine with the ambaſſador, and behaved very decently.

The ſame officer, who carried the ambaſſador's letter to the prince of Mongalia at Urga, was ordered to preſent his compliments to the Kutuchtu, or high prieſt, who is a near relation of the prince. He received the officer in a very friendly manner, deſired him to ſit down in his preſence; an honour granted to very few, except ambaſſadors and pilgrims from remote countries; and, at his departure, gave him a preſent of ſome inconſiderable things, particularly a few pieces of Chineſe ſilks.

I cannot leave this venerable perſonage, without taking ſome notice of him. I ſhall therefore relate a few things concerning him, among thouſands more ridiculous, which the people in this country tell and believe.

This extraordinary man aſſumes to himſelf the character of omniſcience, which is the interpretation of the word Kutuchtu; and the people are taught to believe that he really knows all things paſt, preſent, and future. As his intelligence, by means of his lamas, is very extenſive, he is eaſily able to impoſe on the vulgar in this particular. They alſo believe that he is immortal, not that his body lives always, but that his ſoul, upon the decay of an old one, immediately tranſmigrates into ſome young human body, which, by certain marks, the lamas diſcover to be animated by the ſoul of the Kutuchtu, and he is accordingly treated as high prieſt.

When the ſpirit of the Kutuchtu has taken poſſeſſion of a new body, that is, in plain Engliſh, when he is dead, the lamas are immediately employed to diſcover in what part of the world this wonderful perſon is regenerated, or born again, as they expreſs it. They need, however, go to no great diſtance to find him; for, the affair being previouſly concerted among the chief lamas, they ſoon determine the choice of a ſucceſſor, who generally happens to be a young boy, that has been well inſtructed how to behave on that occaſion. When a ſucceſſor is pretended to be found, a company of lamas are ſent to examine the matter, who carry along with them many toys, ſuch as ſmall ſilver bells, and things of that nature, which belonged to the former Kutuchtu, intermixed with others that did not. All theſe are laid before the child, who picks out ſuch things as belonged to his predeceſſor, and diſcovers the greateſt fondneſs for them, but rejects with diſguſt whatever is not genuine. Beſides this trial,

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ſome queſtions are put to him relative to wars or remarkable events in his former ſtate, all which are anſwered to the ſatisfaction of the conclave; whereupon he is unanimouſly declared to be the ſelf-ſame Kutuchtu, is conducted with great pomp and ceremony to Urga, and lodged in the tent of the high prieſt.

Till the new Kutuchtu arrives at a certain age, he is entirely under the government of the lamas, and few are permitted to ſee him, except at a great diſtance, and even then it is not eaſy to get acceſs to him. It may ſeem ſurpriſing, that in ſo numerous an aſſembly of lamas no intrigues ſhould be carried on, nor diſputes ariſe among the electors. All is conducted without noiſe or contention. It is, however, imagined that the authority of the prince greatly contributes to their unanimity.

The Mongalls relate that their Kutuchtu now has lived fourteen generations, and renews his age every moon; for at the new moon he appears like a youth; when ſhe is full, like a full grown man; but when near the change, he is an old man with gray hairs.

What they call the Urga is the court, or the place where the prince and high prieſt reſide, who are always encamped at no great diſtance from one another. They have ſeveral thouſand tents about them, which are removed from time to time. The Urga is much frequented by merchants from China and Ruſſia, and other places, where all trade is carried on by barter, without money of any kind. The Chineſe bring hither ingots of gold, damaſks, and other ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, tea, and ſome porcelain, which are generally of an inferior quality, and proper for ſuch a market. The Ruſſian commodities are chiefly furs of all ſorts. Rhubarb is the principal article which is exchanged for theſe goods, great quantities whereof are produced in this country without any culture. The Mongalls gather and dry it in autumn, and bring it to this market, where it is bought up at an eaſy rate, both by the Ruſſian and Chineſe merchants.

Th eKutuchtu and his lamas are all clothed in yellow, and no layman is allowed to wear this colour except the prince. This mark of diſtinction makes them known and reſpected every where. They alſo wear about their neck a ſtring of beads, which are uſed in ſaying their prayers. The Mongalls believe in and worſhip one Almighty Creator of all things. They hold that the Kutuchtu is God's vicegerent on earth, and that there will be a ſtate of future rewards and puniſhments.

The following relation which I had from a Ruſſian merchant, to whom the thing happened, will ſhew the methods taken by theſe lamas to maintain the dignity and character of their mighty high prieſt. This merchant had gone to the Urga, with an intention to trade with the Chineſe. While he was at this place, ſome pieces of damaſk were ſtolen out of his tent. He made a complaint to ſome of the lamas with whom he was acquainted, and the matter was ſoon brought before the Kutuchtu, who immediately ordered proper ſteps to be taken with a view to find out the thief. The affair was conducted in this uncommon manner: one of the lamas took a bench with four feet, which ſeems to have been of the conjuring kind; after turning it ſeveral times in different directions, at laſt it pointed directly to the tent where the ſtolen goods lay concealed. The lama now mounted aſtride the bench, and ſoon carried it, or, as was commonly believed, it carried him, to the very tent, where he ordered the damaſk to be produced. The demand was directly complied with: for it is in vain, in ſuch caſes, to offer any excuſe.

I ſhall now ſubjoin a few obſervations on the Delay-Lama, or prieſt of the deſert, who is reckoned ſtill ſuperior to the Kutuchtu. He lives about a month's journey to the ſouth-eaſt of this place, among a people called the Tonguts, who uſe a different language from the Kalmucks. I am informed, that the religion of the Tonguts is the ſame with

that of the Mongalls; that they hold the ſame opinions with reſpect to the tranſmigration of the Delay-Lama, as the Mongalls do about the Kutuchtu, and that he is elected in the ſame manner. What appears moſt ſurpriſing is, that theſe two mighty lamas keep a good correſpondence, and never encroach on one another's privileges. The word *Delay* ſignifies either the ſea, or a great plain, ſuch as this prieſt inhabits.

CHAP. VI.—*Occurrences at Selinginſky; ſeveral Parties of Hunting; and Journey continued to Saratzyn, the Boundary between the Ruſſian and Chineſe Territories.*

THE Tonguts are a ſeparate people, governed by a prince whom they call Lazin-Chan. One of their princes was lately killed in an engagement with the Kontayſha, King of the Black Kalmucks. The Delay-Lama himſelf narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner, notwithſtanding all his foreſight. The Lama threatened the Kontayſha with many diſaſters, as the conſequences of ſuch proceedings. The Kontayſha, however, regarded them very little, till he had attained his ends; after which he generouſly reinſtated both the Prince and the Delay-Lama in their former dignity. The Kontayſha is of the ſame profeſſion with the Delay-Lama, and acknowledges his authority in religious matters.

I am informed there is a third lama, called Bogdu-Pantzin, of ſtill greater authority than either of the former. But as he lives at a great diſtance, near the frontiers of the Great Mogul, he is little known in theſe parts. Though I am unwilling to throw the leaſt reflection on any ſociety of men inſtituted for the promotion of religion and virtue, from all I can collect concerning theſe lamas, they are little better than ſhamans of ſuperior dignity.

The anſwer to the letter which the ambaſſador had written to Pekin was not yet arrived. In the mean time we were obliged to remain at Selinginſky, where we entertained ourſelves in the beſt manner we could.

June the 12th, walking along the bank of the river, I was a little ſurpriſed at the figure and dreſs of a man, ſtanding among a number of boys who were angling for ſmall fiſhes. The perſon bought all the fiſhes alive, and immediately let them go again into the river, which he did very gently one by one. The boys were very civil to him, though they looked upon him as diſtracted, on account of his behaviour. During this ceremony he took little notice of me, though I ſpoke to him ſeveral times. I ſoon perceived, by his dreſs, and the ſtreak of ſaffron on his forehead, that he was one of the Brachmans from India.

After ſetting all the fiſh a-ſwimming, he ſeemed much pleaſed; and, having learned a little of the Ruſſian language, and a ſmattering of the Portugueſe, began to converſe with me. I carried him to my lodgings, and offered to entertain him with a dram, but he would taſte nothing; for he ſaid it was againſt the rules of his religion to eat or drink with ſtrangers. I aſked him the reaſon why he bought the fiſh to let them go again? He told me, that perhaps the ſouls of ſome of his deceaſed friends or relations had taken poſſeſſion of theſe fiſhes; and, upon that ſuppoſition, it was his duty to relieve them; that, according to their law, no animal whatever ought to be killed or eaten; and they always lived on vegetables.

After this interview we became ſo familiar, that he came every day to viſit me. He was a cheerful man, about ſeventy years of age. He had a buſh of hair growing on his forehead very much matted, and at leaſt ſix feet in length. When it hung looſe it trailed upon the ground behind him; but he commonly wore it wrapped about his

head in form of a turban. The hair was not all his own, but collected as relics of his friends, and others of his profeſſion, reputed ſaints; all which he had intermixed and matted with his natural hair. Perſons of this character are called Faquers, and eſteemed ſacred every where.

He told me he was a native of Indoſtan, and had often been at Madras, which he called Chinpatan, and ſaid it belonged to the Engliſh. This circumſtance, added to ſeveral others, made me believe he was no impoſtor, but an innocent kind of creature, as are moſt of that ſect. He came to this country in company with ſome others of his countrymen, on a pilgrimage, in order to pay their devotions to the Kutuchtu and Delay-Lama. They had been twelve months on their journey, and had travelled all the way on foot, over many high mountains and waſte deſerts, where they were obliged to carry their proviſions, and even water, on their backs. I ſhewed him a map of Aſia, whereon he pointed out the courſe of his journey, but found many errors in the geography; and no wonder, ſince few Europeans would have had the reſolution to undertake ſuch a journey as this man had done.

The 14th, a chief named Tayſha, of theſe Mongalls who are ſubjects of His Majeſty, came to pay his reſpects to the ambaſſador, who gave him a friendly reception, and kept him to dinner. He was a merry old man, near fourſcore, but ſo vigorous that he could mount a horſe with as much agility as many young men. He was accompanied with five ſons, and many attendants, who treated him with equal reſpect as a king, and even his ſons would not ſit down in his preſence till he deſired them. I confeſs it gave me great pleaſure to ſee the decency with which they behaved. One of our company, a pretty fat man, aſked the Tayſha what he ſhould do in order to be as lean as he was? The old man replied in theſe words, "Eat leſs, and work more:" a ſaying worthy of Hippocrates himſelf. In his youth he had been engaged in many battles with the Chineſe, whom he held in great contempt. As he was a keen ſportſman, the ambaſſador made an appointment with him for a grand hunting match. After which he and his retinue returned to their tents.

The 15th, we dined at Strealka with the commiſſary, Mr. Stepnikoff, of the caravan going to China. Strealka is ſituated, as I formerly obſerved, about three or four miles up the river from Selinginſky, in a fruitful plain of a triangular figure, formed by the conflux of two fine rivers; the Strealka running from the eaſt, and the Selinga from the ſouth. This would have been the ſtrongeſt and moſt beautiful ſituation of any in this province, for the town of Selinginſky. I am informed that the founders had a view to this delightful place, but the choice was determined againſt them by ſuperſtitious lots, to which it was referred. This method of chooſing ſituations by lot has hurt many noble cities, and rendered the work of ages ineffectual to remedy the error.

The ſame evening we returned by water to Selinginſky, and next day went a hunting to the weſt of the Selinga. We had about two hundred Coſſacks along with us, who followed the common method of ranging the woods, mentioned above. We killed ſix roe-bucks, and many hares. In the evening we pitched our tents about a fountain, and feaſted on veniſon.

The 16th, early, we left the woods to our right, and deſcended into a barren plain, where we found great flocks of antelopes. Our people killed about twenty of them. Theſe animals avoid the woods, and frequent the open plains and deſerts. They are exceedingly ſwift and watchful; and ſo far reſemble ſheep, that if one breaks through the circle, the whole flock follows, though an hundred horſemen were in the way, which proves the deſtruction of many of theſe creatures. The noiſe of the arrows with which they are hunted, contributes much to their confuſion. The heads of theſe arrows

rows are broad, and fixed in a round bit of bone, with two holes in it, which makes them whiſtle as they fly through the air.

At noon we ſet up our tents near a lake of brackiſh water called Solonoy-oſera, or the ſalt lake. Round the edge lies a thick ſcurf of ſalt, as white as ſnow, which the inhabitants gather for uſe. Here we found great flocks of water-fowl, ſuch as ſwans, geeſe, ducks. The weather being very hot, we remained till next day.

The 17th, we hunted along the ſame waſte plain, directing our courſe to the ſouth, towards the river Selinga. This day alſo we had very good ſport. In the afternoon we pitched our tents near a ſpring of freſh water, which is no ſmall rarity in theſe parched deſerts, and is as much regarded here as a good inn would be in other parts of the world. I found at this place a prickly ſhrub about three feet high, with a beautiful ſmooth bark as yellow as gold.

The 18th, in the morning, we had terrible flaſhes of lightning, accompanied with thunder, and heavy ſhowers of hail and rain, which determined us to leave the plains, and return by the ſhorteſt road to Selinginſky. Beſides the game already mentioned, we found many large buſtards, which haunt the open country. As it is a very large bird, and riſes ſlowly, our light horſemen killed ſeveral of them with their arrows.

The 24th, arrived an officer from the court of Pekin, ſent on purpoſe to diſcover the number and quality of the embaſſy. This gentleman, whoſe name was Tuluſhin, was a Mantſhu Tartar by birth, and a member of the tribunal for weſtern affairs, with which he was very well acquainted. Theſe officers are called Surgutſky by the Mongalls, and by the Europeans Mandarin, a Portugueſe word derived from *mando*. He had formerly been in this country, and had learned the Ruſſian language. He pretended to have been employed on ſome buſineſs with the Tuſh-du-Chan at Urga, and, hearing of the ambaſſador's arrival, had come to pay his reſpects to him. It was, however, well known, that he was ſent to enquire whether the ambaſſador came on a friendly errand. He was received very kindly, and, after he had ſtaid three days and made his obſervations, returned very well ſatisfied. At his departure, he told the ambaſſador that orders would ſoon be given for his reception on the frontiers; but theſe could not be iſſued till his arrival at court, becauſe on his report the whole affair depended. This wiſe and cautious nation, jealous of all the world, ſuffer none to enter their territories but ſuch as bring friendly meſſages. By this circumſtance we were confined ſome time longer at Selinginſky.

I ſhall now give a deſcription of the courſe of the Selinga, according to the beſt information I could procure from thoſe who had been at its ſource. The Selinga is formed of two other rivers, called the Idyr and the Tzolato, coming from the mountains of Kungay, far to the ſouthward of this place. It is afterwards joined by two inconſiderable rivers, the Orchon from the ſouth-eaſt, and the Tzida from the ſouth-weſt, and laſtly by the Strealka from the eaſt, a little above the town of Selinginſky. At this place it is at leaſt twice the breadth of the river Thames, and is navigable a great way above it. The courſe now is due north, till it diſcharges itſelf into the Baykall lake. The ſource of this river is eſtimated at the diſtance of ten or twelve days journey above Selinginſky, which is the common method of computation in this country. It is plentifully furniſhed with variety of excellent fiſh. The omuly, which I formerly deſcribed, come in vaſt ſhoals from the Baykall in autumn up this river to ſpawn; after which they return to the ſea ſo weak that many of them are carried down floating on the ſurface of the ſtream. During the progreſs of the omuly up the river, the inhabitants of the adjacent villages aſſemble with their nets, and catch as many of them as they pleaſe. On this occaſion the poor take what they can uſe, and the reſt are left upon the banks.

Theſe

Theſe fiſhes advance up the river about ten miles a-day. On their firſt appearance the report is ſoon ſpread over the country, and in two or three hours the people catch as many as they need, either for preſent uſe or winter proviſions. The fiſh is very agreeable food, either freſh or ſalted. It is obſerved, they are much better and fatter the nearer they are caught to the ſea; a plain argument that, were they caught in the ſea, they would ſtill be preferable to any caught in the river. I have often thought, what ineſtimable treaſure theſe omuly would produce in other parts of the world, whereas here, the conſumption being ſmall, they are little valued. It is remarkable, that the omuly are not to be found at any ſeaſon in the Angara, or other rivers to the north of the Baykall.

July 5th, the Tayſha-Batyr arrived, in conſequence of his appointment with the ambaſſador, and brought along with him three hundred men, well mounted for the chace. This old gentleman had the appellation of Batyr; a title of great reſpect among the Mongalls. It ſignifies a hero; and is conferred only on thoſe who have ſignalized themſelves by their courage and conduct in the field of battle. Beſides theſe Mongalls, we carried with us fifty of our Coſſacks and our tents, as we propoſed to be abroad ſome days.

Early on the 6th, we took our way to the eaſtward, over high hills, and through tall woods, having almoſt no underwood to incommode the horſes, or interrupt our view, which made it very pleaſant. After riding a few miles, the Tayſha, being maſter of the chace, ordered his men to extend their lines. The Tayſha and we were in the center, and often ſaw the game paſs us, purſued by the horſemen at full ſpeed, without the leaſt noiſe, but the whiſtling of arrows. The horſes, being accuſtomed to this kind of ſport, follow the game as a greyhound does a hare; ſo that the riders lay the bridles on their necks, and attend to nothing but their bows and arrows. One may eaſily imagine the exquiſite entertainment, in ſeeing ſeveral of theſe horſemen in purſuit of an elk or ſtag through the valleys. When the animal is driven from the woods, it flies for ſafety to the neareſt rocks. Some of theſe creatures are nearly as large and ſtrong as the horſes that hunt them. The ſtags are of two kinds; one called zuber, the ſame with the German crownhirſh, but ſomewhat larger. The zuber is large and beautiful, and carries its head almoſt upright as it runs, which prevents its horns being entangled with branches of trees. There are none of them in Ruſſia, nor even in Siberia, except about the Baykall lake and eaſtward from it; the places farther to the north being too cold for them. The elk is larger than the ſtag, and ſtronger made, having alſo long branchy horns, but a little flat.

Tired with ſport, we left the hills in the afternoon, and came down into a fine valley, where we pitched our tents near a pure brook. The Tayſha then ordered all the dead game to be brought before him, and ranged in proper order. We found that this day we killed no leſs than five large elks, four ſtags, a dozen roe-bucks, ſeveral wolves and foxes, beſides fawns and hares.

The Tayſha cauſed the game to be divided among the huntſmen, who began immediately to dreſs it, ſome of them by boiling, others by broiling, and eat it without either bread or ſalt. The tails of the ſtags, which by theſe people are reckoned very delicate, fell to the Tayſha's ſhare. He cut them into ſlices, and eat them raw. I eat a bit of one of them, and thought it very palatable. The taſte reſembled nothing ſo much as that of freſh caviare. After we had feaſted on variety of excellent veniſon, for we had no other proviſions, we went to reſt, well ſatisfied with the diverſion of the day.

July 7th, early in the morning, we left the plains, and directed our courſe eaſtward, in the ſame order we obſerved the preceding day. As our ſport was much the ſame, I

need not mention the particulars. About noon we pitched our tents near a ſpring of freſh water, in a valley where the graſs was about two feet long. This circumſtance is a proof of the goodneſs of the ſoil, which in my opinion cannot fail, if properly cultivated, to produce any kind of grain. As the weather was exceſſively hot, we ſtaid in this place till next day.

July 8th, we continued our ſport in the woods till noon, when we came into an extenſive plain, in which we ſet up our tents, near a ſpring of brackiſh water. In this place we obſerved ſeveral flocks of antelopes, which we reſerved for next day's hunting.

In the morning our Tayſha diſpatched ſome of his horſemen to the tops of the hills, in order to diſcover where the antelopes were feeding; which, as I formerly obſerved, are the moſt watchful, and, at the ſame time, the ſwifteſt animals in the world. When they returned we extended our wings to a great diſtance, that we might ſurround theſe creatures with the greater eaſe, and before noon our people killed above twenty of them. After which, we returned to our tents that were left ſtanding in the morning.

July 10th, we took leave of the Tayſha, whoſe tents were to the eaſt of this place, and returned next day to Selinginſky.

During this ſhort excurſion I could not enough admire the beauty of the country through which we paſſed. The gentle riſing of the hills, many of which have their tops only covered with wood, and the fertility of the vales, contribute to form one of the moſt delightful landſcapes the world can afford. To this may be added the temperature and dryneſs of the climate, in which reſpect this far exceeds any country with which I am acquainted. After midſummer there is almoſt no rain till December, when the ſnow falls, and in ſuch moderate quantities, that it does not hinder the cattle from lying abroad all the winter.

In ſurveying theſe fertile plains and pleaſant woods, I have often entertained myſelf with painting, in my own imagination, the neat villages, country-ſeats, and farm-houſes, which, in proceſs of time, may be erected on the banks of the rivers, and brows of the hills. There is here waſte land enough to maintain, with eaſy labour, ſeveral European nations, who are at preſent confined to barren and ungrateful ſoils; and with regard to the Mongalls, whoſe honeſty and ſimplicity of manners are not unamiable, I ſhould like them very well for neighbours.

From what I have read of North America, I am of opinion, that this country reſembles none ſo much as ſome of our colonies in that quarter of the world, particularly the inland parts of Pennſylvania and Maryland. Both countries lie nearly in the ſame latitude; in one we find great lakes and mighty rivers; in the other, the Baykall Sea and rivers, which for the length of their courſe and quantity of water, may be ranked with any in the weſtern world.

Having reſted ourſelves a few days after our fatigue, on the 16th of July, we ſet out on another hunting-match, attended by our own Coſſacks, and a few of the neighbouring Mongalls. We went on this occaſion farther northward, and nearer to the Baykall lake than in our former expedition. Our ſport was almoſt of the ſame kind as already deſcribed. I ſhall only add, that both the ſtag and elk ſhed their horns once a year; at which time they retire to thickets and ſolitary places till their horns begin to ſpring again. It is ſurpriſing that animals ſo large, with ſuch prodigious weight of branchy horns, ſhould run with almoſt incredible ſpeed through the thickeſt woods, without entangling themſelves: but, to avoid this misfortune, they point their noſes always parallel to the horizon. When either the elk or ſtag are cloſely attacked, they make a vigorous defence both with horns and hoofs. At rutting-time eſpecially, theſe creatures

tures are ſo very furious, that it is extremely dangerous for any perſon to approach their haunts; they will then run at a man full ſpeed, and, if he eſcapes being wounded by their horns, will trample him to death with their ſharp hoofs. As the weather was exceſſively hot, we kept the field only two days, and then returned to Selinginſky.

July 20th, another Mandarin arrived from Pekin, accompanied by an officer from Arga, who brought a letter to the ambaſſador from the Tuſh-du-Chan, acquainting him, that he might ſoon expect a perſon, properly authoriſed, to conduct him to the imperial city. No news could be more agreeable. We hoped now to be ſoon releaſed from this ſolitary place, and arrive at the end of our journey. We were indeed well enough lodged, and wanted neither the neceſſaries nor conveniencies of life. The abundance of rural diverſions which this place afforded, coinciding happily with the genius of moſt of our gentlemen, and the harmony that ſubſiſted among the retinue, though compoſed of people from moſt nations in Europe, and ſome from Aſia, contributed not a little to our paſſing the time very agreeably. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, and the affability and courteous behaviour of the ambaſſador, which heightened them all, we were uneaſy at being detained ſo long on the frontiers. We were apprehenſive that ſome accident might happen to prevent our journey, eſpecially as it was reported among the Mongalls, that the Emperor of China, being far advanced in years, was ſometimes ſick, and not diſpoſed to receive foreign miniſters.

The 24th, there fell ſuch a ſhower of hail-ſtones as no man then alive had ever ſeen. It was happy for us we were not then abroad, as the open field affords no kind of ſhelter. The hail lay ſome days in the woods and cooled the air, which before that time had been exceſſively hot. This day the Kutuchtu ſent two lamas to compliment the ambaſſador, to wiſh him a good journey, and a happy ſight of the Emperor, or Boghdoy-chan, as he is called by theſe people.

Auguſt 9th, a courier arrived from Pekin, who told the ambaſſador that he had paſſed our conductor on the road, and that we ſhould now prepare for our journey to the capital, as that gentleman would arrive in a few days.

On the 24th, our conductor, called Lomy, at laſt arrived. He was by birth a Mantſhu Tartar, and a member of the court for the weſtern department. After remaining with us for ſome days, he returned to Yolla, a place upon the border, in order to procure horſes and camels for our journey.

September 8th, we ſent our baggage by water to Strealka, and next day we followed it. We lived in tents while we ſtaid at this place, till horſes and camels were got ready. In the mean time, our people were employed in packing up the baggage into proper loads for camels. Strealka, I formerly obſerved, is the place where His Majeſty's commiſſary of the caravan has his abode, and the government of Siberia their ſtorehouſes. I imagine, therefore, it will not be improper, before we proceed, to give ſome account of the trade carried on from this place.

Formerly the fur trade was free to all His Majeſty's ſubjects, both Ruſſians and Tartars. The merchants repaired to Siberia at the proper ſeaſons, where they bought at cheap rates, all the rich furs they could find, and diſpoſed of them in Perſia, Turkey, and Poland, at a price much below the real value. The government of Siberia perceived a very conſiderable diminution of the revenue in that country, and ſoon diſcovered the true cauſe of it; which was, that a great part of the furs belonging to His Majeſty remained unſold. Upon inquiry, it appeared that this was owing to the foreign markets being ſupplied with theſe commodities at low rates, by the ſubjects, before the goods belonging to the government could be expoſed to ſale. The government of Siberia repreſented to His Majeſty the loſs of ſo conſiderable a branch of his revenue; in

conſequence of which, an order was immediately iſſued, prohibiting all private perſons for the future to export ſables in particular. Since this regulation took place, the government have ſent their own furs, generally once in three years, by caravans to China. The value of one of theſe caravans is reckoned to amount to four or five thouſand roubles, and yields a return of at leaſt double that ſum. The Emperor of China, from regard to the friendſhip and good neighbourhood of His Majeſty, gives the caravans free quarters, and liberty to diſpoſe of their goods, and buy others, without exacting any impoſt. At firſt, the Emperor not only gave the caravan free quarters, but alſo maintained, at his own charge, both men and horſes during their ſtay in Pekin. This laſt expreſſion of His Majeſty's bounty is, however, now withdrawn.

September 15th, our conductor having acquainted the ambaſſador that the horſes and camels were ready, our baggage was diſpatched to the frontiers, eſcorted by our own ſoldiers and ſome Coſſacks; though indeed there was no great occaſion for any guard, as the Mongalls ſeem to have little uſe for any thing that belonged to us.

After dining with the commiſſary of the caravan at Strealka, on the 18th, we left that place in the evening, accompanied with the commiſſary and moſt of the officers at Selinginſky. After we had travelled about twenty Engliſh miles to the ſouth-eaſt, through fine plains covered with exceeding long graſs, we arrived at the end of the firſt ſtage called Kolludtzy, where we found our tents, which had been ſent off in the morning, ready for our reception. This day we ſaw ſome ſcattered tents of Mongalians with their flocks.

Next day, we travelled about twenty miles farther to a ſingle houſe, built by the commiſſary for a ſhade to his cattle in winter. We hunted all the way through a pleaſant country, interſperſed with little hills covered with wood, but ſaw as few inhabitants as the day before.

The 20th, about noon, we reached a place called Saratzyn, or the New Moon, ſituated on the bank of a rivulet of the ſame name. This rivulet is the boundary between the Ruſſian and Chineſe territories, and ſeparates two of the moſt mighty monarchies in the world. The diſtance between Selinginſky and this place is computed to be about one hundred and four verſt, nearly ſeventy Engliſh miles.

The conductor was encamped on the eaſt ſide of the rivulet, and we pitched our tents on the other. The ground on both ſides riſes a little, and the ſoil ſeems to be extremely good. The graſs is rank and thick, and, as the ſeaſon is very dry, would, with little labour, make excellent hay. This graſs is often ſet on fire by the Mongalls in the ſpring during high winds. At ſuch times it burns moſt furiouſly, running like wild-fire, and ſpreading its flames to the diſtance of perhaps ten or twenty miles, till its progreſs is interrupted by ſome river or barren hill. The impetuoſity of theſe flames, their ſmoke and crackling noiſe, cannot eaſily be conceived by thoſe who have not ſeen them. When any perſon finds himſelf to the leeward of them, the only method by which he can ſave himſelf from their fury, is to kindle immediately the graſs where he ſtands, and follow his own fire. For this purpoſe, every perſon is provided with flints, ſteel, and tinder. The reaſon why the Mongalls ſet fire to the graſs, is to procure early paſture for their cattle. The aſhes left upon the ground ſink into the earth at the melting of the ſnow, and prove an excellent manure; ſo that the graſs in the ſpring riſes on the lands, which have been prepared in this manner, as thick as a field of wheat. Caravans, travellers with merchandiſe, but eſpecially armies, never encamp upon this rank graſs. And there are ſeveral inſtances of conſiderable bodies of men being put in confuſion, and even defeated, by the enemy's ſetting fire to the graſs.

Before

Before I leave the Ruſſian territories, I ſhall give ſome account of the marches between theſe two famous empires. The frontier, according to the beſt information I could procure, begins a great way weſtward of this place, near the ſource of the river Dzida; from thence it proceeds to the eaſt, croſſing the Selinga, and runs along the tops of the hills, inclining ſometimes to the north, and ſometimes to the ſouth, till it meets with the rivulet Saratzyn. It runs then in a very irregular line, varying its direction according to the courſe of the rivers and brooks, or from the top of one hill to ſome other remarkable point in view, pointing in general towards the north-eaſt, till it ends at the river Argun, which, together with the Ingoda, forms the Amoor. This boundary includes a vaſt tract of excellent land on the Ruſſian ſide; and that part of the Mongalls who inhabit it, being ſtout men, and living much at eaſe, will in time become a numerous people.

The marches were ſettled upon the preſent footing about twenty-five years ago, on the following occaſion: the Mongalls, on the Chineſe ſide, alledged that their countrymen, ſubjects of Ruſſia, encroached on their borders, which created ſome diſputes between the two nations. The cauſes of this miſunderſtanding being repreſented to the two courts, it was agreed to ſend miniſters, with full powers, to terminate the affair in an amicable manner. His Majeſty's miniſter, Theodore Alexiovitz Golovin, met the Chineſe plenipotentiaries on the frontiers, in the neighbourhood of Nertſhinſky, a conſiderable town belonging to Ruſſia, near the river Amoor. All matters were ſoon accommodated to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties, on the footing of *uti poſſidetis*; i. e. each of the parties retaining the people and territories that then belonged to them.

This determination kept all quiet for ſome time. The Chineſe, however, ſoon appeared to be diſſatisfied with the deciſion, and want to have the marches reviewed; to which, in my opinion, the Ruſſians will not eaſily aſſent.

The 21ſt, the conductor came to congratulate the ambaſſador on his arrival at the borders, and acquainted him, that the horſes and camels being ready, he might proceed when he pleaſed. I cannot omit an inconſiderable circumſtance that happened at this place, as it ſtrongly repreſents the caution and prudence of the Chineſe. Our conductor having ſeen ſome women walking in the fields, aſked the ambaſſador who they were, and whither they were going? He was told they belonged to the retinue, and were going along with it to China.

He replied, they had women enough in Pekin already; and as there never had been an European woman in China, he could not be anſwerable for introducing the firſt, without a ſpecial order from the Emperor. But if his Excellency would wait for an anſwer, he would diſpatch a courier to court for that purpoſe. The return of this meſſenger could not be ſooner than ſix weeks; it was therefore thought more expedient to ſend back the women to Selinginſky, with the waggons that brought our baggage to this place.

CHAP. VII.—*From paſſing the Saratzyn, and entering the Chineſe Territories, to our Arrival at the Wall of China.*

THE 22d of September, having loaded the camels with our baggage, and procured carriages for the boxes that contained His Majeſty's preſents to the Emperor, which were too large for camels to bear, we mounted and paſſed the Saratzyn, and ſoon entered the Chineſe territories. We travelled fifteen miles, when we arrived, about evening, at the river Orchon, running with a ſmooth ſtream to the north. The carriages retarded our progreſs greatly, as the horſes were ſprightly, and unaccuſtomed to draught.

This

This day we commenced guefts of the Emperor of China, who entertains all ambaſſadors, and bears their expences, from the day they enter his dominions, till the time they quit them again. Our retinue conſiſted of about one hundred perſons, who were allowed fifteen ſheep every day. The overplus of this large allowance was given to the Mongalls who drove the camels. Beſides mutton and beef, there is no other kind of proviſion to be found, till you come within the wall of China. The mutton is of a middle ſize; but, I muſt confeſs, exceeding fine. The conductor was attended by an officer from the Tuſhdu-Chan, who procured, from the Mongalls encamped neareſt our road, what ſheep we wanted. The camels were very tractable and ſtooped to take on their loads. But the horſes were at firſt very unmanageable. Many of them had never before been employed for any uſe, and were ſaddled with great difficulty, but mounted with much more; for the very ſmell of our clothes, which they perceived to be different from that of the Mongalls, their maſters, made them ſnort and ſpring with great fury. They were eaſily managed notwithſtanding, when we got upon their backs.

Our road this day lay through fine plains and vallies, covered with rank graſs; but not a ſingle tent was to be ſeen. I inquired why ſuch a fine ſoil was without inhabitants, and was told, that the Chineſe had forbid the Mongalls to encamp ſo near the Ruſſian borders, for fear of being allured to paſs over to their territories, as many had formerly done. Theſe fruitful vallies are ſurrounded with pleaſant hills, of eaſy aſcent, whoſe ſummits are covered with tufts of trees. Many of theſe tufts being of a circular figure, and having no underwood, appear as if they had been planted and pruned by art; others are irregular, and ſometimes a ridge of trees runs from one hill to another. Theſe objects afford a proſpect ſo pleaſing to the eye, and ſo ſeldom to be found, that one cannot help being charmed. And this pleaſure is ſtill heightened by the gentle-flowing rivulets, abounding with fiſh, and plenty of game in the vallies, and among the trees.

The 23d, we ſet out early, and came to a rivulet called Ira, running to the north-weſt, till it falls into the Orchon, which we paſſed, and pitched our tents on the other ſide. The rank graſs by accident took fire, and had not water been at hand to extinguiſh it, and the weather very calm, the conſequences might have been fatal. We travelled farther this day than the former, as fewer inconveniences aroſe from the reſtifneſs of the horſes.

The 24th, we continued our journey towards the ſouth-eaſt, along ſmooth roads, through a pleaſant country; and, at evening, reached a rivulet called Shora, or the yellow rivulet, on the banks of which we ſet up our tents. The vallies now were more contracted, and leſs wood upon the hills than formerly.

The 25th, we came to a rivulet called Kara, or the black rivulet, from the colour of the water, which is tinged by the richneſs of the ſoil.

The 26th, we proceeded. The country retained much the ſame appearance, and the weather was very fine; but not a ſingle inhabitant was yet to be ſeen. In the evening, I walked from our tents, with ſome of our company, to the top of a neighbouring hill, where I found many plants of excellent rhubarb; and, by the help of a ſtick, dug up as much as I wanted.

On theſe hills are a great number of animals called marmots, of a browniſh colour, having feet like a badger, and nearly of the ſame ſize. They make deep burrows on the declivities of the hills; and it is ſaid, that in winter they continue in theſe holes, for a certain time, even without food. At this ſeaſon, however, they ſit or lie near their burrows, keeping a ſtrict watch; and, at the approach of danger, rear themſelves upon their

their hind feet, giving a loud whiſtle like a man, to call in the ſtragglers; and then drop into their holes in a moment.

I ſhould not have mentioned an animal ſo well known as the marmot, had it not been on account of the rhubarb. Wherever you ſee ten or twenty plants growing, you are ſure of finding ſeveral burrows under the ſhades of their broad ſpreading leaves. Perhaps they may ſometimes eat the leaves and roots of this plant. However, it is probable the manure they leave about the roots contributes not a little to its increaſe; and their caſting up the earth, makes it ſhoot out young buds and multiply. This plant does not run and ſpread itſelf like docks, and others of the ſame ſpecies, but grows in tufts at uncertain diſtances, as if the ſeeds had been dropped with deſign. It appears that the Mongalls never accounted it worth cultivating, but that the world is obliged to the marmots for the quantities ſcattered at random in many parts of this country; for whatever part of the ripe ſeed happens to be blown among the thick graſs, can very ſeldom reach the ground, but muſt there wither and die; whereas, ſhould it fall among the looſe earth, thrown up by the marmots, it immediately takes root, and produces a new plant.

After digging and gathering the rhubarb, the Mongalls cut the large roots into ſmall pieces, in order to make them dry more readily. In the middle of every piece they ſcoop a hole, through which a cord is drawn, in order to ſuſpend them in any convenient place. They hang them, for moſt part, about their tents, and ſometimes on the horns of their ſheep. This is a moſt pernicious cuſtom, as it deſtroys ſome of the beſt part of the root; for all about the hole is rotten and uſeleſs; whereas, were people rightly informed how to dig and dry this plant, there would not be one pound of refuſe in an hundred, which would ſave a great deal of trouble and expence, that much diminiſh the profits on this commodity. At preſent, the dealers in this article think theſe improvements not worthy of their attention, as their gains are more conſiderable on this than on any other branch of trade. Perhaps the government may hereafter think it proper to make ſome regulations with regard to this matter.

I have been more particular in deſcribing the growth and management of the rhubarb, becauſe I never met with an author or perſon who could give a ſatisfactory account, where, or how it grows. I am perſuaded, that, in ſuch a dry climate as this, it might eaſily be ſo cultivated as to produce any quantity that could be wanted.

I omit any computation of the diſtances of places along this road, as the whole of it, from the borders to Pekin, has been meaſured by a wheel, or machine, given to the caravan by the governor of Siberia, for that purpoſe. I ſhall afterwards ſubjoin the exact diſtances taken from this meaſurement.

The 27th and 28th, we purſued the ſame road, over hills and through vallies; for, though few travel this way, the caravans, with their heavy carriages, leave ſuch marks as are not ſoon effaced. It is only of late that the caravans travelled this road. Formerly they went farther to the north, by a Ruſſian town called Nertzinſky, and thence to a Chineſe city called Naun. That road is more convenient than the preſent, as it lies through places better inhabited; but the preſent is ſhorter, and therefore taken by moſt travellers.

The 29th, we reached a river called Buroy, where we lodged. At this dry ſeaſon all theſe rivers are fordable; and they abound with ſturgeon and other fiſh. Next morning, Mr. Venant, our chief cook, dropped down, as he was coming out of his tent, and immediately expired, notwithſtanding all poſſible care was taken for his recovery. We interred him as decently as time and circumſtances would admit; and proceeded to a river called Borgualty, where we pitched our tents for this night.

October 1ſt, after a long day's journey, we reached a rivulet called Koyra. The face of the country appeared nearly the ſame as formerly.

The 2d, after another long march, we came to the banks of the river Tola, the largeſt we had ſeen ſince we left the Selinga.

Next day we croſſed the Tola, at a pretty deep ford, where the river was in breadth about the flight of an arrow at point blank. It was noon before our camels got over, and too late to proceed. We were therefore obliged to ſet up our tents on the eaſt bank of the river, which was overgrown with tall oziers.

Here our conductor furniſhed us with freſh horſes and camels. From the borders to this place our ſtages were regulated by brooks and rivers, for the conveniency of getting water: and, for the ſame reaſon, as there are no rivers nor brooks from hence to the wall of China, fountains and ſprings will be our only ſtages.

On the banks of the Tola, we found many Mongalls encamped, with numerous flocks of cattle, being the firſt inhabitants we had ſeen ſince our leaving the border. The Ruſſians, and the Mongalls who are ſubjects of Ruſſia, claim all the country weſtward from the Tola, which, they ſay, is the natural boundary between the two empires. This would indeed be a conſiderable addition to the dominions of Ruſſia: but as both theſe mighty monarchs are abundantly provided with a vaſt extent of territory, neither party think it worth while to diſpute about a few hundred miles of property, which obtained would perhaps not balance the coſt, or contribute but little to the advantage of either.

The appearance of the country was now greatly altered to the worſe. We ſaw no more pleaſant hills and woods; neither could I find one ſingle plant of rhubarb. The ſoil was dry and barren, and the graſs not to be compared to what we had already paſſed over.

The 4th, after every man had drunk his fill of the pure and wholeſome water of Tola, and filled his bottle with it, we departed with ſome regret, as we could hope for no more rivers or brooks till we came to the wall of China. We ſoon entered the deſert, commonly named by the Mongalls the Hungry Deſert. How far it deſerves that title, will be ſeen as we advance.

In the evening, we reached ſome pits, called Tolatologoy, of brackiſh water, where we pitched our tents. The road ſtill pointed to the ſouth-eaſt, with little variation, over grounds that roſe a little at firſt, but afterwards gradually declined. We ſaw many Mongalian tents and cattle diſperſed along the deſert.

The 5th, we ſet out again; and in the evening, came to ſome fountains, called Chelo-tologoy, of pretty freſh water. The country was quite level, and appeared to the eye as plain as the ſea. The ſoil was dry, barren, and gravelly, and neither tree nor buſh to be ſeen; a proſpect not very agreeable.

The 6th, early in the morning, we proceeded eaſtward, through the ſame ſort of flat country. The weather was very fine, and the roads excellent. In the evening, we arrived at a pool called Tylack, of brackiſh water, where we remained the following night. This day we ſaw ſeveral large flocks of antelopes, and ſome Mongalls in their tents, which was no diſagreeable object in this continued plain. We paſſed few of theſe tents without viſiting them, where we always found an hoſpitable reception, and were entertained with ſome zaturan, a kind of tea which I formerly deſcribed. And, if we happened to ſtay till our baggage was gone out of ſight, the landlord conducted us by the ſhorteſt way to the ſprings that terminated the next ſtage.

The next day, we came to the wells called Gachun. Our biſcuit being now ſpent, we were reduced to live on mutton only, during the reſt of our journey through this

deſert; which we accounted no great hardſhip as it was extremely fine. It is not a little ſurpriſing, that, notwithſtanding the barren appearance of this unſheltered plain, the cattle are in good condition, but particularly the ſheep. The ſhort graſs, though in many places thinly ſcattered, muſt be of a very nouriſhing quality. This will naturally proceed from the climate, and the ſoil, which every where partakes of a nitrous quality, as plainly appears from the ſcurf of ſalt round the edges of the lakes and ponds, and the taſte of the water, generally brackiſh in the ſprings and pits.

The 8th, our conductor furniſhed us with a freſh ſet of cattle, which detained us later than our uſual time of ſetting out. This day, the ſoil was very much inclined to gravel, containing a number of red and yellow pebbles, many of which, being tranſparent, made a fine appearance while the ſun ſhone. We were informed there were ſometimes ſtones of value found here, which ſo much excited our curioſity, that each of us, every day, picked up a conſiderable quantity. On examination, moſt of them were thrown away, as altogether uſeleſs; the few we thought proper to retain were wrought into very good ſeals. A man might gather a buſhel of ſuch ſtones every day in this deſert. One of our people, a Grecian by birth, who underſtood ſomething of the nature of ſtones, found one that he called a yellow ſapphire, and valued it at fifty crowns. Perhaps theſe pebbles might be of that kind which the lapidaries call cornelian; for they are ſufficiently hard, and take a fine poliſh.

The 9th, we ſet out early, and travelled to a pool named Oko-toulgu. This day, a lama from the Kutuchtu, going to Pekin, joined our company, who, by his habit and equipage, ſeemed to be a perſon of eminence. In marching along the tedious deſert, the converſation turned on a terrible earthquake, which happened during the month of July laſt in China, between the long wall and Pekin, and had laid in ruins ſeveral villages and walled towns, and buried many people in their ruins. The lama inquired what was the opinion of the learned men in Europe concerning the cauſe of this phenomenon. We told him, it was commonly reckoned to be ſubterraneous fire; and then aſked, in our turn, to what cauſe ſuch extraordinary appearances were imputed by his countrymen: he replied, that ſome of their learned lamas had written, that God, after he had formed the earth, placed it on a golden frog; and, whenever this prodigious frog had occaſion to ſcratch its head, or ſtretch out its foot, that part of the earth immediately above was ſhaken. There was no reaſoning on a notion ſo fantaſtical; we therefore left the lama to pleaſe himſelf with his hypotheſis, and turned the diſcourſe to ſome other ſubject.

The 10th, we came to the ſprings called Korpartu. The appearance of things this day were almoſt the ſame as on the preceding days. The ſoil appeared ſo barren, that none of the common methods of improvement could make it bear any kind of grain, or even alter its preſent condition. The diſpoſitions of its inhabitants, the Mongalls, ſeem wonderfully ſuited to their ſituation, as they appear more contented with their condition than thoſe who poſſeſs the moſt fruitful countries.

In the evening of the 11th, we arrived at Khododu, where we found the water clear and pretty freſh, burſting in a ſtrong ſpring, from the gravelly earth, and running in a ſtream to a conſiderable diſtance, till it loſes itſelf in the ſand. This was the firſt running water we had ſeen ſince we left Tola. And we were as happy, while ſitting round this fountain, and broiling our mutton-chops, as others at a table plentifully furniſhed with Burgundy and Champaign. Our appetites were indeed very keen; to which daily exerciſe, the coldneſs of the air, and drinking nothing but water, greatly contributed.

Next morning, being the 12th, there was a little froſt upon the ground. Several flocks of gray plovers came to drink at the ſpring, of which our people killed as many as our preſent circumſtances required. Theſe poor harmleſs birds ſeemed inſenſible of danger; and, perhaps, they had never before heard the report of a gun; for, no ſooner was the piece fired, than they took a ſhort flight round the fountain, whiſtling as they flew, and immediately alighted to drink again. The plover is a pretty bird, and pleaſant to eat; and the ſoles of its feet are as hard as ſo much horn, which prevent its being hurt by the ſtones or gravel. In the evening, we came to the wells called Bouk-horlike, without any thing material happening, or any difference on the face of the country.

The 13th, we continued our journey to the wells of Burduruy, where we were again furniſhed with freſh horſes and camels.

The 14th, we came to a place called Kadan-Kachu, where we were obliged to dig a pit four feet deep, in order to procure water, which was very bad, having both a diſagreeable ſmell, and bitter taſte; but was drinkable, when boiled with ſome tea. We could, however, get none for our cattle, as the high wind filled the pits with ſand as faſt as we could dig them. The ſand is of a whitiſh colour, and ſo light and dry, that it is driven by the winds into your face and eyes, and becomes very diſagreeable. Moſt of our people, indeed, were provided with a piece of net-work, made of horſe-hair, which covered their eyes, and is very uſeful in drifts, either of ſand or ſnow.

The 15th, we travelled over deep ſands; and in the evening, arrived at other ſprings, called Tzaganteggerick. The wind continuing high, it was with much difficulty we ſet up our tents. It is to be obſerved that, on theſe deep and light ſands, our European tents are of little uſe, as there is no earth in which the tent-pins can be faſtened. The Tartar tents are much preferable; for, their figure being round and taper, like a bee-hive, the wind takes but little hold of them, and they ſtand equally well on a ſandy, or any other ſurface. They are, beſides, warmer, more eaſily erected, taken down, and tranſported.

The 16th, we left the deep ſand, and travelled along the ſame ſort of dry gravelly ground as formerly. In the evening, we pitched our tents at the ſprings called Sadjin. The variety of objects, in this dreary waſte, are ſo few, that in this, as well as in other reſpects, it much reſembles the ſea. Here one can ſee no farther than if he was placed on the ſurface of the water, out of ſight of land; the rounding of the globe, in both caſes, being the ſame. Sometimes, in the morning, I have been agreeably ſurpriſed in fancying I ſaw, at a ſmall diſtance, a fine river, having rows of trees growing upon its banks; but this was only a deception of the ſight, proceeding from the vapours magnifying ſome ſcattered ſhrubs into great trees.

The 17th, we came to ſome wells of very bad water, called Oudey, where we found freſh horſes and camels waiting for us. Our conductor reſolved to loſe no time, being apprehenſive that we might be overtaken in the deſert by the froſt and deep ſnow, which uſually happens at this ſeaſon. Such an event would have retarded our march, and incommoded us not a little in many reſpects. We therefore travelled as long ſtages as the convenience of water, and the ſtrength of our cattle, would permit.

The 18th, after a long day's journey, we came to the wells called Ulan-kala. We found, almoſt every day, Mongalls in their tents, which ſtood like ſo many hives, diſperſed through this ſolitary plain.

The 19th, we mounted again, and travelled to the ſprings named Tzilan-teggerick. This day we ſaw ſeveral flocks of antelopes; and, indeed, few days paſſed in which we did not ſee ſome of theſe animals.

The

The 20th, we came to a place called Ourandabu. The weather ſtill continued fair, the ſky clear, and the mornings froſty. The water at this place was tolerable; but we were obliged to dig for it. When it happened that we had a long ſtage from one ſpring to another, for fear of coming too late, we uſually ſent a couple of men before us, in order to gather fewel, and to dig pits, that the water might have time to ſettle before our arrival.

The 21ſt, we proceeded, and in the evening arrived at a lake of ſalt water. After digging, however, we found ſome freſher. Were it not that theſe lakes and pits are ſcattered through this deſert, it muſt have been altogether uninhabited, either by man or beaſt. This conſideration, among many others, has often led me to admire the infinite wiſdom of Almighty God, in the diſpenſations of his providence, for the ſupport of all his creatures.

In my opinion, theſe ſprings are produced by the rains and melted ſnow in the ſpring; for the water, ſinking in the ſand, is thereby prevented from being exhaled, in ſummer, by the heat of the ſun, which muſt be very ſcorching in this deſert, in which there is not the leaſt ſhade to be found.

The 22d, we quitted the ſalt lake, in a cold froſty morning, and a ſtrong northerly wind, which was very diſagreeable. At evening, we reached the wells of Kulat. Theſe pits take their names from the quality of the water, as ſalt, ſour, ſweet, bitter, or from the different tribes of people who inhabit the country in the neighbourhood.

In the midſt of our fatigues, we had the ſatisfaction to be among a friendly people, who did every thing in their power to leſſen our wants.

Next day, we reached the wells of Mingat. The weather, though cold, was not unpleaſant; and, the 24th, having got freſh horſes and camels, we came, in the evening, to a pond of brackiſh water, called Korunteer, upon the extremity of a diſmal bank of ſand, running acroſs our road.

The day following, we entered on the ſand-bank, along a narrow and crooked paſſage between two hillocks. Every one prayed for calm weather while we travelled over the ſand; which put me in mind of being at ſea. We continued our journey through deep ſand till about noon, when all our horſes and camels being tired, we halted in a hollow place, where we dug, and found very bad water. We remained here till next morning.

Our cattle being a little refreſhed, though they had been very indifferently fed among the ſand, where nothing was to be ſeen but ſome tufts of withered graſs, we ſet out again. Along this bank there is not the leaſt track or path of any kind; for the ſmalleſt blaſt of wind immediately effaces it, and renders all the ſurface ſmooth.

We had gone but a few miles, when moſt of our people were obliged to alight, and walk on foot, the horſes being quite tired with the deepneſs of the ſand; which made our progreſs extremely ſlow. The weather, fortunately, was ſtill very calm. About noon, we pitched our tents in a hollow place, encompaſſed with high hillocks of ſand. I obſerved that, in the open deſert, we had already paſſed, the proſpect was much confined; but here it was quite ſtraitened; for, if you aſcended one of theſe mounts, you could ſee nothing but mount riſing above mount, like ſo many ſugar-loaves, or rather like ſo many cupolas.

In the evening, it began to blow a little at north-eaſt, which drove about the light ſand like ſnow; but, about midnight, the wind roſe to ſuch an height, that all our tents were overſet at once, and our beds filled with ſand. As it was near morning, we thought it not worth while to pitch them again. We therefore prepared ourſelves to ſet out at dawn, in hopes of getting over the ſand-bank before night; which by riding

and walking by turns, in order to haſten our progreſs, we happily effected; and, in the evening, reached the ſprings of Kocatu.

At the place where we paſſed the ſand, it was not above twenty Engliſh miles in breadth, which took us up three days. We could have travelled four times that diſtance on the plain, with more eaſe both to ourſelves and cattle. I am informed this bank of ſand runs a great way ſouthward, and, in ſome places, is above thirty leagues broad. They, whoſe buſineſs calls them often to croſs the ſands, have thin leather coats made on purpoſe, and round pieces of glaſs tied before their eyes.

This ſand-bank appears like the waves of the ſea; for the hillocks, ſome of which are about twenty feet of perpendicular height, are of ſo light a nature, that the wind carries them from place to place, levelling one, and forming another:—and hence it is eaſy to conceive, that a weary traveller, lying down on the lee-ſide of one of theſe hillocks, might, in a few hours, be buried in the ſand; which is reported to have often happened in this and other ſandy deſerts.

The 28th, we proceeded along the plain to the ſprings called Chabertu. I cannot but take notice of the uncommon manner the people here have of killing their ſheep. They make a ſlit with a knife between two ribs, through which they put their hand, and ſqueeze the heart till the creature expires; by this method all the blood remains in the carcaſe. When the ſheep is dead, and hungry people cannot wait till the fleſh is regularly dreſſed, they generally cut the briſket and rump, wool and all, and broil them on the coals; then ſcrape off the ſinged wool and eat them. This I have found by experience to be no diſagreeable morſel, even without any kind of ſauce.

The next day, we travelled another ſtage to the wells of Saminſa, where we found better water than uſual. The length and thickneſs of the graſs ſhowed that the ſoil now began to mend. This day there fell ſome ſnow, and the wind was cold and northerly.

The 30th, we got freſh horſes, and proceeded to the ſprings of Krema. From the appearance of the graſs one would conclude, that the ſoil at this place was very fine. We ſaw great numbers of horſes belonging to the Emperor turned out to graze. Notwithſtanding all the haſte we had hitherto made, we were this day overtaken by a fall of ſnow, which proved very inconvenient, not ſo much on account of the cold, but it covered all fewel, ſo that we could find none to dreſs our victuals.

The 31ſt, we came to a place called Naringkaruſſu, where, to our great ſatisfaction, we found a ſmall brook of freſh water, and ſome Mongalian huts. I obſerved, that, from the ſand-bank eaſtward, the ſoil becomes gradually better every day. This was now the fortieth day ſince we left the border; during which time we had not halted one day, nor ſeen a ſingle houſe, and the twentieth and eight from the time we quitted the river Tola, and entered the deſert, in which we had neither ſeen river, tree, buſh, nor mountain. Though we were obliged now and then to fetch a compaſs, on account of the watering places, yet in general our courſe deviated but little from the ſouth-eaſt point.

The 1ſt of November, we halted at this place, that we might have time to put things in order before we paſſed the long wall, which was now at no great diſtance.

Next day, we proceeded; and about noon we could perceive the famous wall, running along the tops of the mountains, towards the north-eaſt. One of our people

people cried out LAND, as if we had been all this while at ſea. It was now, nearly as I can compute, about forty Engliſh miles from us, and appeared white at this diſtance. We could not this night reach the paſſage through the mountains, and therefore pitched our tents in the open plain as uſual. We now began to feel the effects of the cold; for the ſnow, continuing to lie upon the deſert, proved very inconvenient on many accounts, but particularly by retarding the progreſs of our heavy and cumberſome baggage. But we comforted ourſelves with the hopes of ſoon ſeeing an end of all our toils, and arriving in a rich and inhabited country; for, though all of our people were in good health, they began to be very weary of the deſert, and no wonder, as many of them had lain in the open field ever ſince we left Selinginſky.

November 3d, after travelling about an hour, we paſſed the veſtiges of a camp, which ſeemed to have been regularly deſigned. I was informed that the Emperor encamped here, when he led his troops againſt the Mongalls, called by the miſſionaries in China the Weſtern Tartars.

The nearer we came to the mountains we were the more ſurpriſed at the ſight of the ſo much celebrated wall of China, commonly called for its length the endleſs wall. The appearance of it, running from one high rock to another, with ſquare towers at certain intervals, even at this diſtance, is moſt magnificent.

About noon, we quitted the plain, and entered an opening between two mountains. To the left, the mountains are very high. On the right, they decline, as far as they are within view; but, I am told, they riſe again to a great height.

We deſcended by a narrow path about eight feet broad, between the mountains, till we came to a ſmall Chineſe monaſtery, ſituated on the declivity of a ſteep rock. Curioſity led us to viſit this ſolitary place: but the road being impaſſable to horſes, we alighted, and walked thither. On our arrival near the place, the monks came out to meet us, with the uſual friendly ſalutation of the country, which is performed by laying one of their hands on the other, and then ſhaking them, and pronouncing theſe words *Cho-loy-cho*. The compliment being returned, they conducted us into the apartments of their little chapel, and treated us with a diſh of green tea, which was very agreeable. In the chapel was a ſort of altar-piece, on which were placed ſeveral ſmall braſs images; and, in one of the corners, I obſerved a ſack filled with wheat. The habit of the monks was a long gown with wide ſleeves. On their heads was a ſmall cap, and their long lank hair hung down over their ſhoulders. They had very few hairs in their beards. This being the firſt Chineſe houſe we met with, I have on that account been more particular in deſcribing it. Every thing now appeared to us as if we had arrived in another world. We felt eſpecially a ſenſible alteration in the weather; for, inſtead of the cold bleak wind in the deſert, we had here a warm and pleaſant air.

We again proceeded along the narrow path, but of breadth ſufficient for a wheel carriage. The road being ſteep, and in many places rugged, we walked down the hill, and in half an hour came to the foot of it, where we found ourſelves ſurrounded on all ſides by high rocky mountains. Our route now lay along the ſouth ſide of a rivulet, full of great ſtones, which had fallen from the rocks in rainy weather. In the cliffs of the rocks, you ſee little ſcattered cottages, with ſpots of cultivated ground, much reſembling thoſe romantic figures of landſcapes which are painted on the China ware, and other manufactures of this country. Theſe are accounted fanciful by moſt Europeans, but are really natural.

After we had travelled about ſeven or eight miles, along the bank of the brook, we came in the evening to a Chineſe village, at the foot of a high mountain, where we lodged in clean rooms, with warm fires of charcoal. There were no chimneys in the rooms;

rooms; but, inſtead of theſe, the charcoal was put into a portable grate of braſs or iron, and allowed to burn clear in the open air; after which it was brought into the apartment. Though the deſert is one continued plain, it lies much higher than the plains and villages of China; for, when we entered the defile, the aſcent was very inconſiderable when compared with the deſcent on the other ſide.

Here we began to taſte of the fine fruits of China; for ſoon after our arrival in the village, our conductor ſent a preſent to the ambaſſador of ſome baſkets of fruits, conſiſting of water-melons, muſk-melons, ſweet and bitter oranges, peaches, apples, walnuts, cheſnuts, and ſeveral other ſorts which I never ſaw before, together with a jar of Chineſe arrack, proviſions of ſeveral ſorts, and ſome Chineſe bread, called bobon, made of wheaten flour, and baked over a pot with the ſteam of boiling water. It is very light, and not diſagreeable in taſte; at leaſt it ſeemed ſo to us, who had ſeen no bread for a month before.

Next day we halted to refreſh ourſelves after our long fatigue. I took this opportunity to walk up to the top of the mountain, in order to view the adjacent country, but could only ſee a continuation of the chain of mountains, riſing one above another, and to the northward ſome glimpſes of the long wall as it runs along them.

The 5th, we proceeded eaſtward down the ſouth bank of the river, whoſe channel was covered with great ſtones. The road is cut out of the rock for a conſiderable length at thoſe places where there is no natural paſſage between the rocks and the river, which muſt have been a work of great labour. This river cannot fail to be a complete torrent in time of great rains.

Having travelled about ſix or eight miles, we arrived at the famous wall of China. We entered at a great gate, which is ſhut every night, and always guarded by a thouſand men, under the command of two officers of diſtinction, one a Chineſe, and the other a Mantzur Tartar; for it is an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in China, and has prevailed ever ſince the conqueſt of the Tartars, that in all places of public truſt there muſt be a Chineſe and a Tartar inveſted with equal power. This rule is obſerved both in civil and military affairs. The Chineſe pretend, that two in an office are a ſort of ſpies upon one another's actions, and thereby many fraudulent practices are either prevented or detected.

CHAP. VIII.—*From the Wall of China to Pekin; our Entry into that City.*

AS ſoon as we had entered the gate, theſe two officers, and many ſubalterns, came to compliment the ambaſſador on his ſafe arrival; and aſked the favour of him to walk into the guard-room and drink a diſh of tea. We accordingly diſmounted, and went into a ſpacious hall on the ſouth ſide of the gate. This apartment was very clean, having benches all around, and is kept on purpoſe for the reception of perſons of diſtinction. We were entertained with a variety of fruits and confections, and ſeveral ſorts of tea. After ſtaying about half an hour, the ambaſſador took leave of the gentlemen, and we proceeded on our journey. We travelled about four miles farther, and came to a conſiderable town named Kalgan. At ſome diſtance from the place, we were met by the commandant, and the Mandarie Tuliſhin, who had paid us a viſit at Selinginſky. They accompanied the ambaſſador to his lodgings, which were in houſes apart from the reſt of the town; and proviſions were ſent us in great plenty.

From the wall to this place the country to the north begins to open, and contains ſome villages, corn-fields, and gardens.

The ſame evening, the ambaſſador and the gentlemen of the retinue were invited to ſup at the commandant's houſe, and horſes were ſent to carry us thither. We alighted in the outer-court, where the commandant in perſon waited for us, and conducted us through a neat inner-court into a hall, in the middle of which ſtood a large braſs chaffing-diſh, in ſhape of an urn, with a fire of charcoal in it. The floor was covered with mats, and the room quite ſet round with chairs, and little ſquare japanned tables. The ambaſſador ſat at a table by himſelf, and the reſt of the company at ſeparate tables, by two and two. We were firſt entertained with tea, and a dram of hot arrack; after which ſupper was brought, and placed on the tables, without either table-cloth, napkins, knives, or forks. Inſtead of forks were laid down to every perſon a couple of ivory pins, with which the Chineſe take up their meat. The diſhes were ſmall, and placed upon the table in the moſt regular manner, the vacancies being filled with ſaucers, containing pickles and bitter herbs. The entertainment conſiſted of pork, mutton, fowls, and two roaſted pigs. The carver ſits upon the floor, and executes his office with great dexterity. He cuts the fleſh into ſuch ſmall bits as may eaſily be taken up by the gueſts, without further trouble. The meat being cut up is given to the footmen, who ſupply the empty diſhes on the tables. The whole is ſerved in China-ware, and neither gold nor ſilver is to be ſeen. All the ſervants perform their duty with the utmoſt regularity, and without the leaſt noiſe. I muſt confeſs, I was never better pleaſed with any entertainment.

The victuals being removed, the deſert was placed on the tables in the ſame order, and conſiſted of a variety of fruits and confections. In the mean time a band of muſic was called in, which conſiſted of ten or twelve performers, on various but chiefly wind-inſtruments, ſo different from thoſe of that claſs in Europe, that I ſhall not pretend to deſcribe them. The muſic was accompanied with dancing, which was very entertaining. The dancers were nearly as numerous as the muſicians. Their performances were only a kind of geſticulation, conſiſting of many ridiculous poſtures; for they ſeldom moved from the ſame place. The evening being pretty far ſpent, we took leave, and returned to our lodgings.

The 6th, a great fall of ſnow, and a cold froſty wind, obliged us to halt at this place.

Next day, the froſt and ſnow ſtill continued; notwithſtanding, we ſet out, and paſſed over a ſtone-bridge near this place, paved, not with ſmall ſtones, but with large, ſquare, free ſtones, neatly joined. After travelling eaſtward about thirty Engliſh miles, we reached a large and populous city called Siangfu. We were met without the gate by ſome of the principal inhabitants, and conducted to our lodgings.

When we arrived, the governor was out a-hunting with one of the Emperor's ſons. As ſoon as he returned in the evening, he waited on the ambaſſador, and complimented him in a very polite manner, excuſing himſelf for not waiting on him ſooner. At the ſame time, he gave His Excellency a formal invitation to ſupper; for it is appointed by the court that foreign ambaſſadors ſhould be magnificently entertained in all the towns through which they paſs: but the ambaſſador, being ſomewhat indiſpoſed, deſired to be excuſed.

Our route this day was through a fine champaign country, well cultivated, but containing very few trees. We paſſed ſeveral ſmall towns, and many villages, well built, and incloſed with walls. The roads were well made, and in good order, running always in ſtraight lines where the ground will allow. I had heard a great deal of the order and œconomy of theſe people, but found my information far ſhort of what I daily ſaw in all their works and actions. The ſtreets of every village run in ſtraight lines.

Upon

Upon the road we met with many turrets, called poſt-houſes, erected at certain diſtances from one another, with a flag-ſtaff, on which is hoiſted the imperial pendant. Theſe places are guarded by a few ſoldiers, who run a-foot from one poſt to another with great ſpeed, carrying letters or diſpatches that concern the Emperor. The turrets are ſo contrived as to be in ſight of one another; and, by ſignals, they can convey intelligence of any remarkable event. By this means the court is informed, in the ſpeedieſt manner imaginable, of whatever diſturbance may happen in the moſt remote provinces of the empire. Theſe poſts are alſo very uſeful by keeping the country free of highwaymen; for ſhould a perſon eſcape at one houſe, on a ſignal being made, he would certainly be ſtopped at the next. The diſtance of one poſt-houſe from another is uſually five Chineſe li, or miles, each li conſiſting of five hundred bow lengths. I compute five of their miles to be about two and a half Engliſh.

The 8th, we halted at this place. As we could not be preſent at the entertainment to which we were invited laſt night by the governor, he had reſolved that the delicacies prepared on that occaſion ſhould not be loſt, and therefore ſent into our court twelve tables, whereon were placed, by a number of people, all the victuals that were dreſſed the preceding night, with the deſert and ſeveral ſorts of tea. The whole was afterwards brought into the hall, and there placed in form upon the tables. When this was done, an officer of diſtinction came to deſire the ambaſſador to taſte of His Imperial Majeſty's bounty. We accordingly ſat down at the tables in great order. Every thing was very good, but moſtly cold, having been carried through the ſtreets to ſome diſtance. After we had removed from the table, the perſon who had the direction of the entertainment called to our ſervants, and ordered them to ſit down at the tables and eat. This produced a very diverting ſcene; but, had it not been complied with, the governor would have thought himſelf highly affronted.

In the evening, the Emperor's third ſon went through the city, on his way towards the capital. He was carried upon men's ſhoulders in a palankin, a vehicle very eaſy for the traveller, and well known in European ſettlements in India. The Emperor's ſons have no other names than thoſe of firſt, ſecond, third, &c. This prince had only a ſmall retinue of a few horſemen.

Our new conductor, Tuliſhin, invited the ambaſſador and his retinue to paſs the evening at his lodgings. His excellency excuſed himſelf, as he had not been at the governor's. All the gentlemen, however, accepted the invitation. The entertainment was elegant, and ſomething like that I formerly deſcribed, accompanied with dancing and muſic and quail-fighting. It is ſurpriſing to ſee how theſe little birds fly at one another as ſoon as they are ſet upon the table, and fight, like game-cocks, to death. The Chineſe are very fond of this diverſion, and bet as high on their quails as the Engliſh do on cocks. They are alſo great lovers of cock-fighting; but it is reckoned among the vulgar ſports. The quails are generally parted before they hurt one another too much, and reſerved in cages till another occaſion.

The 9th, having ſent off the baggage in the morning, the ambaſſador returned the governor's viſit. We only ſtaid to drink tea; after which we immediately mounted, and purſued our journey to a ſmall town called Juny, where we arrived in the evening. Near this place is a ſteep rock, ſtanding on a plain, inacceſſible on all ſides, except to the weſt, where a narrow winding path is cut in the rock, which leads to a Pagan temple and nunnery built upon the top of it. Theſe edifices make a pretty appearance from the plain; and, as the ſtory goes, were built from the foundation in one night, by a lady, on the following occaſion: This lady was very beauiiful, virtuous, and rich, and had many powerful princes for her ſuitors. She told them, ſhe intended to build a temple

and a monaſtery of certain dimenſions, with her own hands, in one night, on the top of this rock; and whoever would undertake to build a ſtone-bridge over a river in the neighbourhood, in the ſame ſpace of time, him ſhe promiſed to accept for a huſband. All the lovers having heard the difficult taſk impoſed on them, returned to their reſpective dominions, except one ſtranger, who undertook to perform the hard condition. The lover and the lady began their labour at the ſame time, and the lady completed her part before the light appeared; but as ſoon as the ſun was riſen, ſhe ſaw from the top of the rock, that her lover had not half finiſhed his bridge, having raiſed only the pillars for the arches. Failing, therefore, in his part of the performance, he was alſo obliged to depart to his own country; and the lady paſſed the remainder of her days in her own monaſtery.

The river is about a quarter of a mile from the rock, and the pillars ſtill remain about five or ſix feet above the water; they are ſix or eight in number, and good ſubſtantial work. This tale I relate as a ſpecimen of many fabulous ſtories, which I heard every day, and the people firmly believe. In the monaſtery there are at preſent many monks and nuns.

The chain of mountains running to the north, which bound this plain to the weſt, are very high, rugged, and barren. Their breadth, from the deſert to the plain habitable country of China, I compute not to exceed fifteen or twenty miles, and in many places it is much leſs. But their length, I am informed, is above one thouſand Engliſh miles. They encompaſs all, or the greateſt part, of the empire of China, to the north and weſt. Theſe impregnable bulwarks, together with the almoſt impaſſable deſerts, have, in my opinion, ſo long preſerved this nation from being over-run by the weſtern heroes. One would imagine, that a country, ſo fortified by nature, had little need of ſuch a ſtrong wall for its defence; for if all the paſſes of the mountains are as narrow and difficult as that where we entered, a ſmall number of men might defend it againſt a mighty army.

Juny is but a ſmall place; it ſuffered greatly by the earthquake that happened in the month of July the preceding year, above one half of it being thereby laid in ruins. Indeed, more than one half of the towns and villages through which we travelled this day, had ſuffered much on the ſame occaſion, and vaſt numbers of people had been buried in the ruins. I muſt confeſs, it was a diſmal ſcene to ſee every where ſuch heaps of rubbiſh.

All the beſt houſes being thrown down by the earthquake, we were lodged in the prieſt's apartments of a temple, which had eſcaped the general devaſtation. Our conductor treated the monks with very little ceremony, and deſired them to ſeek other lodgings for themſelves. Theſe prieſts were not all ſuperſtitious, as appeared ſufficiently from the little reverence they paid to their idols, and ſtatues of reputed ſaints. They conducted us into the temple, and ſeveral apartments adjoining, where ſtood many images of ſaints, ſome of which were monſtrous figures of ſtone and plaſter. One of the prieſts gave us the hiſtory of ſome of them, which I thought too abſurd to be inſerted. We then returned into the temple, which was a ſmall but neat building. In one end of it we ſaw an altar, riſing by ſteps to the cieling, on which were placed a number of ſmall images, caſt chiefly in braſs, reſembling men and women, birds and beaſts. We were entertained in the temple with tea, till the prieſts had removed their beds. At the entrance is hung a large bell, attended by a prieſt, who tolls it on ſeeing paſſengers, in order to invite them to ſay their prayers; which having done, they generally leave a ſmall gratuity to the temple.

In the night, we were a little alarmed with the ſhock of an earthquake, which awakened all our people, but did no damage.

Next day, our conductor notified to the ambaſſador, that he could proceed no farther till he received an anſwer to ſome diſpatches he had ſent to court. Theſe news were not altogether agreeable, as we apprehended another ſhock of an earthquake. Nothing, however, of that kind happened during the two days we were obliged to remain at this place.

The 12th, we continued our journey to a little town, where we lodged. This, and moſt of the towns and villages through which we paſſed to-day, had ſuffered greatly by the earthquake; particularly one conſiderable walled town, where very few houſes remained, and the walls were levelled with the ground.

About noon, next day, we came to a large, populous, and well built city, with broad ſtreets, as ſtraight as a line. Near this place runs a fine river, which appears navigable, having acroſs it a noble ſtone bridge, of ſeveral arches, and paved with large ſquare ſtones. In the evening, we arrived at a ſmall town, after paſſing through a very pleaſant and fruitful country.

On the 14th, we halted at this little town: but our baggage, and His Majeſty's preſents, advanced a ſtage farther. Theſe, by order of the Mandarin, our conductor, were carried on men's ſhoulders, covered with pieces of yellow ſilk, as every thing is which hath any connection with the court. Whatever is diſtinguiſhed by this badge is looked on as ſacred; and he who has the care of any thing belonging to the Emperor, needs no other protection; ſuch is the reverence paid him all over the empire. The yellow colour is choſen by the Emperor, becauſe, among the Chineſe, it is the emblem of the ſun, to which he is compared.

The following day, our road, lying over ſome rocks, was very rugged. In ſome places it was cut, for a conſiderable length, above twenty feet deep, through the ſolid rock, which appears to have been a work of great labour and expence. But no people I ever ſaw take ſuch pains to make their ſtreets and highways eaſy to travellers as the Chineſe. In ſome places of the rocks were cut out images of Chineſe ſaints; but the workmanſhip very mean.

Near this place, we paſſed through ſix or eight ſtrong ſemicular walls within one another, which have the endleſs wall for their common diameter, and take in a great compaſs. In all theſe walls there are large well built gates, guarded by a conſtant watch, both in times of peace and war. At one of them, the ambaſſador was ſaluted with three great guns, from a tower over the gateway. Theſe walls ſeem to be of the ſame materials and architecture with the long wall, having ſquare towers at the diſtance of a bow-ſhot from each other. While we ſtopped at one of the gates to refreſh ourſelves, I took the opportunity to walk into one of theſe towers, where I ſaw ſome hundreds of old iron cannon thrown together as uſeleſs. On examination, I found them to be compoſed of three or four pieces of hammered iron, joined and faſtened together with hoops of the ſame metal. The Chineſe have, however, now learned to caſt as fine braſs cannon as are any where to be found. From this tower I was led, by a broad ſtone ſtair, to the top of the wall, which is above twenty feet in breadth, and paved with large ſquare ſtones, cloſely joined, and cemented with ſtrong mortar. I walked along this flat till I came to a rock, where I found a high ſtair of above a thouſand ſteps, the whole breadth of the wall, which led to a tower on the ſummit, from whence I could ſee like a ſtair, on the other ſide, forming a deſcent to a narrow paſſage between two rocks. I obſerved alſo, that the wall was neither ſo high nor broad where it was carried over

over another rock to the ſouth-weſt, as at the place where I ſtood. But time not allowing me to go farther, I returned by the ſame way to our company; and, after ſtaying a few hours, we proceeded this afternoon to the town of Zulinguang, where we lodged.

The next day, after travelling about two hours, we came to the laſt ſemicircular wall. Here ended all the hills and mountains. Our road now lay through a fine champaign country, interſperſed with many ſmall towns and villages. In the evening, we reached a large neat city, called Zang-pin-jew. In the market-place ſtood a triumphal arch, whereon were hung a number of ſtreamers, and ſilken pendants, of various colours. The ſtreets were clean, ſtraight, and broad; in ſome places covered with gravel, in others, paved with flat ſquare ſtones.

As ſoon as we reached our lodgings, the governor of the place came to ſalute the ambaſſador, and invited him to an entertainment, prepared by order of His Majeſty.

The invitation was accepted, and we immediately went to the governor's palace. The entertainment was very magnificent, ſomewhat of the ſame kind with that I formerly deſcribed, and accompanied with muſic and dancing. This place is ſituated in a fruitful plain, about thirty Engliſh miles northward of Pekin.

The 17th, after travelling about a dozen of miles, we came to a ſmall town called Shach. The weather being very fine and warm, the governor came to meet the ambaſſador, and deſired him to refreſh himſelf a little, by drinking tea. Here we halted about an hour, and then proceeded ſix or eight miles farther, to a ſmall village, about four miles from the capital, where we lodged.

Next morning, two mandarins came from court, to congratulate the ambaſſador on his arival, and brought ſome horſes, on which he and his retinue were to make their entry. The furniture of the horſes was very ſimple, and far inferior to the coſtly trappings of the Perſians.

My lodgings in this village happened to be at a cook's houſe, which gave me an opportunity of obſerving the ingenuity of theſe people, even on trifling occaſions. My landlord being in his ſhop, I paid him a viſit, where I found ſix kettles, placed in a row on furnaces, having a ſeparate opening under each of them for receiving the fuel, which conſiſted of a few ſmall ſticks and ſtraw. On his pulling a thong, he blew a pair of bellows, which made all his kettles boil in a very ſhort time. They are indeed very thin, and made of caſt iron, being extremely ſmooth, both within and without. The ſcarcity of fuel near ſuch a populous city, prompts people to contrive the eaſieſt methods of dreſſing their victuals, and keeping themſelves warm during the winter, which is ſevere for two months.

About ten of the clock, we mounted, and proceeded towards the city, in the following order:

An officer, with his ſword drawn,
Three ſoldiers.
One kettle-drummer.
Twenty-four ſoldiers, three in rank.
The ſteward.
Twelve footmen.
Two pages.
Three interpreters.
The ambaſſador, and a mandarin of diſtinction.
Two ſecretaries.
Six gentlemen, two and two.
Servants and attendants.

The whole retinue was dreſſed in their beſt apparel. The ſoldiers in uniform, carrying their muſkets like horſemen ſtanding centry; drawn ſwords being refuſed by our conductor, the officer only had that privilege.

We travelled from the village along a fine road, through a cloud of duſt, and multitudes of ſpectators; and, in two hours, entered the city at the great north gate; which opened into a ſpacious ſtreet, perfectly ſtraight, as far as the eyeſight could reach. We found it all ſprinkled with water, which was very refreſhing, after the duſt we had paſſed through.

A guard of five hundred Chineſe horſemen was appointed to clear the way; notwithſtanding which, we found it very difficult to get through the crowd. One would have imagined all the people in Pekin were aſſembled to ſee us; though I was informed that only a ſmall part of the inhabitants of the city were preſent. I obſerved alſo great crowds of women unveiled; but they kept in the windows, doors, and in corners of the ſtreet. The ſoldiers did not behave with roughneſs to the people, as in ſome other places of the eaſt, but treated them with great mildneſs and humanity. Indeed, the people of themſelves made as much way as was poſſible for them, conſidering their numbers. After a march of two hours, from the gate where we entered, we at laſt came to our lodgings, in that part of the city called the Tartar's town, which is near the center of Pekin, and not far from the Emperor's palace.

We lodged in what is called the Ruſſia-houſe. It was allotted, by the preſent Emperor, for the accommodation of the caravans from Moſcovy, and is ſurrounded with a high wall of brick, which incloſes three courts. The firſt from the ſtreet is appointed for the guard of Chineſe ſoldiers. The ſecond is a ſpacious ſquare, on the ſides whereof are apartments for ſervants. The third is divided from the ſecond by a high brick wall, through which you enter by a great gate. Oppoſite to this gate is the great hall, which riſes a few ſteps above the level of the court. The floor is neatly paved with white and black marble; and, on the ſame floor, to the right and left of the hall, are two ſmall bed-chambers. This hall was occupied by the ambaſſador. In the ſame court are two large houſes, divided into apartments, in which the retinue was lodged. All theſe ſtructures are but of one ſtory, with large windows of lattice-work, on which is paſted white paper. The cielings are very ſlight and airy, conſiſting only of ſtrong laths, with reeds laid acroſs them, and done over the inſide with paper. The roofs project conſiderably over the walls, and are covered with fine light glazed tiles, which, as far as I could learn, are of a quality to laſt ages. The bed-chambers only of the hall are neatly finiſhed with lath and plaſter.

The ſame evening, the maſter of the ceremonies came to compliment the ambaſſador. He, in the Emperor's name, inquired into the chief ſubject of his commiſſion, and, having received a ſatisfactory anſwer, retired.

This gentleman, named Aloy, was by birth a Mongall Tartar, and a great favourite of the Emperor. He was a perſon of great politeneſs, and a good friend to the Chriſtians, eſpecially the miſſionaries, who received freſh marks of his kindneſs every day. In his youth, he converſed much with the Jeſuits, who taught him geography, and ſome other branches of ſcience; which contributed not a little to raiſe his character among the Chineſe, and recommend him to the notice and favour of the Emperor.

Thus we happily arrived at the famous and long-wiſhed-for city of Pekin, the capital of this mighty empire, after a tedious journey of exactly ſixteen months. It is indeed very long, yet may be performed in much leſs time. I am of opinion that travellers might go from St. Peterſburgh to Pekin, and return, in the ſpace of ſix months, which, were it neceſſary, I think I could eaſily demonſtrate.

After the departure of the maſter of the ceremonies, the aleggada, or prime miniſter, ſent an officer to ſalute the ambaſſador, and excuſe himſelf for not paying him a viſit immediately, as it was then late in the night, but promiſed to ſee him next day. At the ſame time, he ſent a great variety of fruits and proviſions, as a mark of reſpect, notwithſtanding we were abundantly ſupplied with theſe things by thoſe appointed for that purpoſe.

At ten of the clock at night, the officer on guard in the outer court locked our gate, and ſealed it with the Emperor's ſeal, that no perſon might go out or come in during the night. The ambaſſador, not approving of this proceeding, as ſoon as the gate was opened in the morning, ſent his ſecretary and interpreter to the prime miniſter, to complain of his being confined. The aleggada ſaid he was altogether ignorant of what had happened, but expreſsly forbid any ſuch behaviour for the future. In Perſia, indeed, and ſome other nations of the eaſt, it is the cuſtom to reſtrain foreign miniſters from converſing with the inhabitants, till they have had an audience of the prince.

CHAP. IX.—*Occurrences at Pekin; Audience of the Ambaſſador, &c.*

THE 19th, the prime miniſter, accompanied with the maſter of the ceremonies, and five Jeſuits, came to compliment the ambaſſador. As ſoon as they entered the gate, two of their attendants walked before them, at ſome diſtance, making a humming noiſe, the uſual ſign that ſome perſon of diſtinction is coming. Aloy deſired the ambaſſador would give him a copy of his credentials; which was not eaſily complied with, till theſe miniſters abſolutely inſiſted on; alleging that the Emperor never received any letters from his beſt friends, among whom he reckoned His Czariſh Majeſty the chief, without knowing the contents. The Latin copy was at laſt produced, the original being in the Ruſſian language; and the maſter of the ceremonies and the miſſionaries having tranſlated it into Chineſe, took their leave. But the aleggada remained for the ſpace of three hours, talking on different ſubjects. This miniſter, it ſeems, was a great ſportſman. He aſked to ſee the ambaſſador's dogs, which were a few greyhounds, and ſome French buck-hounds. He was deſired to receive, in a preſent, any of them which pleaſed him beſt; but he would accept only a couple of greyhounds.

In the mean time, the Emperor ſent an officer to enquire after the ambaſſador's health; who brought along with him a table, carried by four men, and covered with yellow ſilk, on which was placed variety of fruits and confections, and, in the middle, a large piece of excellent mutton. The officer acquainted the ambaſſador that theſe proviſions were brought from the Emperor's own table, and therefore hoped he would eat of them. This circumſtance was accounted a ſingular mark of the Emperor's favour.

The day following, the ambaſſador had a viſit from the preſident of the council for weſtern affairs, called Aſſchinoma, accompanied by four miſſionaries, two of which were Meſſrs. Paranim and Fridelii. The converſation turned chiefly on the ceremonial of the ambaſſador's introduction to the Emperor, which was a matter not eaſily ſettled. The principal points, inſiſted on by the ambaſſador, were, that he might deliver his credentials into the Emperor's own hands, and be excuſed from bowing thrice three times on entering His Majeſty's preſence; to which cuſtom all muſt ſubmit who appear before the Emperor. The preſident, on the contrary, aſſerted, that the conſtant practice in China, for many ages paſt, was directly oppoſite to theſe demands; that their Emperors never received letters of credence with their own hands; that the cuſtom was

was for the ambaſſador to lay them on a table, at ſome diſtance from the throne, or the place where the Emperor may happen to ſit; after which they were delivered to the Emperor by the officer appointed for that purpoſe.

At the ſame time, the preſident invited the ambaſſador to an entertainment, to be given at a palace in the city, where he ſaid the Emperor would be preſent, and ſpeak with him. His Excellency replied, he would accept of the invitation, provided he might on that occaſion deliver the Czar his maſter's letter. He was told, this was neither a proper place nor time for that purpoſe; but that the Emperor intended to give him a public audience very ſoon, and receive his credentials in form.

The ambaſſador was apprehenſive that the Emperor, having already ſeen a copy of his credentials, ſhould he alſo ſee himſelf at the entertainment, his public audience might thereby be retarded; and therefore declined the invitation. It appeared, however, afterwards, that this ſuſpicion was without foundation, and that the Emperor intended nothing more than to do honour to the ambaſſador.

The 21ſt, the aleggada paid a ſecond viſit. His ſervants brought tea ready made, ſome jars of arrack, with fruits and confections. From this day little material happened, except daily meſſages from court relating to the ceremonial, till the 27th, when this affair was at laſt adjuſted, on the following terms: "That the ambaſſador ſhould comply with the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of the court of China; and when the Emperor ſent a miniſter to Ruſſia, he ſhould have inſtructions to conform himſelf, in every reſpect, to the ceremonies in uſe at that court." This affair gave the miniſtry at Pekin much trouble; and, I muſt confeſs, the miſſionaries took great pains to ſoften matters on both ſides.

On the 28th, the day appointed for the ambaſſador's public audience of the Emperor, horſes were brought to our lodgings for the ambaſſador and his retinue; the Emperor being then at a country-houſe called Tzan-ſhu-yang, about ſix miles weſtward from Pekin. We mounted at eight in the morning, and about ten arrived at court, where we alighted at the gate, which was guarded by a ſtrong party of ſoldiers. The commanding officers conducted us into a large room, where we drank tea, and ſtaid about half an hour, till the Emperor was ready to receive us. We then entered a ſpacious court, incloſed with high brick walls, and regularly planted with ſeveral rows of foreſt-trees, about eight inches diameter, which I took to be limes. The walks are ſpread with ſmall gravel; and the great walk is terminated by the hall of audience, behind which are the Emperor's private apartments. On each ſide of the great walk are fine flower-pots and canals. As we advanced, we found all the miniſters of ſtate, and officers belonging to the court, ſeated upon fur-cuſhions, croſs-legged, before the hall, in the open air; among theſe, places were appointed for the ambaſſador and his retinue; and in this ſituation we remained in a cold froſty morning, till the Emperor came into the hall. During this interval, there were only two or three ſervants in the hall, and not the leaſt noiſe was heard from any quarter. The entry to the hall is by ſeven marble ſteps, the whole length of the building. The floor is finely paved with a neat checker-work of white and black marble. The edifice is quite open to the ſouth; and the roof ſupported by a row of handſome wooden pillars, octangular and finely poliſhed; before which is hung a large canvaſs, as a ſhelter from the heat of the ſun, or inclemencies of the weather.

After we had waited about a quarter of an hour, the Emperor entered the hall at a back-door, and ſeated himſelf upon the throne; upon which all the company ſtood. The maſter of the ceremonies now deſired the ambaſſador, who was at ſome diſtance from the reſt, to walk into the hall, and conducted him by one hand, while he held his credentials in the other. Having aſcended the ſteps, the letter was laid on a table placed

for that purpoſe, as had been previouſly agreed; but the Emperor beckoned to the ambaſſador, and directed him to approach; which he no ſooner perceived, than he took up the credentials, and, attended by Aloy, walked up to the throne, and, kneeling, laid them before the Emperor, who touched them with his hand, and inquired after His Czariſh Majeſty's health. He then told the ambaſſador, that the love and friendſhip he entertained for His Majeſty were ſuch, that he had even diſpenſed with an eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the empire in receiving his letter.

During this part of the ceremony, which was not long, the retinue continued ſtanding without the hall, and we imagined, the letter being delivered, all was over. But the maſter of the ceremonies brought back the ambaſſador, and then ordered all the company to kneel, and make obeiſance nine times to the Emperor. At every third time we ſtood up and kneeled again. Great pains were taken to avoid this piece of homage, but without ſucceſs. The maſter of the ceremonies ſtood by, and delivered his orders in the Tartar language, by pronouncing the words *morgu* and *boſs*; the firſt meaning to bow, and the other to ſtand; two words which I cannot ſoon forget.

This piece of formality being ended, the maſter of the ceremonies conducted the ambaſſador and the ſix gentlemen of the retinue, with one interpreter, into the hall. Our clerks, inferior officers, and ſervants, remained ſtill without, together with many courtiers and officers of diſtinction. We were ſeated on our own cuſhions, in a row upon the floor, to the right of the throne, about ſix yards diſtance; and, immediately behind us ſat three miſſionaries, dreſſed in Chineſe habits, who conſtantly attend the court. On this occaſion they ſerved by turns as interpreters.

Soon after we were admitted, the Emperor called the ambaſſador to him, took him by the hand, and talked very familiarly on various ſubjects. Among other things, he told him, that he was informed His Czariſh Majeſty expoſed his perſon to many dangers, particularly by water, at which he was much ſurpriſed, but deſired he would take the advice of an old man, and not hazard his life, by committing himſelf to the rage of the mercileſs waves and winds, where no valour could avail. We were near enough to hear this piece of friendly and wholeſome advice.

This converſation being finiſhed, the Emperor gave the ambaſſador, with his own hand, a gold cupful of warm taraſſun, a ſweet fermented liquor, made of various ſorts of grain, as pure and ſtrong as Canary wine, of a diſagreeable ſmell, though not unpleaſant to the taſte. This cup was brought about to the gentlemen, and all of us drank the Emperor's health, who obſerved, that this liquor would warm us that cold morning. His Majeſty alſo found many faults with our dreſs, as improper for a cold climate; and, I muſt confeſs, I thought him in the right.

On the left ſide of the throne ſat five princes, ſons to the Emperor, together with all the miniſters and grandees of the court. The taraſſun, however, was handed about to none but ourſelves, and the Jeſuits behind us. Eight or ten of the Emperor's grandſons now entered the hall. They were very handſome, and plainly dreſſed, having nothing to diſtinguiſh them, but the dragon with five claws, woven into their outer garments, and a yellow tunic of ſatin, bearing the ſame device, with little caps on their heads faced with ſable. After them came the muſicians carrying their inſtruments. By this time the hall was pretty full; and, what is ſurpriſing, there was not the leaſt noiſe, hurry, or confuſion. Every one perfectly knows his own buſineſs; and the thick paper ſoles of the Chineſe boots prevent any noiſe from their walking on the floor. By theſe means every thing goes on with great regularity, but at the ſame time with wonderful quickneſs. In ſhort, the characteriſtic of the court of Pekin is order and decency, rather than grandeur and magnificence.

The

The Emperor ſat croſs-legged on his throne. He was dreſſed in a ſhort looſe coat of ſable, having the fur outward, lined with lamb-ſkin, under which he wore a long tunic of yellow ſilk, interwoven with figures of golden dragons with five claws; which device no perſon is allowed to bear except the imperial family. On his head was a little round cap, faced with black fox-ſkin; on the top of which I obſerved a large beautiful pearl, in the ſhape of a pear, which, together with a taſſel of red ſilk tied below the pearl, was all the ornament I ſaw about this mighty monarch. The throne alſo was very ſimple, being made of wood, but of neat workmanſhip. It is raiſed five eaſy ſteps from the floor, is open towards the company, but has a large japanned ſcreen on each ſide, to defend it from the wind.

The maſter of the ceremonies, and a few officers of the houſhold, were dreſſed in robes of ſtate, of gold and ſilver ſtuffs, with monſtrous dragons on their backs and breaſts. Moſt of the miniſters of ſtate were dreſſed very plain, having nothing like ornaments about them; a few only had large rubies, ſapphires, and emeralds. Theſe precious ſtones are cut into the ſhape of pears, through which a hole is drilled, to fix them on the top of their bonnets. Theſe holes diminiſh the value of the ſtones, one half at leaſt, at an European market. I once ſaw, however, one of theſe rubies, with a hole drilled through it, which was bought at Pekin for a trifle, valued at ten thouſand pounds ſterling in Europe. But ſuch bargains are rarely to be met with, this being a ſtone of the firſt claſs for bigneſs and purity. As for diamonds, the Chineſe, it ſeems, do not much eſteem them; for few diamonds are found in China, and theſe very rudely cut and ſhaped, and ſo indeed are all their coloured ſtones.

It was now about noon, at which time our entertainment began to be ſerved up, of which I alſo give ſome account. There were firſt brought neat little tables covered with variety of fruits and confections, and placed before all the company. It ſeems to be the faſhion of this country to bring the deſert firſt, at leaſt that was the caſe at all the entertainments where I was preſent. In this, as in many other things, the behaviour of the Chineſe is quite contrary to that of the Europeans. Soon after the fruits, the victuals were ſerved in the ſame manner, and placed on ſmall tables before the gueſts. They conſiſted of fowls, mutton, and pork, all very good of their kinds; and the whole was either boiled or ſtewed with pickles, but nothing roaſted. The Emperor ſent ſeveral diſhes from his own table to the ambaſſador, particularly ſome boiled pheaſants, which were very agreeable.

The muſic played all the time of dinner. The chief inſtruments were flutes, harps, and lutes, all tuned to the Chineſe taſte. There was alſo ſome vocal muſic; an old Tartar, in particular, ſung a warlike ſong, to which he beat time, by ſtriking, with two ivory rods, upon a chime of little bells that hung before him. A young Tartar ſung a call to war, dancing at the ſame time, and keeping time by drawing the head of an arrow acroſs his ſhield. Then entered two little girls, who danced and ſung while the inſtruments played. After them came tumblers, who performed various feats of activity in the court before the hall. Theſe were ſucceeded by wreſtlers, fencers, and other performers of the ſame ſpecies. The Emperor ſent frequently to the ambaſſador, to aſk how he liked the muſic, dancing, and other entertainments. He alſo enquired about ſeveral princes and ſtates of Europe, with whoſe power by land and ſea he was not unacquainted. But, above all, he wondered how the King of Sweden could hold out ſo long againſt ſo great a power as that of Ruſſia. After this converſation, the Emperor informed the ambaſſador, that he would ſoon ſend for him again; but, as the night was cold, he would detain him no longer at preſent, and immediately ſtept from his throne, and returned to his private apartments by the ſame paſſage he left them. We alſo

alſo mounted, and repaired to our lodgings in the city, ſo well ſatisfied with the gracious and friendly reception of the Emperor, that all our former hardſhips were almoſt forgot.

The 29th, the Mandarin Tuliſhin came to our lodgings with two clerks, and took a liſt of the preſents ſent by the Czar to the Emperor. Theſe conſiſted of various rich furs, clocks, repeating watches ſet in diamonds, mirrors; and the battle of Po't va, nicely turned in ivory, done by His Czariſh Majeſty's own hands, and ſet in a curious frame. The ambaſſador at the ſame time, delivered to the Mandarin, as a preſent from himſelf to the Emperor, ſeveral toys of value, a fine managed horſe, ſome greyhounds, and large buck-hounds.

Every thing was entered in a book very exactly, even the names and qualities of each particular dog. There was alſo tied about the neck of each dog, a yellow ſilk cord, drawn through a hole in a little bit of wood which hung from the dog's neck, as a mark of it belonging to the court. The Chineſe, in general, are very fond of little harlequin dogs that play monkey tricks. A ſervant of ours had one of that kind, which he ſold for an hundred ounces of ſilver.

The ſame day, all the fruits and confections of the entertainment given at the audience which remained, were ſent to the ambaſſador's lodgings. They were carried in great ſtate through the ſtreets, covered with yellow ſilk; and an officer of the court walked before the proceſſion.

Next day, the Emperor ſent to our lodgings ſeveral large diſhes of maſſive gold, containing a kind of delicate fiſh, called mu, already dreſſed, but in ſuch a manner that I did not know to what to compare it. Alſo ſome bowls filled with excellent vermicelli, and a ſort of paſtry-puffs, baked over the ſteam of boiling water, exceeding in whiteneſs any thing of that kind I ever ſaw. All theſe things were ſent from His Majeſty's own table; an honour which he grants but ſeldom. It ſeems he was reſolved we ſhould have proviſions in abundance; for, beſides all theſe, we received our daily allowance, in which we were by no means ſtinted.

After dinner, the maſter of the ceremonies, accompanied with the captain of the eunuchs, and three Jeſuits, came to viſit the ambaſſador. This eunuch was a great favourite of the Emperor, on account of the knowledge he had acquired in mathematics and mechanics. He made the ambaſſador a preſent of a ſmall enamelled gold watch, and a wind-gun, both of his own making. The Emperor himſelf is a great lover of the arts, ſo far, that whoever diſtinguiſhes himſelf in any uſeful branch of them, is ſure to meet with proper encouragement. The eunuch alſo made a preſent to the ambaſſador of a ſteel to ſtrike fire, and then deſired to ſee the preſents, which was granted. At taking leave, Aloy told the ambaſſador, that the Emperor intended to give him a Chineſe dreſs, which was more convenient and warmer than the European.

December the firſt, Merin-Sanguin, a general officer, and brother to the firſt miniſter of ſtate, came to viſit the ambaſſador. Notwithſtanding the high rank of this military gentlemen, he had no ſword about him; for at Pekin, no perſon, not even officers and ſoldiers, except when on duty, wears a ſword, or any other weapon in the city.

The day following, the ambaſſador had a ſecond audience of the Emperor at the ſame palace. On this occaſion, the Czar's preſents were carried to court, by a number of people ſent for that purpoſe. The Emperor viewed them all at a diſtance; after which they were delivered to an officer appointed by His Majeſty to receive them. This audience was held in a private hall within the inner-court, where only the officers of the houſhold, and the gentlemen of the retinue were preſent. We were entertained in the ſame manner as before. The Emperor converſed very familiarly with the ambaſ-

ſador on various ſubjects, and talked of peace and war in particular, in the ſtyle of a philoſopher. In the evening, we returned to the city, in a cold north-wind, which blew the duſt about in clouds. Scarcely had we arrived, when fruits and confections, according to cuſtom, were ſent to our lodgings.

This evening, one of the Emperor's grandſons came to viſit the ambaſſador. He was a genteel youth, about fourteen years of age, and had not above half a dozen of attendants.

Next day, the weather continued cold and froſty. The ſky was clear, and a ſtrong wind at north-weſt, blowing the duſt about. I obſerved that the north-weſt winds are the coldeſt in this place; as they come over the vaſt tracts of ice and ſnow in Siberia.

The 4th, there was a fall of ſnow, to the deepneſs of ſeven or eight inches, which was immediately thrown into heaps, and the ſtreets clean ſwept. This day the miſſionaries ſent a preſent to the ambaſſador, conſiſting of ſeveral ſorts of veniſon and wild-fowl, and a greater variety of fine fruits and confections than I ever ſaw in any country, together with a couple of jars of wine made by themſelves. Among the fruits there were ſome ſpecies which I had never before ſeen, particularly a ſort of apple, about the ſize of a common orange, with a ſmooth ſkin, of a yelloviſh colour, very ſoft and ſweet, or rather luſcious; alſo a fruit about the bigneſs of a walnut, but quite round, reſembling in taſte a prune, but far more delicious: it contains a ſmooth hard ſtone, and the whole is covered with a thin browniſh ſhell, ſo brittle, that it is eaſily broken between the finger and thumb. Some of theſe ſhells are rough, and others ſmooth. They ſerve to prevent the tender fruit from being devoured by birds, and from flying duſt; and, what is ſomething uncommon, the fruit does not adhere to the ſhell, but a ſmall vacuity is left between them. It is not only pleaſant to the taſte, but is accounted very wholeſome.

The 5th, the ambaſſador had a third audience of the Emperor, in the palace at Pekin. As ſome affairs relating to the two empires were to be diſcuſſed, the ſecretary only, M. de Lange, accompanied the ambaſſador. After he was introduced, the Emperor told him, he had given orders to the tribunal for weſtern affairs to hear the ſubject of his commiſſion, and then retired to his own apartments, leaving his miniſters to tranſact the buſineſs, which was ſoon finiſhed on this occaſion; and the ambaſſador returned to his lodgings.

The 6th, being St. Nicolas's day, a great feſtival in the Greek church, the ambaſſador went to the Ruſſian chapel in Pekin to hear divine ſervice. This houſe ſtands within the city, under the eaſt wall, and was built by the bounty of the preſent Emperor Kamhi, on the following occaſion.

About the year 1688, there happened a difference betwixt the government of Siberia and the Chineſe, about a ſmall fort called Albazin, which the Ruſſians had built upon the banks of the river Amoor. The Chineſe alleged the fort was erected on their territories; and, jealous of the approach of ſuch powerful neighbours, made ſeveral fruitleſs repreſentations to the governor of Siberia to have it demoliſhed. The Emperor, at laſt, impatient of longer delay, ſent an army of above one hundred thouſand men, to do by force what could not be accompliſhed by negotiation. They inveſted the place on all ſides, and raiſed batteries againſt it. After a vigorous defence, the garriſon, conſiſting of about three or four hundred Coſſacks, was obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions. No terms could be obtained; and all the Ruſſians were made priſoners of war. In conſequence of which they were carried to Pekin, where the Emperor generouſly aſſigned them houſes apart from the reſt of the inhabitants, permitted the free

exercise of their religion, and gave them a daily allowance equal with his own soldiers. By this mild treatment they were enabled to build the little chapel which they still possess. The descendants of these prisoners are pretty numerous, and useful to their countrymen, the Russians, as interpreters. I formerly mentioned that these disputes were ended on the following terms; the prisoners on both sides were to remain unexchanged, and the fort of Albazin to be destroyed; since which time, the two empires have continued in good correspondence. The inhabitants of Siberia, indeed, regret much the loss of their fort, as it stood in a fine climate, gave them possession of a large extent of country northward from the Amoor; and, besides, opening a passage down that river to the Japanese Ocean. It was, however, the occasion of establishing the Greek church in China, which still continues to flourish, though its members are not very numerous. As one priest dies, another from Siberia succeeds him, who minds chiefly his own small flock, and thinks very little of making converts. This circumstance prevents their being obnoxious to the Roman missionaries, who can have no suspicion of their interfering with the interests of their church. These missionaries are constantly employed in making profelytes, and their endeavours have been attended with some success.

The 7th, we dined at the alleggada's, where we were magnificently entertained. There was no other company but ourselves, and we staid the whole day. This was the most elegant and complete entertainment of any I saw in China.

About ten o'clock in the morning, chairs were sent for the ambassador and gentlemen of the retinue, and horses for the servants, though the prime minister's house was very near our lodgings. The chairs were carried through two courts, and set down at the entry into a hall, where the alleggada waited to receive the ambassador. After entering the hall, we were seated on neat cane chairs, with japanned frames, inlaid with mother of pearl. The apartment itself was very simple, open to the south, and the roof supported on that side by a row of well-turned wooden pillars. It had no ceiling, but the rafters appeared finely polished, and perfectly clean. The floor was paved with a checker-work of white and black marble; and in the middle of it stood a large brass chafing-dish, in shape of an urn, full of charcoal. At the entry were placed two large China cisterns, filled with pure water, in which played some scores of small fishes, catching at crumbs of bread thrown into the water. These fishes are about the size of a minnow, but of a different shape, and beautifully varied with red, white, and yellow spots, and therefore called the gold and silver fish. I never saw any of them out of this country, though, I imagine, they might easily be brought to Europe, as they are by no means of the tender kind. I had about twenty of them standing in a window at my lodgings; in a morning, after a frosty night, I found all the water frozen, most of the fishes stiff, and seemingly dead; but, on putting them into cold fresh water, they all recovered, except two or three.

After we had drunk a dish of tea, a collation of broths and victuals were placed on the tables, intermixed with a variety of fruits and confections. Every person had a table apart, and all were served in the same manner. This repast, it seems, was only breakfast, though it might well have passed for dinner.

After this entertainment, the alleggada carried us first to see his dogs, of which he had great variety. I formerly observed that this gentleman was a great sportsman. He took greater pleasure in talking of hounds than politics; though, at the same time, he had the character of a very able minister and an honest man.

We were now conducted through all the different apartments of his house, excepting only those of the ladies, to which none have access but himself, and the eunuchs

who attend them. We ſaw a noble collection of many curioſities, both natural and artificial; particularly a large quantity of old porcelain or China ware, made in China and Japan, and at preſent to be found only in the cabinets of the curious. They conſiſted chiefly of a great number of jars of different ſizes. He took much pleaſure in telling when and where they were manufactured; and, as far as I can remember, many of them were above two thouſand years old. He added, that, both in China and Japan, they had loſt the art of making porcelain in that perfection they did in former times; and the fault, in his opinion, lay in the preparation of the materials. Theſe curioſities were piled up on ſhelves to the very roof of the houſe, and in ſuch order and ſymmetry as had a pretty effect.

From the houſe we went into a little garden, incloſed with a high brick-wall. In the middle of it ſtood a ſmall baſon, full of water, ſurrounded with ſeveral old crooked trees and ſhrubs; among which I ſaw that which produces the famous tea. The climate about Pekin being too cold for this ſhrub, there are only a few buſhes of it to be found in the gardens of the curious. I ſhall not at preſent enlarge on this uſeful plant, which appeared like a currant-buſh, as an opportunity will occur of giving a fuller account of it before I leave this place. There was a walk round the garden, which, together with that in the middle, was covered with ſmall gravel. At each end of the middle walk was a piece of artificial rock-work, with water running under it, through holes ſo natural, they looked as if made by the current of the ſtream. The rocks were about ſeven feet high, and ſhaded with ſome old bended trees. This garden, and many others in China, diſplay the taſte of the inhabitants for imitating nature.

From the garden we were called to dinner, where we found a plentiful and elegant entertainment, ſet out in the fineſt order, far exceeding any thing of that kind we had ſeen before. We had no muſic nor dancing; and the whole was conducted with ſurpriſing decency and regularity. The entertainment laſted about two hours, after which we returned to our lodgings.

This day, our gates were opened to people of all characters, and merchants and others allowed to go in and out at pleaſure. Though all communication was not prohibited before this time, it was, however, difficult, and not to be obtained without permiſſion of the proper officer.

The 8th, we dined at the ſouth convent, where the Italian miſſionaries generally reſide. Here all the Jeſuits in the place, to the number of ten or twelve, were aſſembled. We met with a friendly reception, and a moſt ſplendid entertainment.

This convent ſtands within the city, upon a piece of ground given to the fathers by the Emperor. He gave alſo ten thouſand ounces of ſilver towards building and adorning the chapel, which is indeed very neat, and handſomely decorated with pictures of ſaints, and ſcripture-pieces, by the beſt hands. An account of this remarkable benefaction of the Emperor Kamhi is cut out, in the Chineſe language, in letters of gold, and fixed above the great gate, which makes the place more reſpected. When we arrived, one of the prieſts was officiating in the chapel, where were aſſembled about one hundred Chineſe converts. At dinner we had a few bottles of wine, made in the convent; but I cannot ſay it was good, though the grapes were fine, and of an agreeable taſte.

After dinner, we were conducted to the Emperor's ſtables, where the elephants are kept. The keeper aſked the ambaſſador to walk into his apartments till they were equipped; then we went into the court, and ſaw theſe huge animals richly capariſoned in gold and ſilver ſtuffs. Each had a rider on his back, who held in their hands ſmall battle-axes, with a ſharp pike at one end, to drive and guide them. We

ſtood

ſtood about an hour admiring thoſe ſagacious animals; ſome of them very large, who, paſſing before us at equal diſtances, returned again behind the ſtables, and ſo on round and round, till there ſeemed to be no end of the proceſſion. The plot, however, was at laſt diſcovered by the features and dreſs of the riders; and the chief keeper told us there were only ſixty of them. The climate about Pekin is too cold for them to breed; and all theſe were brought from warmer countries. The Emperor keeps them only for ſhow, and makes no uſe of them, at leaſt in theſe northern parts. Some of them were brought near to the place where we ſat, and made obeiſance to us, by kneeling and making a dreadful noiſe; others ſucked up water from veſſels and ſpouted it through their trunks among the mob, or wherever the rider directed. The ſagacity of theſe animals is moſt ſurpriſing, and approaches ſo near to reaſon, that, in this reſpect, they ſurpaſs all the brute creation. After this ſhow, we took leave of the Jeſuits, who had accompanied us hither, and returned to our lodgings.

Next day, all the gentlemen dined at the palace of the Emperor's ninth ſon, in conſequence of an invitation from his chief eunuch, who is a great friend to the Ruſſia houſe. As the invitation was not from the prince, the ambaſſador would not accept of it. Our entertainment was very magnificent, and accompanied with muſic, dancing, and a kind of comedy, which laſted moſt part of the day. The comedians were of both ſexes; if the women's parts were not performed by boys dreſſed like actreſſes. As the play was in the Chineſe language, I could underſtand nothing of it, except from the geſture and action of the performers. It ſeemed to be a parcel of detached diſſimilar interludes, without any principal end, or unity of deſign. I ſhall, therefore, only mention one ſcene, which appeared to me the moſt extraordinary. There entered on the ſtage ſeven warriors, all in armour, with different weapons in their hands, and terrible vizards on their faces. After they had taken a few turns about the ſtage, and ſurveyed each other's armour, they at laſt fell a quarrelling; and, in the encounter, one of the heroes was ſlain. Then an angel deſcended from the clouds, in a flaſh of lightning, with a monſtrous ſword in his hand, and ſoon parted the combatants, by driving them all off the ſtage; which done, he aſcended in the ſame manner he came down, in a cloud of fire and ſmoke. This ſcene was ſucceeded by ſeveral comical farces, which to me ſeemed very diverting, though in a language I did not underſtand. The laſt character that appeared on the ſtage was an European gentleman, completely dreſſed, having all his clothes bedaubed with gold and ſilver lace. He pulled off his hat, and made a profound reverence to all that paſſed him. I ſhall leave it to any one to imagine, what an awkward figure a Chineſe muſt make in this ridiculous habit. This ſcene was interrupted, and the performers diſmiſſed, by the maſter of the feaſt, from a ſuſpicion that his gueſts might take offence. The play being finiſhed, we were entertained with jugglers, who exhibited a variety of legerdemain tricks with great dexterity.

The banquet was prolonged the whole day, excepting the time ſpent in theſe interludes. No ſooner was one courſe carried off, than another was inſtantly placed upon the tables, and the whole concluded with deſerts of fruits and ſweetmeats. One would ſcarce have imagined, that luxury had made ſuch progreſs among the ſober and induſtrious Chineſe. It muſt indeed be obſerved, that there is almoſt no drinking at their entertainments, as they uſe no liquor on theſe occaſions but tea, and now and then a dram of hot arrack. The Chineſe handle the two ivory or wooden pins, which they uſe inſtead of forks, with ſuch dexterity, that they can even take up needles with them. In place of napkins they ſometimes employ a few ſquare pieces of paper.

CHAP. X.—*Continuation of Occurrences at Pekin, &c.*

THE day following, the ambaſſador had a fourth audience of the Emperor, at the palace in the city. This interview was alſo private, and the ambaſſador was attended only by his ſecretary. The Emperor repeated the aſſurances of his friendſhip for His Czariſh Majeſty, talked ſtrongly on the vanity and uncertainty of all human affairs, adding, that he was now an old man, and, by the courſe of nature, could not live long, and deſired to die in peace with God and all mankind. At taking leave, each of them was preſented with a complete Chineſe ſuit of cloaths, made of ſtrong ſilk, interwoven with dragons claws, and lined with ſable.

The 12th, we dined at the French or weſtern convent, where we again found all the miſſionaries. The chapel, and other edifices, are handſome, but not ſo grand as the Italian convent. Father Paranim is preſident of this convent; he is a man of parts and addreſs, and in great favour with the Emperor. I was informed this entertainment was given at the expence of the court, and had ſome reaſon to believe it was ſo, as it far exceeded what might reaſonably be expected from the Jeſuits. The Emperor's band of muſic played all the time of dinner; after which we had jugglers and tumblers of great activity. Among the many feats and tricks performed by theſe people, I ſhall only mention two or three, which ſeemed moſt uncommon. The roof of the room where we ſat was ſupported by wooden pillars. The juggler took a gemlet, with which he bored one of the pillars, and aſked, whether we choſe red or white wine? The queſtion being anſwered, he pulled out the gemlet, and put a quill in the hole, through which run, as from a caſk, the wine demanded. After the ſame manner, he extracted ſeveral ſorts of liquors, all which I had the curioſity to taſte, and found them good of their kinds.

Another of theſe expert youths took three long ſharp-pointed knives, and throwing them up by turns, kept one always in each hand, and the third in the air. This he continued to perform for a conſiderable time, catching conſtantly the falling knife by the handle, without ever allowing it to touch the floor. The knives were exceeding ſharp, ſo that had he miſſed laying hold of the handles, he muſt infallibly have loſt ſome of his fingers.

The ſame perſon took a wooden ball, ſomewhat leſs than thoſe commonly uſed in bowling-greens, with a hole through the middle of it, and a rod two feet long, about the ſize of a walking ſtaff, pointed at the extremity, to fit the hole in the ball. He then toſſed the ball above a yard high, and caught it again upon the point of the rod, not in the hole of the ball, but wherever it happened to meet the point; and, in this manner, he continued to throw up and catch the ball for a conſiderable time. He now placed the ball upon the point of the rod, taking no notice of the hole, and twirled it round like a top ſo quickly, that the motion could not be obſerved. This ſeemed extremely dexterous, for all the while he played with the ball in appearance; and, when the motion began to ſlacken, gave it a freſh twirl with his hand, as if the rod and ball had been faſtened to each other.

This perſon alſo placed a large earthen diſh, above eighteen inches diameter, upon the point of the ſame rod, and twirled it round in the ſame manner as he did the ball. During this ſwift motion, he did not always keep the point in the centre of the veſſel; on the contrary, he often held it within three inches of the brim. I ſhall only mention one inſtance more.

There were placed erect, upon the pavement of the floor, two bamboos, which are a kind of cane. The length of them was about twenty-five feet; at the lower end, I reckon

reckon them to be near five inches diameter, and at the top about the breadth of a crown-piece. They were ſtraight, light, and ſmooth, and each ſupported by two men. Two boys then climbed up the poles, without the leaſt aſſiſtance; and, having reached the top, ſtood upright, ſometimes on one foot, and ſometimes on the other, and then upon their heads. This being done, they laid one hand on the top of the pole, and ſtretched out their bodies almoſt at right angles to it. In this poſture they continued for a conſiderable time, and even ſhifted hands. I obſerved that much depended on the men who held the poles; one of the two at each pole having it fixed to his girdle, and they kept a ſteady eye on the motions of the boys. There were about twenty or thirty of theſe performers, who all belong to the Emperor, and never diſplay their art without his permiſſion. I am fully perſuaded that, in tricks and feats of dexterity, few nations can equal, and none excel, the Chineſe.

After theſe diverſions, we were conducted to the Emperor's glaſs-houſe, which His Imperial Majeſty often viſits with pleaſure. It was erected by himſelf, and is the firſt manufactory of the kind that ever was in China. The perſon employed to ſuperintend and carry on this deſign was Kilian Stumpff, a German father, lately deceaſed; a man in great favour with the Emperor, and well known in China for his ingenuity and literature. His Majeſty is ſo fond of this glaſs-work that he ſent ſeveral of the moſt curious of its productions in a preſent to His Czariſh Majeſty. It is ſurpriſing that the Chineſe, who have been conſtantly employed for ſo many ages in the manufacture of China-ware, ſhould never have ſtumbled upon that of glaſs. This ſhews evidently, that the degree of heat neceſſary in their ovens muſt not be very great, or their materials free from ſand; for it is certain, they had no knowledge of glaſs of any kind till this houſe was erected. I was informed, that, not long ago, ſome Europeans brought to Canton a parcel of priſms, or triangular glaſſes, which the Chineſe took for natural productions of rock cryſtal, and bought them at the rate of one hundred ounces of ſilver a-piece: But, from the quantity imported, they ſoon diſcovered their miſtake.

On the evening of the 14th, an officer came from court, deſiring the ambaſſador to wait on the Emperor at his palace of Tzangſuang, and bring his muſicians along with him. Theſe conſiſted of performers on violins, trumpets, and kettle-drums.

Next day, we arrived at the palace about ten of the clock, and had immediate admittance to the Emperor's private apartments, few being preſent but the officers of the houſehold and Father Paranim. After a ſhort conference, the muſic was ordered to play. There were in the room ten or twelve of the Emperor's grandſons, who ſeemed much entertained with the inſtruments. I aſked an elderly gentleman who ſtood by me, how he liked the muſic? He ſaid it was very good, but their own was better. No ladies were to be ſeen, though, I believe, ſeveral of them were behind a ſcreen, at the other end of the room.

The muſic being over, the Emperor ordered one of the princes to conduct the ambaſſador into the gardens belonging to the palace; into which we entered along a draw-bridge, over a canal of pure water. They abounded with ſhaded walks, arbours, and fiſh-ponds, in the Chineſe taſte. The young princes entertained themſelves by ſhooting with bows and arrows. Some of them diſplayed great dexterity, being accuſtomed from their infancy to this exerciſe, which is accounted both genteel and healthy; as the drawing of the bow extends and ſtrengthens the muſcles both of the breaſt and arms. One of the princes ſhewed us a bow and arrows uſed by the Emperor when young, by which it appeared that he had been a perſon of extraordinary bodily ſtrength. After we had ſurveyed the gardens in every quarter, we took leave of the princes, and returned to the city.

This

This day, arrived in Pekin Signior Mezzobarba, ambaſſador from his Holineſs the Pope to the Emperor. This gentleman was a cardinal, and patriarch of Alexandria. His retinue was compoſed of eccleſiaſtics of different orders, and a few ſervants, who were all lodged in the Italian convent. They came from Europe to Macao in a Portugueſe ſhip, from thence to Canton, and then by land to this place.

The deſign of this embaſſy was to inquire into the diſputes and miſunderſtanding that had lately ariſen in this country between the Jeſuits and Dominicans, relating to certain rites annually performed by the Chineſe Chriſtians, at the tombs of their deceaſed parents, or other relations. This cuſtom ſeems to be the ſame with that of the parentalia anciently in uſe among the Greeks and Romans. It is univerſal in China, from the Emperor to the meaneſt peaſant. It ſeems the Jeſuits permitted their converts to viſit the tombs of their relations; alleging, that, without ſuch indulgence, no perſon would embrace Chriſtianity, and that time would wean them from ſuch ſuperſtitious ceremonies. The Dominicans, on the other hand, affirmed that it was next to idolatry, and declared it unlawful to allow any ſuch cuſtom, ſtrictly prohibiting all conformity in their converts. Theſe differences, in all probability, will not ſoon be determined. The Emperor himſelf tried to make the parties compromiſe matters; but, finding his endeavours ineffectual, he left them to agree or diſpute according to their pleaſure. He inclined, indeed, to favour the opinion of the Jeſuits, which he thought moſt reaſonable. At any rate, it muſt be acknowledged an inſtance of uncommon condeſcenſion, for an heathen Emperor to intereſt himſelf ſo much in the peace of a Chriſtian church.

The 16th, Mr. De Lange and I paid a viſit to the Fathers Fridelly and Keaggler, at the Oriental or German convent. This place is large enough; but neither the chapel nor buildings are near ſo magnificent as thoſe of the other two convents. It is called oriental, becauſe ſituated in the eaſtern diſtrict of the city. Both theſe Fathers, and ſeveral other eccleſiaſtics of inferior rank in this convent, are Germans. One of the Fathers was a clock-maker; and, by ſuch means, they frequently inſinuate themſelves into acquaintance with people of diſtinction, who protect them in times of danger. For, in China, they have ſtill a great number of enemies, who would gladly ſee both them and their religion extirpated; but the favour of the preſent Emperor hath hitherto prevented or diſappointed the deſign of ſuch perſons.

The 17th, I ſent to inform the captain of the Chineſe guard, that I intended to take a turn through the city, who immediately gave orders for a ſoldier to attend me. When we paſſed through the gate, the clerk marked our names in his book, and daſhed them out at our return. I went into ſeveral ſhops, where were ſold different kinds of merchandiſe; particularly thoſe of the goldſmiths, whoſe buſineſs it is to exchange gold for ſilver, or ſilver for gold. In theſe ſhops are found vaſt quantities of thoſe valuable metals, caſt into bars of different ſizes, and piled up one upon another; which are ſold only by weight, as there is no current coin in this country; except one ſmall round piece of braſs, with a ſquare hole in the middle, through which may be run a ſtring, for the convenience of carrying them to market. This coin, called Joſs by the Chineſe, is about the value of one tenth of a penny ſterling, and is extremely uſeful among the common people. With one of them a man can buy a diſh of hot tea, a pipe of tobacco, or a dram of brandy in the ſtreets; and a beggar may dine for three of them. There are, indeed, few beggars to be ſeen in the city; but, notwithſtanding the labour and induſtry of the inhabitants, they are ſo numerous, that it is hardly poſſible to prevent many from being reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity. There are cooks ſhops, where dogs and cats, and ſuch other creatures are dreſſed for the entertainment of theſe people.

Theſe coins have Kamhi, the name of the Emperor on one ſide, and the words Tum Pao, or the univerſal price, on the other.

When the Chineſe have occaſion to buy any thing above the value of ſixpence, they cut off a piece of ſilver, and weigh it, which is done in a trice.

Although the want of current coin ſeems ill calculated for the diſpatch of buſineſs, the Chineſe find no inconvenience on that account. It is in ſo far preferable to money, that it loſes little by wearing in the circulation, which coin does perhaps more than is generally imagined.

In moſt of the ſhops I found both men and women unveiled. They were extremely complaiſant, and gave me a diſh of tea in every ſhop. Theſe people expoſe their gold and ſilver, and other goods of value, with as much freedom and ſecurity, as the merchants do in London or Amſterdam.

The 19th, Lange and I went to the French convent, but not one of the eccleſiaſtics were at home, having all gone to attend Signor Mezzobarba at an audience of the Emperor, except an old gentleman, Monſieur Bouvett, who had formerly written a ſmall treatiſe, entitled, *Le Portrait de l'Empereur de la Chine*, which he had printed in Europe.

The 20th, cold and windy.

The 21ſt, froſt and ſnow, which ſoftened the air, and laid the duſt.

Next day, the ambaſſador, with Secretary Lange, went to the council appointed for weſtern affairs, and had a conference on the ſubject of his embaſſy.

The winter here laſts only about two months, but is very ſharp and piercing, while the wind is northerly. If the wind, indeed, is ſoutherly, the air is mild and pleaſant, and the ſky clear. I mentioned above, that the Chineſe have a method of keeping themſelves warm during the cold, which I ſhall now deſcribe as diſtinctly as I can.

In building a houſe, they make two ſtove-holes, one in each ſide-wall, about three feet from the gable-end. The holes are a foot ſquare; one ſerves for receiving the fuel, and the other to let out the ſmoke, when the ſtove is finiſhed. There is a partition of brick, which runs from one ſide of the houſe to the other, about five or ſix feet from the gable, and only eighteen inches high, which I ſhall call the front of the ſtove-bench. Between this and the gable are built ſeveral other thin partitions of brick, in a direction at right angles to the firſt, having a ſmall opening at the extremity of each. For example, ſuppoſe the paſſage in the firſt partition to the right hand, and in the ſecond to the left, and ſo on, alternately, to the laſt, which communicates with the hole, on the other ſide of the room, for letting out the ſmoke. Theſe diviſions being made, the whole is arched, or otherwiſe covered with brick; above which is laid a layer of clay, or plaſter, to prevent the ſmoke from riſing through the ſurface. It is plain that below this bench there will be a winding channel for the ſmoke, from one ſide of the room to the other. A few handfuls of bruſh-wood, ſtraw, or any kind of fuel, will warm the bench, as much as is neceſſary, to work or ſleep without feeling cold. It is generally covered with mats, felts, or other thick ſtuffs, according to the ability of the owner.

The 22d, Father Keaggler came to viſit us. This gentleman had been long in China, and was well acquainted with the language, cuſtoms, and manners of the country. In talking of the extent of Pekin, he ſaid that Nankin is at leaſt three times as large. At this rate, Nankin muſt be one of the largeſt cities in the world. He added, that it was ſomewhat diminiſhed ſince the court had left that place to reſide at Pekin. Nankin is a place of the moſt extenſive commerce, and contains the greateſt manufactories, of all ſorts of ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, of any city in the country, beſides thoſe of China-ware.

It is watered by a fine navigable river, on which are employed an incredible number of boats, in carrying merchandiſe and paſſengers.

The 23d, cold northerly wind, and ſtrong froſt.

The 24th, Chriſtmas-eve; the ambaſſador heard divine ſervice in the Ruſs church.

The 25th, the ambaſſador, and the whole retinue, went to church.

The Emperor ſent Father Fridelly, accompanied by ſeveral mandarins, with a preſent to His Czariſh Majeſty, of ſix large boxes of tiles, made of China-ware, fit for ſuch ſtoves as are uſed in Ruſſia for warming rooms. They were very pretty, blue and white, and, with due care, may laſt for ages.

January 1ſt, 1721, the Emperor's general of the artillery, together with Father Fridelly, and a gentleman called Stadlin, an old German, and a watch-maker, dined at the ambaſſador's. He was by birth a Tartar; and, by his converſation, it appeared he was by no means ignorant in his profeſſion, particularly with reſpect to the various compoſitions of gunpowder uſed in artificial fire-works. I aſked him, how long the Chineſe had known the uſe of gun-powder? he replied about two thouſand years, in fire-works, according to their records, but that its application to the purpoſes of war was only a late introduction. As the veracity and candour of this gentleman were well known, there was no room to queſtion the truth of what he advanced on this ſubject.

The converſation then turned on printing. He ſaid he could not then aſcertain preciſely the antiquity of this invention; but was abſolutely certain it was much ancienter than that of gun-powder. It is to be obſerved, that the Chineſe print with ſtamps, in the manner that cards are made in Europe. Indeed, the connection between ſtamping and printing is ſo cloſe and obvious, that it is ſurpriſing the ingenious Greeks and Romans, ſo famous for their medals, never diſcovered the art of printing.

On this occaſion, Father Fridelly told me, that ſeveral of the miſſionaries, who had the good fortune to be in favour with the Emperor, had often ſolicited that Prince to become Chriſtian, and allow himſelf to be baptiſed; but he always excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, he worſhipped the ſame God with the Chriſtians; and that ſuch a change of religion might occaſion ſome diſturbance in the empire, which by all means he would endeavour to prevent. However this be, it is certain that, on Chriſtmas day, he ſent one of his chief eunuchs to the Italian convent, with orders that prayers ſhould be offered for him; which was accordingly done, and the eunuch remained in church all the time of divine ſervice.

Next day, the ambaſſador had another private audience of the Emperor, at the palace of Tzan-ſhuyang. The weather being very cold, the hall was warmed with ſeveral large chafing diſhes filled with charcoal. We ſtaid above two hours; during which time His Majeſty talked very familiarly, on various ſubjects, particularly hiſtory; wherein he diſcovered himſelf well acquainted with that of the Holy Scriptures, as well as of his own country. He ſaid, that the chronology of the Chineſe was far more ancient than that of the Holy Scriptures; but obſerved, that it ended back in fabulous accounts, concerning which nothing certain could be determined.

As to Noah's flood, he affirmed, that, at or near the ſame time, there was a great deluge in China, which deſtroyed all the inhabitants of the plains, but that ſuch as eſcaped to the mountains were ſaved.

He then diſcourſed of the invention of the loadſtone, which he ſaid was known in China above two thouſand years ago; for, it appeared from their records, that a certain ambaſſador, from ſome diſtant iſland to the court of China, miſſing his courſe, in a ſtorm, was caſt on the Chineſe coaſt, in the utmoſt diſtreſs. The then Emperor, whoſe name

name I have forgot, after entertaining him hospitably, sent him back to his own country; and, to prevent the like misfortunes in his voyage homeward, gave him a compass to direct his course.

The Emperor also confirmed most of the particulars mentioned above, concerning printing and gunpowder. It is from the Holy Scriptures, most part of which have been translated by the missionaries, that the learned men in China have acquired any knowledge of the western ancient history. And their own records, they say, contain accounts of transactions of much greater antiquity.

At taking leave, the Emperor told the ambassador, that he liked his conversation. He desired to be excused for sending for him in such cold weather, and smiling, said, he knew the Russians were not afraid of cold.

I cannot omit taking notice of the good nature and affability of this ancient monarch on all occasions. Though he was now in the eightieth year of his age, and sixtieth of his reign, he still retained a sound judgment, and senses entire; and to me seemed more sprightly than many of the princes his sons.

The third, Mr. Secretary Lange and I dined at the French convent, where we found Signor Mezzobarba. I never had an opportunity of seeing that gentleman at our lodgings, as nothing passed between him and our ambassador but messages of common civility and compliment.

The fourth, I rode from our lodgings, through the city, and went out at the north gate, at which we entered on our arrival at Pekin. I proceeded eastward to the end of the north wall, and then along the east wall to the south gate, at which I entered, and returned to our lodgings. This tour took me up about two hours and a half, at a pretty round trot; and, at the same rate, I reckon I could have rode quite round the city in less than five hours; whence a judgment may be formed of the circumference of the walls. The suburbs also are very extensive, especially to the east and south, and, being interspersed with many burying places, all inclosed with brick-walls, planted with cypress, and other ever-greens, contribute much to beautify the neighbourhood of this great city. The Chinese are extremely attentive to the fencing and ornamenting these groves or burying places; a natural consequence of their uncommon respect for their parents and relations while living, and of their extraordinary veneration for them when dead. Annually, on certain days, they resort to these groves, carrying provisions along with them, and celebrate a kind of feast, in commemoration of their deceased relations.

I shall give an example of the filial duty of the Chinese, in a story I have often heard affirmed for true.—A youth, finding his parents reduced to extreme poverty, and knowing of no means for their relief, went and sold himself as a slave, and, having received the price from his master, immediately brought it to his aged parents. When this was spent, the boy had no other resource than to run away from his master, and sell himself again to another; and this he practised for several times, with the same view, although he knew the severity of the law in such cases.

The 6th, while walking through the street, I observed an old beggar picking vermin from his tattered cloaths, and putting them into his mouth; a practice which, it seems, is very common among this class of people. When a Chinese and Tartar are angry at one another, the Tartar, in reproach, calls the Chinese louse-eater; and the latter, in return, calls the other fish-skin coat; because the Mantzur Tartars, who live near the river Amoor, subsist by fishing, and, in summer, wear coats made of the skins of fishes. But this habit is used only in summer, for in winter they wear furs.

The 7th, the Emperor sent us a present of various sorts of fine fruits, particularly some excellent oranges. On this occasion, Father Fridelly told me, that the tree was

ſtill ſtanding at Canton, from which the ſeed was taken, that the miſſionaries firſt ſent to Portugal, where it has proſpered ſo wonderfully; and, from the place whence it was brought, bears the name of the China-orange. I doubt not that with due care, ſome others of the rare fruits and plants in this country, even tea itſelf, might be propagated in Europe, or in ſome of the American colonies.

I cannot tell whether the coffee-tree is to be found in China; but I am certain that none of its ſeeds are prepared and drunk there, as among the Perſians, Turks, and Europeans.

The 8th, the weather was much milder, the wind ſoutherly, with a ſmall mizzling rain, enough to lay the diſagreeable duſt.

Next day, Secretary Lange and I rode through the ſuburbs, to the eaſtern convent, to viſit our friend Fridelly. As we paſſed, we obſerved a juggler diverting a crowd. On our coming near, he played ſeveral tricks with great dexterity. He took an handful of ſmall pence, formerly mentioned, with holes in the middle of them, and laid them on a table. He then thruſt them into his noſtril, one by one, with his finger; and this he continued to perform, till the whole was exhauſted. After this, he ſuſpended an iron chain, of round links, about four feet long. He then took a mouſe out of a box, and made it dance upon the table, quite looſe. Then the mouſe, at his order, went in at one link of the chain, and out at another, till it aſcended to the top; from whence it came down again, the contrary way, without miſſing ſo much as one ſingle ring.

The 12th, the Emperor came from Tzan-ſhu-yang, to his palace in the city.

The 13th, the maſter of the ceremonies came to invite the ambaſſador to court on the 15th, the firſt day of the new moon, and, according to the Chineſe computation, the firſt day of the new year. This is one of their higheſt feſtivals; and, what added to the ſolemnity of the preſent, was its being the beginning of a new ſeculum or ſpace of ſixty years, obſerved by the Chineſe; beſides, the Emperor had reigned all the laſt ſeculum, and was going to enter on the ſecond. On this occaſion were to be aſſembled ſeveral Tartar princes, particularly the Kutuchtu, and the Tuſh-du-Chan, together with many perſons of diſtinction from Korea, and all the dominions of China. This feaſt begins on the firſt day, and continues during the increaſe of the moon.

The 15th, we went early to court, and found moſt of the grandees aſſembled in the court-yard, ſitting on their cuſhions, and a few of them in the great hall. We entered the court at the great gates, which are ſeldom opened, except on ſuch extraordinary occaſions. The Emperor ſoon came, and ſeated himſelf upon his throne, which was more magnificent than that at Tzan-ſhu-yang, but like it plain and unornamented. His Majeſty was dreſſed in the ſame manner as at our firſt audience. We were placed within the hall on the right of the throne, and Signor Mezzobarba, with the miſſionaries, at no great diſtance from us. In the mean time, all the people of diſtinction, who came from diſtant places, made their nine bows to the ground without the hall: and, as there was not room in the hall to contain one half of the company, many of them remained in the court during the whole time of the audience. Our entertainment was almoſt the ſame as at our firſt audience; which, therefore, I ſhall not deſcribe.

The Emperor was very cheerful; and ſent for ſeveral of his old acquaintance to ſpeak with him. The Tuſh-du-Chan, and ſome other Tartar princes, were placed on the left of the throne, with the Emperor's ſons and grandſons. In a word, this aſſembly exceeded, in number and quality, any thing of the kind I ever ſaw. I was in hopes to have ſeen the Kutuchtu on this occaſion; but was informed that the Emperor, who ſhows great reſpect to this venerable prieſt, detained him in his private apartments.

This palace occupies a large ſpace of ground, encompaſſed with an high brick-wall. There are ſeveral ſtreets for ſervants and officers of the houſehold. Many of the houſes are high, and covered with yellow varniſhed tiles, which appear like gold in the ſun. Northward from the palace is a large canal, of an irregular figure, where the imperial family divert themſelves by fiſhing. This canal is artificial; and the earth dug out of it has raiſed an high bank, from whence you have a full view of the city, and the country adjacent, to a conſiderable diſtance. This mount riſes to a ridge, which is planted with trees, reſembling the wild and irregular ſcenes of nature that frequently preſent themſelves in this country. The canal and mount are of an equal length, which I compute to be about an Engliſh mile. This muſt have been a work of vaſt expence and labour; and, it muſt be confeſſed, contributes greatly to the beauty of the place.

The 5th, was ſpent in receiving viſits of compliment from the miniſters and officers of the court, on occaſion of the new year.

Next day, the viſits were returned by Mr. Secretary Lange and Glazunoff, in name of the ambaſſador.

The 17th, ſome of the retinue, accompanied with a Chineſe friend, went to a great market, held in the ſuburbs, about a mile without the city to the ſouth-weſt. Here we found a number of toys, and things of value, both new and ſecond-hand, expoſed to ſale in the open ſtreet.

Near this place ſtood a magnificent temple, the doors of which being open, we walked into it, and ſaw, ſtanding at the ſouth-end, a monſtrous image, about twenty-five feet high, carved and gilt, having twelve arms and hands, a frightful viſage, and great goggling eyes. By the touch it ſeemed to be made of a kind of plaſter. This image is called Fo, which ſignifies God in the Chineſe language. Whilſt we walked about in the temple, many people entered, who kneeled and bowed ſeveral times to the image; after which they retired without taking notice of us, or of any body elſe. In all the leſſer temples I had formerly ſeen, I found a great number of images of inferior deities or reputed ſaints; but this was occupied by Fo only, without any rival.

From the temple we went to a public tea-houſe, where we ſaw many people drinking tea and ſmoking tobacco, from thence to a tavern, where we dined; and in the evening, returned to the city.

Next day, I was preſent at the repreſentation of a kind of farce, in the public ſtreet, not far from our lodgings. There were about twenty ſtrollers aſſembled on this occaſion, who entertained the crowd with many legerdemain tricks, and unnatural geſtures.—The ſtage was covered with ſilk-ſtuffs of various colours.

During the feſtival there are many ſuch ſtage-plays performed in all the public ſtreets. You alſo find often high croſſes erected, on which are hoiſted a number of pendants, and ſtreamers of party-coloured ſilks, that make a pretty appearance. At this ſeaſon all the ſhops are ſhut; almoſt no buſineſs is done; and the people go about, dreſſed in their beſt cloaths, as on holidays in Europe.

The 20th, the ambaſſador, and all the gentlemen of the retinue, were invited to dine at a public-houſe in the city, by a young Chineſe gentleman.—And all of us accepted the invitation, except the ambaſſador. Our friend was ſo polite as to ſend chairs for his gueſts about ten of the clock; and, at eleven, we reached the houſe, which was the largeſt of that ſort I ever ſaw, and could eaſily contain ſix or eight hundred people. The roof was ſupported by two rows of wooden pillars. This tavern conſiſted only of one apartment, great part of which was filled with long tables, having benches on each ſide for the accommodation of the company. During the time of dinner,

dinner, we were entertained with muſic, and after it, by a company of players maintained by the houſe, who daily act plays on a ſtage erected at one ſide of the room. None but people of faſhion come to this place.

When a perſon intends to treat his friends at one of theſe houſes, he ſends previous notice of his deſign, with a note of the company, and the ſum to be laid out on each of them.—Agreeably to theſe orders, things are executed with the greateſt punctuality. The expence on each of our company could not be leſs than three or four ounces of ſilver, as we ſtaid the whole day, and had a ſplendid entertainment, conſiſting of many courſes and deſerts, prepared and ſerved in the beſt faſhion of the country. I cannot but obſerve on this occaſion alſo, the order and dexterity with which the ſervants performed their parts in ſuch a numerous aſſembly. I ſhall not pretend to give any account of the play, only that the company ſeemed highly pleaſed; and the performers conſiſted of both men and women, well dreſſed and of decent behaviour.

At ſeveral tables the people were employed in gaming; ſome playing at cards, others at dice and draughts. I ſaw no money among them, though I was informed ſome of the Chineſe play very high. In the evening, we took leave of our hoſpitable friend, and returned to our lodgings.

The day following, Father Paranim ſent us a preſent of a large ſturgeon, and ſome other freſh fiſh, brought from the river Amoor. Theſe can only be carried to ſuch a diſtance in the coldeſt ſeaſon, when they are preſerved freſh, by being kept frozen among the ſnow. This method is practiſed with ſucceſs in the northen countries; for, provided the fiſh is immediately expoſed to the froſt after being caught, it may be carried in ſnow for many miles, almoſt as freſh as when taken out of the water.

The 22d, I went along with our new Chineſe friend, named Siaſiey, to ſee a manufactory of China-ware, ſtanding on the bank of the river Yu, about twelve Engliſh miles eaſtward of the city. After arriving at the place, we paſſed through ſeveral ſhades and houſes, where I ſaw a number of people at work. The ovens, in particular, ſeemed very curious. But my view was ſo curſory and ſuperficial, that I could form no judgment of the materials, or manner of making theſe cleanly and beautiful veſſels, which ſtill remain unrivalled by the ſimilar productions of any other nation. I enquired into the truth of the opinion which the Europeans entertain, "that the clay muſt lie a cen-"tury to digeſt before it is fit for uſe;" and was told by a maſter-workman, that a few months preparation was ſufficient. So far as I could obſerve, they made no ſecret at this place of what they were employed about. I was, however, told, that, to the ſouth, the Chineſe are more cautious, and carefully conceal their art from ſtrangers. One thing I firmly believe, that, although the Europeans underſtood the art of making porcelain, the Chineſe would underſell them at every market in the world. This valuable manufacture is carried on in moſt of the towns in China; and as it is ſold but a little above the rate of common earthen-ware in Europe, the materials of which it is compoſed can neither be rare nor coſtly. This important branch of trade brings an immenſe treaſure into the country, and affords employment to vaſt numbers of poor, who otherwiſe would be uſeleſs and burdenſome to the public. Beſides china, they alſo make a kind of delf, or earthen-ware, for the uſe of the lower claſs of people.

Next day, I happened to meet two gentlemen from the peninſula of Korea. Their phyſiognomies were nearly the ſame with thoſe of the Chineſe, but their dreſs different. What ſurpriſed me moſt was, that they were as ignorant of the ſpoken Chineſe language as I was, and delivered themſelves by an interpreter. When they have any thing material to communicate they put it in writing, which is eaſily underſtood by the Chineſe. They write in the ſame manner as the Chineſe, from the top of the

the page, in ſtraight lines to the bottom, with a pencil, like thoſe commonly uſed by painters.

Korea is a fine country, ſubject to China, ſituated betwixt the long wall and the river Amoor, and runs out into a point, towards the iſland of Japan and the eaſtern ocean. The country is very plentiful, and abounds with corn and cattle.

CHAP. XI.—*Occurrences at Pekin continued; the Feſtival held at Court on the New Year, &c.*

THE 24th, the maſter of the ceremonies came to invite the ambaſſador to the feſtival of the new year, which is always when the moon is at the full, to be held at the imperial palace of Tzang-ſhu-yang on the 29th.

In the mean time, the cold continued very piercing, ſo that I ſaw horſes, with loaded carriages, croſs the ditches, without the walls of the city, upon the ice.

The 29th, chairs were ſent from court to carry the ambaſſador, and gentlemen of the retinue: we arrived there in the evening, and lodged in a houſe near the palace. Near our lodgings was a pretty garden with a canal, on which was a ſmall pleaſure-boat. In the middle of the canal was raiſed an artificial mount, planted with ſome barren trees, in imitation of nature. We aſcended by a winding path to the top of the mount, from whence we had a fine view of all the country around.

The 30th, being the firſt day of the feſtival, we went to court. We were met at the gate by the maſter of the ceremonies, who conducted us to the bottom of the ſtairs of the great hall, where we took our places in the open court-yard, among a numerous aſſembly of grandees, whom we found ſitting croſs-legged on their cuſhions. After waiting about a quarter of an hour, His Majeſty appeared, and ſeated himſelf upon the throne; upon which all the company ſtood. The Chineſe made their bows, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, but we were permitted to make our compliments in our own faſhion. It ſeemed ſomewhat ſtrange to a Briton, to ſee ſome thouſands of people upon their knees, and bowing their heads to the ground, in moſt humble poſture, to a mortal like themſelves.

We were immediately brought into the hall; and the ambaſſador was conducted to the throne, in order to congratulate His Imperial Majeſty on the anniverſary of the new year. Our ſtation on this occaſion, as at the firſt audience, was to the right of the throne. All the princes, the Emperor's ſons and grandſons, together with the Tuſh-du-chan, and other perſons of high diſtinction, were placed to the left, oppoſite to us. As the cuſtoms of the Chineſe are, in many inſtances, quite contrary to thoſe of the Europeans, ſo, I have been informed, that, among them, the left hand is the place of greateſt honour. After we had drunk a diſh of tea, the Emperor beckoned to the ambaſſador to come to him again, and enquired into the cuſtoms and ceremonies at the courts of Europe on feſtivals of this nature; adding, at the ſame time, "he had been informed, that, after drinking the King's health on ſuch occaſions, the Europeans broke the glaſſes. He approved (he ſaid) of the drinking part; but he did not comprehend the meaning of breaking the glaſſes;" and laughed heartily at the joke.

The great hall was, by this time, almoſt full of company; and a number of people of diſtinction ſtill remained in the area, who could not find room in the hall.

The entertainment now began to be ſerved up. The victuals were carried about in great order, and placed before the company on large tables. All the diſhes were

cold, except thoſe ſet before His Majeſty, who ſupplied us plentifully with hot proviſions from the throne.

Dinner being ended, the ſports were begun by a company of wreſtlers, compoſed of Chineſe and Tartars. Many of them were almoſt naked, having no cloaths but tight canvaſs drawers. They performed their parts in the area before the hall. When any of them was ſeverely bruiſed by his antagoniſt, or much hurt by a fall, which frequently happened, the Emperor ſent him a cordial, and ordered him to be properly taken care of. Sometimes alſo, when he perceived the combatants too eager and warm, a ſign was given to part them. Theſe inſtances of humanity were very amiable in the old monarch, and rendered the ſight of ſuch ſhocking ſpectacles more tolerable; for many of theſe wreſtlers received ſuch blows and falls, as were ſufficient to have knocked the breath out of their bodies.

To the wreſtling ſucceeded many other games and mock fights, in which the performers, armed, ſome with lances, others with battle-axes, quarter-ſtaffs, flails, or cudgels, acted their parts with great dexterity.

Then appeared two troops of Tartars, clothed with coats of tiger ſkins, armed with bows and arrows, and mounted on hobby-horſes. At firſt, they behaved as enemies; but, after ſome ſkirmiſhes with their arrows, the parties were reconciled, and began to dance to a diſmal tune of vocal and inſtrumental muſic. The dance was interrupted by a perſon in a frightful maſk, of a tall ſtature, dreſſed and mounted like the Tartars, who, they ſaid, repreſented the devil. After making ſeveral unſucceſsful attacks, on the united body of the Tartars, this formidable hero was at length killed by an arrow, and carried off in triumph. During the dance, each Tartar had a ſmall baſket in one hand, and an arrow in the other wherewith he ſcraped on the baſket, keeping time to the muſic. This ſcraping ſounded a little harſh to an Italian ear; for I could obſerve Signor Mezzobarba and his retinue ſmiling at the performance.

While the Tartars performed in the court, one of the Emperor's ſons, a prince of about twenty years of age, danced alone in the hall, and attracted the eyes of the whole company. His motions were at firſt very ſlow, ſo that he ſeemed ſcarcely to move at all; but afterwards became more briſk and lively. The Emperor was cheerful, and ſeemed well pleaſed with the different performers; but particularly with an old Tartar, who played on a chime of little bells, with ſhort ivory rods. The inſtruments of muſic were very various, and all tuned to the Chineſe taſte. The Emperor told the ambaſſador, that he knew well their muſic would not pleaſe an European ear, but that every nation liked their own beſt.

The dancing being over, there was hoiſted up a large veſſel, reſembling a tub, between two poſts erected in the area for that purpoſe. In the veſſel were placed three boys, who performed many dexterous tricks, both in the veſſel and on the poſts, too tedious to mention. By this time the ſun was ſet, and the company were ſoon after diſmiſſed for the night.

Next day, the rejoicings were renewed. We did not, however, go to court before the evening, becauſe the fireworks would not begin till the ſun was ſet. On our arrival, we were conducted through a garden, weſtward from the palace, in the middle of which ſtood a large building, with covered galleries all around. Before the houſe was a canal, having over it a drawbridge. We took our places on the gravel-walk, juſt under the gallery, where the Emperor ſat with his wives and family. Hard by us was the Kutuchtu in his tent, having one of his lamas ſtanding at the door. This prieſt never once appeared out of his tent during the whole ſhow. All the grandees and officers of ſtate were ſeated on their cuſhions along the bank of the canal. The machinery for the fireworks

works was placed on the other ſide of the canal; and nobody was permitted to go thither, except the people who managed it.

About five of the clock a ſignal was given for beginning to play off the fire-works, by a rocket let fly from the gallery where the Emperor ſat; and, in the ſpace of a few minutes, many thouſand lanterns were lighted. Theſe lanterns were made of paper of different colours, red, blue, green, and yellow, and hung on poſts about ſix feet high, ſcattered over all the garden; which exhibited a very pleaſant proſpect to the eye.

Another ſignal was then given, for playing off the rockets. They ſprung upwards to a prodigious height, and fell down in figures of ſtars, diſplaying a great variety of beautiful colours. The rockets were accompanied with what I ſhall call crackers, for want of a proper name. Their exploſion reſembled the reports of many great guns, fired at certain intervals, and exhibited a view of many charming colours, and forms of fire. Theſe, with a few fireworks of different kinds intermixed, continued for the ſpace of three hours.

Oppoſite to the gallery where the Emperor ſat was ſuſpended a large round veſſel, about twenty feet in diameter, between two poſts about thirty feet high. A rocket ſent from the gallery lighted a match, hanging from the veſſel, which immediately cauſed the bottom of it to drop down with a loud noiſe. Then fell out a lattice, or grate-work, all on fire, and hung between the veſſel and the ground, burning furiouſly, in various colours. This continued for ten minutes, and really exhibited a moſt curious ſight. It ſeems this lattice-work was compoſed of materials that immediately kindled on being expoſed to the air; for no perſon was ſeen near the machine.

The grate-work being extinguiſhed, there appeared a lighted match, hanging from the middle of the veſſel, and burning up to it. As ſoon as the fire reached the veſſel, thirty fair paper-lanterns, of various colours, dropped from it, and hung, in a ſtraight line, below one another, between it and the ground; which immediately catched fire of themſelves, and formed a beautiful and well proportioned column of party coloured light. After this fell out about ten or twelve pillars of the ſame form, but of a leſſer ſize; theſe alſo took fire as ſoon as they dropped. This ſcene continued till the number of one thouſand lanterns fell from the veſſel, which diminiſhed every time, till the laſt was very ſmall. I muſt confeſs this preſented a delightful object to the ſpectators.

I could not help being ſurpriſed at the ingenuity of the artiſt, in crowding ſuch a number of lanterns into ſo ſmall and ſimple a machine as this ſeemed to be; and, at the ſame time, with ſo much order, that all of them dropped and kindled of themſelves, with equal regularity, as if he had let them fall from his hand; for not even one of them was extinguiſhed by accident, or in the leaſt entangled by another. This concluded the firſt day's entertainment.

The 31ſt, in the evening, we returned to court, where was opened a new ſcene of fire-works, which continued, with great variety, till ten o'clock at night.

The 1ſt of February, we went again to court, where the fire-works were reſumed in many different well executed deſigns. What pleaſed me moſt, was a ſmall mount, raiſed in the middle of the garden, from which ſprung a ſtream of white and blue fire, in imitation of water. The top of the mount contained a cavity, in ſhape of a large urn, from which the fire roſe to a prodigious height.

Oppoſite to the gallery, where the Emperor ſat, were erected three large frames, about thirty feet high each. On one was a monſtrous figure of a dragon; on the ſecond, a man on horſeback; and the third repreſented an elephant, with a human

figure on his back. All theſe were compoſed of a deep blue fire, and were interwoven with vines and grapes, hanging about on all ſides, of white, red, and blue fire.

Beſides theſe, there were exhibited, on this occaſion, many other ingenious deſigns of fire-works, which far ſurpaſſed any thing of the kind I ever ſaw, though I have been preſent at performances of this nature exhibited at St. Peterſburg by the artiſts in Europe. Beſides the art diſplayed in the contrivance and figure, theſe works furniſhed, in particular, a wonderful variety of moſt beautiful colours, far exceeding my ability to deſcribe. I muſt confeſs they far outdid my expectations, and even common fame, which ſeldom leſſens things of this nature.

The following day, the Emperor gave the ambaſſador a private audience, and enquired how he liked the diverſions and fire-works. On this occaſion, the Emperor repeated what has been already obſerved concerning the antiquity of illuminations compoſed of gunpowder; and added, that, although fire-works had been known in China for more than two thouſand years, he himſelf had made many improvements upon them, and brought them to their preſent perfection.

The 3d, we returned to the city, in a cold froſty day, and the wind at north-weſt. We found the rejoicings ſtill going on at Pekin; for ſtages were erected, and plays repreſented, in all the principal ſtreets through which we paſſed.

The affairs relating to the embaſſy being nearly finiſhed, we began now to prepare for our journey to the weſtward, which was to take place as ſoon as the extremity of the cold was abated.

The 9th, three miſſionaries, Paranim, Demail, and Moran, came to pay their reſpects to the ambaſſador, and beg the favour of him, that Signor Nicolai, one of their ſociety, might be permitted to accompany him in his journey to Europe, which was granted, provided it was agreeable to the Emperor. The reaſon of this requeſt was ſuppoſed to be, that Signor Mezzobarba having returned to Rome without accompliſhing the ends of his embaſſy, the Emperor, who favoured the cauſe of the Jeſuits, had concerted with them to ſend Nicolai to the court of Rome, in order to repreſent the ſtate of this affair before Mezzobarba could arrive.

Next day, the Emperor ſent three officers with preſents to His Czariſh Majeſty; the chief of which were, tapeſtry for two rooms, neatly wrought on a rich ſilk ſtuff; a ſet of ſmall enamelled gold cups; ſome japanned cups, ſet with mother of pearl; three flower-pieces, curiouſly embroidered on taffety; two cheſts of rockets, prepared in the Chineſe faſhion; about twenty or thirty pieces of ſilk, in moſt of which was interwoven the dragon with five claws; a parcel of different ſorts of curious fans for ladies; alſo, a box containing ſome rolls of white Chineſe paper, the ſheets of which were of a ſize much larger than common; beſides ſeveral other toys, ſcarce worth mentioning. From theſe particulars it appears, that theſe two mighty monarchs were not very laviſh in their preſents to each other, preferring curioſities to things of real value.

The 11th, ſeveral officers came from court with preſents to the ambaſſador, and every perſon of the retinue, correſponding to their different ſtations and characters; and, ſo minutely and exactly was this matter managed, that even the meaneſt of our ſervants was not neglected. The preſents, conſiſting of a complete Chineſe dreſs, ſome pieces of damaſks, and other ſtuffs, were, indeed, of no great value. They were, however, carried along the ſtreets, wrapped up in yellow ſilk, with the uſual parade of things belonging to the court; a circumſtance which is reckoned one of the greateſt honours that can be conferred on a foreign miniſter.

Next day, the Emperor ſent to aſk the ambaſſador, whether he inclined to accompany him to a hunting-match, in a foreſt not far diſtant from Pekin; to which his Excellency readily agreed.

The 13th, I dined with one of my Chineſe friends, called Fangfung. In going thither, I met in the ſtreet two men riding on aſſes, with their ſervants leading them by the bridle. I ſoon perceived they were Kawlees; which is the name given by the Chineſe and Tartars, to the people of Korea, whom I have mentioned above.

The 14th, the weather was very fine and warm.

The 15th, we went to a fair in the ſuburbs, which is held the firſt day of every new moon; where we found many things expoſed to ſale, not commonly found in ſhops.

The 16th, the weather being favourable, I took a ride round the walls of the city; which I performed, at an eaſy trot, in the ſpace of four hours: whereby the compaſs of Pekin may be nearly computed. The ſuburbs, eſpecially to the eaſt and ſouth, are very extenſive, and, in many places of them, the buildings are equal to thoſe within the walls.

The 17th, being now on the point of our departure, in order to make the moſt of the ſhort time we had to ſtay, I rode about twelve miles eaſtward from Pekin, accompanied with a Chineſe friend, to the banks of the river, which I found crowded with a number of barks, of different ſizes, which are conſtantly employed in carrying proviſions, and other ſtores, to the city, from diſtant parts of the country. I ſaw many veſſels ſailing down the ſtream, towards the ſouth-eaſt. And I was informed, there are nine thouſand nine hundred and ninety-nine veſſels conſtantly employed on this river: but why confined to ſuch an odd number, I could neither learn nor comprehend. During a month or ſix weeks in winter, this river is frozen over; at which ſeaſon, proviſions are conveyed by land-carriage, or along the ice.

On this occaſion alſo, I viſited the China manufactory, in order to try whether I could learn any thing of that curious art. But, though the people were very complaiſant, and ſhewed me every thing I deſired them, I returned as ignorant as I went thither; and I am perſuaded, that, before a perſon can get any knowledge of the affair, he muſt be bred a potter, and have time to inſpect its whole progreſs; of which theſe people ſeem to make no ſecret.

The fields along the banks of the river are well cultivated, producing fine wheat, and other ſorts of grain. I ſaw alſo great plantations of tobacco, which they call tharr, and which yields very conſiderable profits, as it is univerſally uſed in ſmoking, by perſons of all ranks, of both ſexes, in China; and, beſides, great quantities are ſent to the Mongalls, who prefer the Chineſe manner of preparing it before every other. They make it into a groſs powder, like ſaw-duſt, which they keep in a ſmall bag, and fill their little braſs pipes out of it, without touching the tobacco with their fingers. The ſmoke is very mild; and has quite a different ſmell from ours. It is reported the Chineſe have had the uſe of tobacco for many ages.

I obſerved, that, in cold weather, the Chineſe chewed a kind of nut, about the bigneſs of a nutmeg, which they called beetle; it is of an aſtringent quality. They ſay, it both keeps them warm, and cleans their teeth.

Next day was ſpent in preparing for our journey.

On the 18th, all our gentlemen dined with my Chineſe friend, named Siaſiey, where we met with a friendly reception, and a ſumptuous feaſt. After dinner, our hoſpitable landlord put about his cups very freely. At laſt, he took me by the hand, and deſired I would let the ambaſſador return, and remain with him; and he would give me my choice

of which of his wives or daughters I liked beſt. I could not but return my friend hearty thanks for his obliging offer, which, however, I thought it not proper to accept.

Next day, I went to ſee the market where proviſions were ſold. It was a ſpacious oblong, ſpread with gravel, very neat and clean. The butchers had their ſhops in the ſhade, running quite round the place. I ſaw little beef, but a great deal of mutton. In the middle was a great ſtore of poultry, wild-fowl, and veniſon; but what ſurpriſed me not a little, was to find about a dozen of dead badgers expoſed to ſale. The Chineſe, it ſeems, are very fond of theſe animals, which are accounted unclean in other parts of the world. All the Chineſe merchants have the art of expoſing their goods to ſale, dreſſed up in the moſt advantageous manner; and, even in purchaſing any trifling thing, whatever the caſe be that holds it, it is half the coſt, and often exceeds it in value.

The 21ſt, being the day appointed for hunting with the Emperor, at one of the clock in the morning, horſes were brought to our lodgings, for the ambaſſador and thoſe who attended him. We immediately mounted; and, after riding about ſix miles, to the ſouth-weſt of the city, at break of day we reached the gates of the park called Chayza, where we were received by an officer, and conducted through the foreſt to a ſummer-houſe, about a mile from the gate, in which the Emperor had ſlept the preceding night. This was a ſmall but neat building, having a double row of galleries, open to the foreſt on all ſides, and an avenue leading to it from the gate, planted with ſeveral rows of trees. At ſome diſtance from the houſe we diſmounted, and were met by the maſter of the ceremonies, who conducted us into a gallery. As ſoon as we entered, the good old Emperor, who had riſen long before our arrival, ſent one of his eunuchs to ſalute the ambaſſador, and ordered us tea and other victuals. On the ſouth ſide of the houſe is a canal, filled with clear water, and ſeveral large fiſh-ponds, which make a great addition to the beauties of this charming place. At a convenient diſtance from the houſe, ſtood about a thouſand tents, where the courtiers and grandees had lodged the night before. Breakfaſt being over, the Emperor, who was very fond of arms, ſent to deſire a ſight of the ambaſſador's fowling-piece. He returned it, with ſeveral of his own to be ſhewn to us. They had all match-locks. The Chineſe are poſſeſſed with a notion, that flints, in their country, acquire a moiſture which hinders their firing. But, as far as I could perceive, the air had little effect upon our flints.

A ſignal was then given that the Emperor was coming; upon which all the great men drew up in lines, from the bottom of the ſtairs to the road leading to the foreſt, all on foot, dreſſed in their hunting habits, the ſame with thoſe uſed by the officers and cavalry of the army, when in the field, and armed with bows and arrows. We had a proper place aſſigned us, and made our bows to His Majeſty, who returned a gracious ſmile, with ſigns to follow him. He was ſeated croſs-legged in an open machine, carried by four men, with long poles reſted on their ſhoulders. Before him lay a fowling-piece, a bow, and ſheaf of arrows. This has been his hunting equipage for ſome years, ſince he left off riding; but, in his youth he went uſually, every ſummer, ſeveral days journey without the long wall, and carried with him all the princes his ſons, and many perſons of diſtinction, to the number frequently of ſome thouſands, in order to hunt in the woods and deſerts; where he continued for the ſpace of two or three months. Their proviſions were reſtricted to bare neceſſaries, and often to what they caught in the woods of Tartary. This piece of policy he practiſed chiefly with a view to harden the officers of his army, and prevent their falling into idleneſs and effeminacy among the Chineſe; and, at the ſame time, to ſet a good example of the auſterities he recommended, by living on the ſame hard fare he preſcribed to others.

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As ſoon as the Emperor had paſſed, the company mounted and followed him at ſome diſtance, till we came into the open foreſt, where all formed into a ſemicircle, in the centre of which was the Emperor, having on his left hand about eight or ten of his ſons and grandſons, and the ambaſſador on his right, about fifty paces diſtant; cloſe by him were the maſter of the chace, with ſome grey-hounds, and the grand falconer with his hawks. I could not but admire the beauty of theſe fine birds. Many of them were as white as doves, having one or two black feathers in their wings or tails. They are brought from Siberia, or places to the north of the river Amoor.

Our wings being extended, there were many hares ſtarted, which the company endeavoured to drive towards the Emperor, who killed many of them with arrows as they paſſed; thoſe he miſſed, he made a ſign to ſome of the princes to purſue, who alſo killed many of them with arrows; but no other perſon was permitted to draw a bow, or ſtir from the line. The ſame rules of hunting I formerly obſerved are practiſed by the Mongalls.

From the open field, we continued our route weſtward, to a place among thickets and tall reeds, where we ſprung a number of pheaſants, partridges, and quails. His Majeſty then laid aſide his bow and arrows, and carried a hawk on his hand, which he flew as occaſion offered. The hawks generally raked in the pheaſants while flying; but, if they took the reeds or buſhes, they ſoon caught them.

After proceeding about two or three miles farther into the foreſt, we came to a tall wood, where we found ſeveral ſorts of deer. The young men went in and beat the woods, whilſt the reſt of the company remained without. We ſaw much game paſs us; but nobody drew a bow till the Emperor had killed a ſtag, which he did very dexterouſly, with a broad headed arrow: after which the princes had leave to kill ſeveral bucks; among which was one of that ſpecies that bears the muſk, called *kaberda* in Siberia, of which I have formerly given a deſcription. The Chineſe muſk is ſtronger, and therefore preferable to that from northern parts.

We had now been ſix hours on horſeback, and, I reckon, had travelled about fifteen Engliſh miles, but no end of the foreſt yet appeared. We turned ſhort from this wood ſouthwards, till, coming to ſome marſhes overgrown with tall reeds, we rouſed a great many wild boars; but, as it was not the ſeaſon for killing them, they all eſcaped. The hunting theſe fierce animals is reckoned the moſt dangerous of all kinds of ſport, except the chace of lions and tigers. Every one endeavoured to avoid them; and ſeveral of them run furiouſly through the thickeſt troops of horſe. The Emperor was ſo cautious as to have a company of men, armed with lances, to guard his machine.

We continued the ſport till about four o'clock, when we came to a high artificial mount, of a ſquare figure, raiſed in the middle of a plain, on the top of which were pitched about ten or twelve tents, for the imperial family. This mount had ſeveral winding paths leading to the top, planted on each ſide with rows of trees, in imitation of nature. To the ſouth was a large baſon of water, with a boat upon it; from whence, I ſuppoſe, the earth has been taken that formed this mount. At ſome diſtance from the mount, tents were erected for the people of diſtinction, and officers of the court. About two hundred yards from it, we were lodged in ſome clean huts, covered with reeds. The Emperor, from his ſituation, had a view of all the tents, and a great way farther into the foreſt. The whole ſcene made a very pretty appearance.

As ſoon as we alighted, the maſter of the ceremonies was ſent by the Emperor to aſk the ambaſſador how he liked their manner of hunting. He made a ſuitable return, acknowledging, at the ſame time, the great honour done him on this occaſion.

The Emperor then ſent us great plenty of dreſſed proviſions of all kinds; and the officer who brought them pointed out ſeveral diſhes, which His Majeſty ſent from his own table, conſiſting of mutton, veniſon, pheaſants, and other ſorts of wild fowl.

After dinner, the Emperor ſent two of his chief eunuchs to compliment the ambaſſador, and inform him, that he intended to entertain him with the baiting of three tigers, which had been kept ſome time, cooped up in a ſtrong grate-work, for that purpoſe. The hill where the Emperor's tent ſtood was ſurrounded with ſeveral ranks of guards, armed with long ſpears. A guard alſo was placed before the ambaſſador's, and the reſt of the tents, to ſecure the whole encampment from the fury of theſe fierce animals. The firſt was let out by a perſon mounted on a fleet horſe, who opened the door of the coop by means of a rope tied to it. The tiger immediately left his cage, and ſeemed much pleaſed to find himſelf at liberty. The horſeman rode off at full ſpeed, while the tiger was rolling himſelf upon the graſs. At laſt he roſe, and growled, and walked about. The Emperor fired twice at him with bullets; but the diſtance being conſiderable, miſſed him, though the pieces were well pointed. Upon which His Majeſty ſent to the ambaſſador, to try his piece upon him; which being charged with a ſingle ball, he walked towards the animal, accompanied by ten men, armed with ſpears, in caſe of accidents; till, being at a convenient diſtance, he took his aim, and killed him on the ſpot.

The ſecond was let out in the ſame manner. The horſeman, retiring a little, left the creature rolling upon the graſs like the firſt. He then returned; and ſhot at him with a blunted arrow; which roufed the animal to ſuch a pitch, and made him purſue ſo cloſely, that the horſeman narrowly eſcaped within the ranks, where the furious tiger, endeavouring to leap over the men's heads, was killed at the foot of the mount.

The third, as ſoon as he was ſet at liberty, run directly towards the Emperor's tent, and was in like manner killed with the ſpears. A man muſt be well mounted and armed who hunts this kind of animals in the woods; where they muſt be much ſtronger and ſwifter than theſe we ſaw, which had been confined for many months, and whoſe limbs, by want of exerciſe, were become ſtiff and unwieldly; but, notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, the courage and nimbleneſs even of theſe animals was very ſurpriſing. I have ſeen four ſorts of them, the tiger, panther, leopard, and lynx, which are all very fierce; but the firſt is the largeſt and ſtrongeſt.

The Emperor in his youth was very fond of hunting theſe creatures in the woods of Tartary; but now he confines himſelf within the limits of the foreſt, where there is game ſufficient to gratify any ſportſman.

The killing of the tigers finiſhed the diverſion of the day; after which we retired to our huts, where we were entertained with a plentiful ſupper ſent us by the Emperor. After ſupper, an officer was ſent from His Majeſty to the ambaſſador, who brought the tiger's ſkin he had ſhot, telling him that, by the laws of hunting, he had a right to it.

Next morning, the ſport was reſumed, and varied little from that of the preceding day. About three o'clock, afternoon, we came to another ſummer-houſe in the middle of the foreſt, where the Emperor lodged the following night, while we lay in a ſmall neat temple in the neighbourhood, and were entertained by His Majeſty in the ſame manner as before.

The 23d, about eight of the clock in the morning, the maſter of the ceremonies waited on the ambaſſador, in order to conduct him into His Majeſty's preſence to receive his audience of leave. The Emperor received him in a moſt friendly manner in his bed-chamber. He repeated his aſſurances of the great friendſhip he entertained for

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His Czariſh Majeſty, and expreſſed great reſpect for the perſonal merit of the ambaſſador. After which the ambaſſador took leave, and we returned to our lodgings in the city.

I ſhall only obſerve further, that this foreſt is really a moſt delightful place, is well ſtored with a variety of game, and is of great extent, as will eaſily be conceived from the account I have given of our two days hunting. It is all incloſed with a high wall of brick. The value of this park, ſo near the capital, ſhows the magnificence of this powerful monarch.

The 24th, the ambaſſador was invited, by the preſident of the College of Mathematics, to ſee the obſervatory, which is ſituated immediately within the eaſt wall, and commands an extenſive proſpect. The building is not magnificent, but is furniſhed with a fine armillary ſphere, globes, teleſcopes, an orrery in good order, and other mathematical inſtruments of the beſt European workmanſhip. This college was erected by the preſent Emperor, who ſpares no coſt to bring it to perfection; and the meaneſt of his ſubjects, who diſcover a genius for ſcience, or any uſeful art, are ſure to meet with due encouragement.

The Chineſe are indebted to the preſent Emperor for what progreſs they have made in aſtronomy. He chiefly promoted this ſtudy by countenancing the Jeſuits and other miſſionaries; for I have been informed that, before their arrival in this country, the inhabitants could ſcarcely calculate an eclipſe. The Chineſe, it is indeed pretended, underſtood aſtronomy previous to that period: but the knowledge of it was in a great meaſure loſt during the many fatal revolutions of the empire.

From the obſervatory we aſcended, by a broad riſing paſſage, to the top of the city-wall, where we ſaw about fifteen horſemen riding their rounds, which we were told they performed day and night at ſtated times. The wall is built of brick, and is about twenty-five or thirty feet high, having embraſures and ſquare towers at equal diſtances, and a wide deep ditch, which may be filled with water at pleaſure. On the top of the wall there is a pleaſant walk, broad enough for fifteen horſemen to ride abreaſt. I ſuppoſe the whole is, perhaps, not compoſed of ſolid bricks, but the middle filled up with earth and rubbiſh.

The 25th, we went to all the three convents, and took leave of our friends the miſſionaries.

The 26th, the ambaſſador went to the tribunal for foreign affairs, and received a letter from the Emperor to His Czariſh Majeſty. On this occaſion, the preſident acquainted his excellency, that he muſt conſider this letter as a ſingular mark of favour to his maſter, as their Emperors were not in uſe to write letters of compliment to any prince, or, indeed, to write letters of any kind, except thoſe which contained their orders to their ſubjects; and that the Emperor diſpenſed with ſo material a cuſtom, only to teſtify his reſpect for his Czariſh Majeſty.

The original of this letter was in the Chineſe language, and a copy of it in the Mongalian. It was folded up in a long roll, according to the cuſtom in China, and wrapped in a piece of yellow ſilk, which was tied to a man's arm, and carried in proceſſion before the ambaſſador. All perſons on horſeback whom we met diſmounted, and ſtood till we had paſſed them. Such veneration do theſe people pay to every thing belonging to the Emperor.

The ſame day, the ambaſſador had a viſit from a young gentleman, a deſcendent of the famous Chineſe philoſopher Confucius, whoſe memory and works are greatly reſpected in China. From what I could learn of this eminent philoſopher, he appears to have been a perſon of extraordinary parts, extenſive knowledge, and exemplary

plary virtue. On account of ſuch rare qualities, his family is ſtill honoured and eſteemed, even by the Emperor himſelf.

CHAP. XII.—*Some Account of the preſent Emperor of China, the Chineſe Wall, &c.*

BEFORE we leave China, I ſhall make a few general remarks on the people and country, drawn from the beſt information I could procure; and ſhall begin with the long wall.

The long, or endleſs wall, as it is commonly called, encompaſſes all the north and weſt parts of China. It was built, about ſix hundred years ago, by one of the Emperors, to prevent the frequent incurſions of the Mongalls, and other weſtern Tartars, who made a practice of aſſembling numerous troops of horſe, and invading the country in different places. The Chineſe frontiers were too extenſive to be guarded againſt ſuch bold and numerous enemies, who after plundering and deſtroying a wealthy country, returned to their own, loaded with ſpoils.

The Chineſe finding all precautions ineffectual to put a ſtop to the inroads of ſuch barbarians, at laſt reſolved to build this famous wall. It begins in the province of Leotong, at the bottom of the bay of Nankin, and proceeds acroſs rivers, and over the tops of the higheſt mountains, without interruption, keeping nearly along the circular ridge of barren rocks that ſurround the country to the north and weſt; and, after running ſouthwards about twelve hundred Engliſh miles, ends in impaſſable mountains and ſandy deſerts.

The foundation conſiſts of large blocks of ſquare ſtones laid in mortar; but the reſt of the wall is built of brick. The whole is ſo ſtrong and well built as to need almoſt no repair, and in ſuch a dry climate may remain in this condition for many ages. Its height and breadth are not equal in every place; nor, indeed, is it neceſſary they ſhould. When carried over ſteep rocks, where no horſe can paſs, it is about fifteen or twenty feet high, and broad in proportion; but when running through a valley, or croſſing a river, there you ſee a ſtrong wall, about thirty feet high, with ſquare towers, at the diſtance of a bow-ſhot from one another, and embraſures at equal diſtances. The top of the wall is flat, and paved with broad free-ſtone; and where it riſes over a rock, or any eminence, you aſcend by a fine eaſy ſtone ſtair.

The bridges over rivers and torrents are exceedingly neat, being both well contrived and executed. They have two ſtories of arches, one above another, to afford ſufficient paſſage for the waters on ſudden rains and floods.

This wall was begun and completely finiſhed in the ſpace of five years; every ſixth man in China being obliged to work himſelf, or find another in his ſtead. It is reported, that the labourers ſtood ſo cloſe, for many miles diſtance, as to hand the materials from one to another. This I am the more inclined to believe, as the rugged rocks would prevent all uſe of carriages; nor could clay, for making bricks or cement of any kind, be found among them.

The building of this wall, however, was not the only burden the Chineſe ſupported on this occaſion. They were alſo obliged to keep a numerous army in the field to guard the paſſes of the mountains, and ſecure the labourers from being interrupted by their watchful enemies the Tartars, who all the while were not idle ſpectators.

I am of opinion, that no nation in the world was able for ſuch an undertaking except the Chineſe: for, though ſome other kingdom might have furniſhed a ſufficient number of workmen for ſuch an enterpriſe, none but the ingenious, ſober, and parſimonious

monious Chineſe, could have preſerved order amidſt ſuch multitudes, or patiently ſubmitted to the hardſhips attending ſuch a labour. This ſurpriſing piece of work, if not the greateſt, may juſtly be reckoned among the wonders of the world. And the Emperor, who planned and completed it, deſerves fame, as much ſuperior to his who built the famous Egyptian pyramids, as a performance of real uſe exceeds a work of vanity.

Beſides the main wall, there are ſeveral ſemicircular walls, which have the long wall for their diameter, at the places leaſt fortified by nature, and at the open paſſes of the mountains. Theſe are ſtrongly built, of the ſame materials and architecture with the long wall, and are of conſiderable extent, ſometimes on one ſide of the main wall, and ſometimes on the other. In theſe walls are ſtrong gates, conſtantly defended by a numerous guard. They are intended to prevent a ſurpriſe, and ſtop ſudden irruptions of the enemy. Even theſe leſſer bulwarks ſeem works of great expence and labour, but nothing in compariſon with the long wall.

After the Chineſe had finiſhed their wall, they had a reſpite for a conſiderable time from the invaſions of their enemies, reaping the fruits of their labour in peace and quietneſs. However, about five hundred years ago, the weſtern Tartars found means to get through the wall, and, with a powerful army of horſe, entered the country, carrying terror along with them wherever they went. They at laſt became maſters of the greateſt part of China, and kept poſſeſſion of it for many years, till the Chineſe, exaſperated by their tyranny, took advantage of their negligence, and drove them back with diſgrace to their ancient habitations in the deſerts. The Chineſe now began to re-eſtabliſh their former government, to rectify diſorders, and repair deſolations made by the Tartars. From this time they enjoyed long peace, till the fatal year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty, when the Mantzur Tartars conquered the whole empire of China; which conqueſt they retain to this day, and, by their prudent management and mild government, ſeem in a fair way to keep it.

I ſhall briefly relate in what manner this ſtrange revolution was brought about by ſo ſmall a nation as the Mantzurs; a people whom the Chineſe diſpiſed, and who bear no greater proportion to the Chineſe than the inhabitants of Wales to the reſt of Great Britain.

It happened, during a time of profound peace, that a certain prince of Mantzur, going to fetch his bride, from a place bordering on the province of Leotong, was, without provocation, attacked by a party of Chineſe, and ſlain, with moſt of his attendants, againſt all laws of juſtice and good neighbourhood.

The Tartars, though highly exaſperated, behaved with uncommon moderation on this occaſion. Before proceeding to make repriſals, or taking any ſtep whatever with that view, they ſent ambaſſadors to the court of Pekin, demanding ſatisfaction for the outrage committed upon one of their princes. Their complaints were neglected; and the matter, under various pretences, delayed, from time to time, till the Tartars, loſing all patience, and poſitively inſiſting on an anſwer to their demands, were affronted, and contemptuouſly diſmiſſed by the Chineſe miniſtry, to whom the Emperor had referred them. This treatment highly enraged the whole race of the Tartars, who immediately vowed revenge; and having got an army together, entered the province of Leotong, which lies without the wall, waſting all with fire and ſword.

Beſides this war with the Tartars, ſeveral other circumſtances concurred to bring about a revolution in the empire; for at the ſame time there happened a great inſurrection in China, which at laſt became general. The rebels were commanded by one named Li, who, after having defeated the imperial army ſent to oppoſe him, inveſted and took

Pekin itſelf. And the Emperor, rather than fall into the hands of his furious ſubjects, firſt hanged his daughter, and then himſelf, on a tree in his own garden.

The Emperor's general, Uſangue, ſtill kept the field with the ſmall remains of his troops, but altogether unable to reſiſt the powerful army of the rebels. He therefore retired northwards; and all hopes of ſucceſs being loſt, came to a reſolution of calling in the Tartars to his aſſiſtance. He promiſed them many rewards, and particularly the province of Leotong, if by their aid he ſucceeded in forcing the rebels to obedience. Kum-ti the Tartar chief, readily hearkened to the propoſal, and the terms were ſoon ſettled between the parties.

In conſequence of this agreement, the new allies joined armies, which were both commanded by the Tartar, and advanced towards the long wall: but before they reached the gate, Kum-ti, the Tartar prince, died, and left his ſon, Xungſti, a child of ſeven years of age, for his ſucceſſor. This accident did not retard the progreſs of the expedition; for this child was left to the guardianſhip of his uncle, a man of great abilities and addreſs, and perfectly qualified to conduct the important project then on foot.

Immediately after the death of the Kum-ti, the young prince was proclaimed King of the Mantzurs, and commander in chief of the combined army of Tartars and Chineſe. In order to magnify the number of Tartars in the army, and conſequently render themſelves more formidable to the rebels, they luckily fell upon a ſtratagem, which was, to dreſs all the Chineſe ſoldiers in Tartar habits: and, at entering the wall, the real Tartars in the army did not exceed eight thouſand men, though indeed they were followed by ſtrong reinforcements.

When they arrived at the wall, the Chineſe, who kept a guard, ſeeing a child at the head of ſuch an army, which they imagined to conſiſt wholly of Tartars, were ſo ſurpriſed, that they immediately opened the gates, without the leaſt reſiſtance, crying out, long live the Emperor. This circumſtance, added to the reports of ſo formidable an army of Tartars, increaſing daily by reinforcements, ſtruck ſuch terror into the rebels, that many of them forſook their leader. The Tartars ſtill advanced, and had daily ſkirmiſhes and ſeveral battles with the rebels, in which the latter were defeated. In the mean time, the guardian took care to leave garriſons in all the towns through which they paſſed, with ſtrict orders to uſe the inhabitants with the greateſt humanity. Such mild behaviour gained the affection of the nation in general. And thus he proceeded, from one province to another, till the whole empire ſubmitted to his juriſdiction.

The war, which had laſted ſome years, being now at an end, and peace re-eſtabliſhed, the Chineſe thanked the Tartars for their good ſervices, and deſired they would return to their own country. But the Tartar Chief, on various pretences delayed his departure, till ſuch time as he found his party ſufficiently ſtrong to fix his nephew, Xungſti, on the imperial throne of China.

Xungſti died a young man, and left his ſecond ſon, Kamhi, to ſucceed him. On finding himſelf at the point of death, he called for his eldeſt ſon, and aſked him, whether he would take upon him the government? but, being young and modeſt, he was unwilling to accept, and begged his father would excuſe him on that account. Then Kamhi was called, and aſked the ſame queſtion. He was better inſtructed, and briſkly anſwered, he was ready to obey his father's commands, and would take the weight of the government upon him. This anſwer ſo pleaſed the Emperor, that he named him his ſucceſſor; and accordingly on the death of his father, he was proclaimed Emperor; and his behaviour has ſhown him altogether worthy of that honour. It is, it ſeems,

agreeable

agreeable to the laws and cuſtoms of China, that the Emperor chuſe, for his ſucceſſor, which of his ſons he pleaſes, without regard to primogeniture.

Although the Emperor's name is Kamhi, the weſtern Tartars call him Boghdoychan, ſignifying chief governour; but the Chineſe, in talking of him, ſay *Vanſuy*, which ſignifies many times ten-thouſand years, meaning, let the Emperor live ſo long. This is a high title in the Oriental phraſe. His ſons are called Van, ſignifying ten thouſand years, and are diſtinguiſhed by the names of Van the firſt, Van the ſecond, &c. according to their age.

Kamhi, the preſent Emperor, has about twenty ſons, and, it is ſaid, he intends the fourteenth for his ſucceſſor. He is a prince eminent for prudence and valour; and had, at this time, the command of an army againſt the Kalmucks.

Kamhi hath yet the remains of a graceful perſon. His countenance is open, his diſpoſition generous, and he gives great application to buſineſs; qualities abſolutely neceſſary to manage the great affairs with which he is intruſted. His reign has been long and proſperous, though ſometimes diſturbed by dangerous inſurrections, and open rebellions; but his good fortune and prudent conduct, overcoming all difficulties, reſtored public tranquillity; and he has now, for a conſiderable time, enjoyed perfect peace and happineſs. Although the government of China is abſolute, it requires no ſmall ſagacity and ſkill to rule an empire of ſuch extenſive dominions, and containing ſo numerous ſubjects.

After Kamhi had ſettled his affairs at home, the firſt ſtep he took was to gain the weſtern or Mongall Tartars to his friendſhip. The Chineſe had no enemies ſo formidable. The Emperor knew their valour, and had employed many of them in his army, who did him ſignal ſervices on many occaſions. To effect this, he began to form alliances with their princes and chiefs, by intermarriages between their families and his, where theſe could take place; others he allured by rich preſents; ſo that they are at preſent little better than his ſubjects: and, by this maſter-piece of politics, he ſucceeded more effectually than if he had employed the whole force of China. The friendſhip of the weſtern Tartars is of great importance to the Emperor; for they not only ſupply Pekin with proviſions, the produce of their flocks, but, upon any emergency, can bring to his aſſiſtance fifty thouſand horſe on a ſhort warning.

It may eaſily be imagined, that great armies and ſtrict diſcipline are neceſſary to guard ſo extenſive territories, and keep ſuch a numerous people on their duty. The number of ſoldiers reported to be in the empire is prodigious, and almoſt incredible. I am well informed, that the ſingle province and city of Pekin contain no leſs than one hundred and twenty thouſand effective men, all well paid, cloathed, and armed.

Notwithſtanding the vaſt revenues which are neceſſary for the ſupport of the government, the duties on inland trade muſt be very eaſy; for I was told by a merchant, that he could live in the capital, and trade in what branches of buſineſs he pleaſed, for paying only one ounce of ſilver annually to the Emperor. Such eaſy taxes ſhow the great œconomy and moderation of Kamhi, whoſe reign is called the reign of great peace and reſt; in Chineſe *Tayping*.

The Tartars call China, Kitay, and the people Kitaytzi; but the Chineſe call themſelves Chum-quotigen, that is, the people of the middle region.

The empire of China is, in a manner, ſeparated from all the reſt of the world; ſituated in a fine and healthy climate, ſurrounded by the ocean to the eaſt and ſouth; by a chain of high rocks and barren mountains on the north and weſt, along which runs the famous wall as an additional defence. But what, in my opinion, is a greater ſecurity to the empire againſt invaders than any thing yet mentioned, is the barren

deſert, ſtretching for ſeveral hundred miles weſtward, where none but Tartars can ſubſiſt, and which ſcarce any regular army can paſs. The ſeas, to the ſouth and the eaſt, are indeed open, and China might be attacked on that ſide; but, I am perſuaded, no prince will think it proper to diſturb his own repoſe, and that of ſuch a powerful people, inclined to peace with all their neighbours, and ſatisfied, as they ſeem, with their own dominions.

I know but of one nation who could attempt the conqueſt of China with any probability of ſucceſs, and that is Ruſſia; but the territories of that empire are ſo extenſive in this quarter of the world, as to exceed even the bounds of ambition itſelf; and the Ruſſians ſeem to entertain no deſire of extending them farther.

What part of China I ſaw is moſtly plain, interſperſed with hills and riſing grounds. The whole is pleaſant and well cultivated, producing wheat and other grain, together with abundance of cattle and poultry.

Beſides the neceſſaries, the Chineſe have many of the ſuperfluities of life, particularly fine fruits of various kinds, too tedious to mention. They have likewiſe mines of gold, ſilver, copper, lead, and iron. They ſet a greater value on ſilver, in proportion to gold, than the Europeans do; ſo that gold is exported to good advantage.

In China are many navigable rivers and canals, cut to great diſtances, for the convenience of water-carriage. The merchants are immenſely rich by their inland and foreign trade, which they carry on to great extent with the Ruſſians and Tartars, beſides the vaſt ſums of money they receive annually from the Europeans in exchange for tea, China-ware, and other merchandiſe. The trade alſo to Japan, and the neighbouring iſlands, is very conſiderable. What is moſt remarkable in their payments is, that they receive only dollars, crown, and half-crown pieces; undervaluing ſmaller coins, of equal weight and ſtandard, though they melt all down directly into bars of different ſizes.

Tea is univerſally uſed, at all times, and by perſons of all ranks. Both the green and bohea grow on the ſame tree, or rather ſhrub, called by the Chineſe zay. The green tea is called tzin-tzay, and the bohea ouy-tzay. When the leaves are gathered at the proper ſeaſon, they are put into large kettles, and dried over a gentle fire, which makes them crumple up, and prevents their crumbling to duſt, which they would infallibly do, without this precaution.

What is deſigned for bohea is mixed, in drying, with the juice of a certain plant, which gives it the colour and flavour, and qualifies that ſharpneſs, which, in conſtant drinking, is hurtful to ſome tender conſtitutions. The cultivating, gathering, dreſſing, and packing, of this uſeful plant, muſt employ a great number of hands, and particularly of old and young people, who would be unfit for hard labour.

The high rates at which tea is ſold in Europe are a little ſurpriſing, conſidering the prices in China. For, at Pekin, the price of the beſt tea, either green or bohea, is half an ounce of ſilver the Chineſe pound, which is equal to what it would be at two ſhillings a pound in England. And, allowing the freight and duties to be high, yet the profits ſeem ſomewhat extravagant. I ſhall only add, on this ſubject, that the tea commonly ſold at Pekin is preferable in quality to what is imported to Europe from Canton; and that the Chineſe drink it without ſugar, although ſugar is a produce of the country, and conſequently very cheap.

Several of the Chineſe manufactures are brought to great perfection, eſpecially that of weaving ſilk, damaſks, and other ſtuffs, which are partly worn by the natives, and partly exported. Silks are the common dreſs of the better ſort of people, of both ſexes, and coarſe cotton cloth that of the lower claſs. They uſe almoſt no woollen

cloths, becauſe, they ſay, in their climate, they gather too much duſt. They have great abundance of raw ſilk. They make no muſlins, nor fine chints; neither are theſe much uſed.

The Chineſe, it is well known, are excellent performers in ſeveral mechanic arts, particularly as potters, dyers, japanners, joiners, and paper-makers. In the article of paper-making, they excel even the Europeans.

Their workmanſhip in metals is but clumſy; except only founding, at which they are very expert. The arts of ſtatuary, ſculpture, and painting, have made but ſmall progreſs among them. They have excellent water-colours of all ſorts, but none in oil. The chief ſtudy of their painters ſeems to be landſkip painting; and I have ſeen ſome of their performances in this way very natural.

They have many quarries of fine marble, of different colours; but not ſo much as a ſingle ſtatue is to be ſeen in the Emperor's garden.

The making of clocks and watches was lately introduced, under the protection of the preſent Emperor; who, at his leiſure hours, amuſes himſelf with whatever is curious, either in art or nature.

The Chineſe are a civilized and hoſpitable people, complaiſant to ſtrangers, and to one another; very regular in their manners and behaviour, and reſpectful to their ſuperiors; but, above all, their regard for their parents, and decent treatment of their women of all ranks, ought to be imitated, and deſerve great praiſe. Theſe good qualities are a natural conſequence of the ſobriety and uniformity of life to which they have been long accuſtomed.

The general regularity and decency of manners among the Chineſe, is obvious to all who ſee and obſerve them with the leaſt attention. And, as they are ſingular in many things, beyond moſt other nations, they are ſo likewiſe, in this point of polity, which I cannot omit taking notice of in my tranſient remarks.

It may eaſily be imagined, that, in ſo populous a city, there muſt be many idle perſons of both ſexes; though, I believe, fewer than in moſt other cities of the world, even in thoſe of much leſs extent than that of Pekin. In order to prevent all diſorderly practices, as much as poſſible, the government have thought fit to permit, or connive at, certain places in the ſuburbs, for the reception and entertainment of proſtitutes, who are maintained by the landlords of the houſes in which they dwell, but not allowed to ſtraggle abroad. I have been informed, that theſe ladies of pleaſure have all ſeparate appartments, with the price of each lady, deſcribing, at the ſame time, her beauties and qualities, written over the door of her apartment, in fair legible characters; which price is paid directly by the gallant; by which means, theſe affairs are conducted without noiſe in the houſes, or diſturbances in the neighbourhood. Noiſy brawls are very ſeldom, hardly ever, known at Pekin. Thoſe who are found offending in this way undergo very ſevere penalties. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that theſe houſes are calculated for the meaner ſort of people only; ſo that any perſon who hath the leaſt regard to his credit or reputation, carefully avoids being ſeen in them.

I muſt, however, take notice of one ſhocking and unnatural practice, which appears more extraordinary in a country ſo well regulated and governed as China; I mean that of expoſing ſo many new-born infants in the ſtreets. This, indeed, is only done by the poor, who have more wives than they can maintain. To prevent the death of theſe children, there are public hoſpitals appointed for their reception, and people ſent out through the ſtreets, every morning, to pick up, and carry thither, ſuch children as they find expoſed. The miſſionaries alſo ſend out people to take up ſuch as have been neglected, who are carried to a private hoſpital, maintained at their charge, and educated

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in the Chriſtian religion. And of ſuch perſons do the greateſt part of the Chineſe Chriſtians conſiſt.

I ſhall now make a few remarks upon the ladies, who have many good qualities beſides their beauty. They are very cleanly and modeſt in their dreſs. Their eyes are black, and ſo little, that, when they laugh, you can ſcarce ſee them. Their hair is black as jet, and neatly tied up in a knot, on the crown of the head, adorned with artificial flowers of their own making, which are very becoming. The better ſort, who are ſeldom expoſed to the air, have good complexions. Thoſe who are inclined to the olive, take care to add a touch of white and red paint, which they apply very nicely.

The ladies of diſtinction are ſeldom permitted to ſtir abroad, except to viſit their neareſt relations; and, on theſe occaſions, they are always carried in cloſe chairs, and attended by their ſervants. The women of all ranks ſtay pretty much at home. The ſmallneſs of their feet, which renders them unable to walk to any conſiderable diſtance, makes their confinement leſs diſagreeable. As ſoon as a girl comes into the world, they bind her tender feet with tight bandages, which are renewed as occaſion requires, to prevent their growing. This cuſtom prevails univerſally, the Tartar ladies reſiding in China only excepted, who appear to have no inclination to conform to this faſhion.

This faſhion was introduced into China by a great princeſs, who lived ſome ages ago. She was a lady of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and has obtained the reputation of a ſaint; but, it is reported, her feet reſembled thoſe of birds; on which account ſhe kept them always carefully wrapped up, and concealed even from the Emperor her huſband. The ladies of the court followed her example, which, of courſe, ſoon became general. The Chineſe women never pare their nails, but ſuffer them to grow to the full length. This proves no impediment in embroidery, and other needle-work, in which they are conſtantly employed. Theſe they finiſh with extraordinary neatneſs, as fully appears from ſome ſpecimens of them brought to Europe.

The Chineſe deſerve great praiſe for their patience in finiſhing completely every thing they undertake. And, what is ſtill a greater recommendation, their labours are not the effect of whim or caprice, but calculated to ſerve ſome uſeful purpoſe. The public works about the city of Pekin are inſtances of theſe obſervations. The ſtreets, in particular, are the fineſt in the world. They are ſpacious, neat, and ſtraight. The canals which ſupply the city with water have, at proper diſtances, commodious ſtone-bridges over them; and theſe canals are not only built with freeſtone on the ſide, but the bottoms of them paved with broad cut ſtones, in the neateſt manner imaginable. There are but few ſprings of ſoft water in Pekin. And the water, in general, though a little brackiſh, is by no means unwholeſome.

The Chineſe are generally of a middle ſize, and ſlender make, but very active. They are honeſt, and obſerve the ſtricteſt honour and juſtice in their dealings. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that not a few of them are much addicted to knavery, and well-ſkilled in the arts of cheating. They have, indeed, found many Europeans as great proficients in that art as themſelves. And, if you once cheat them, they are ſure to retaliate on the firſt opportunity.

As to the religion of the Chineſe, I cannot pretend to give a diſtinct account of it. According to the beſt information I could procure, they are divided into ſeveral ſects, among which that of the Theiſts is the moſt rational and reſpectable. They worſhip one God, whom they call Tien, the Heaven, or the higheſt Lord, and pay no religious homage to the images of their countrymen. This ſect has ſubſiſted for many ages longer than Chriſtianity, and is ſtill moſt in vogue; being embraced by the Emperor himſelf, and moſt of the grandees, and men of learning. The common people are generally

idolaters. The few Jews and Mahometans reſiding here are ſuppoſed to have entered China about ſix or ſeven hundred years ago, in company with the weſtern Tartars. There is a very inconſiderable ſect, called Croſs-worſhippers. They worſhip the holy croſs; but have loſt all other marks of Chriſtianity; which makes it probable the goſpel was preached in this country before the arrival of the miſſionaries, but by whom is uncertain. The Chriſtians at preſent are computed to amount to one hundred thouſand, of both ſexes. I have been told, the Chineſe have alſo ſome Atheiſts among them.

I had ſeveral opportunities of talking with their phyſicians. They generally both prepare and adminiſter their own preſcriptions, and are very little acquainted with the medicinal ſyſtem practiſed in Europe. As they have but few chemical preparations, their chief ſtudy is the virtues of plants, which they apply on all occaſions, and often with ſucceſs. They feel the patient's pulſe for four or five minutes, and very ſeldom let blood, even in high fevers. They compare a fever to a boiling pot, and chooſe rather to take the fire from it than diminiſh the quantity of liquor it contains, which would only make it boil the faſter. Bathing and cupping are much practiſed; and they even apply fire, in ſome caſes, particularly for pains in the joints, and gouty diſorders. On theſe occaſions, they apply a lighted match, compoſed of the downy ſubſtance that grows on mugwort, to the part affected; which making a ſcar, either entirely removes, or conſiderably mitigates the pain.

I cannot but take notice, on this occaſion, of a famous plant, called Gingſing, which grows in the province of Leotong. The root of this plant is ſo much eſteemed for its phyſical virtues, that it is gathered by people appointed by the Emperor for this purpoſe only, and is valued at the rate of about twenty-five pounds ſterling the pound weight. It is ſo rare, that the Emperor ſent two pounds of it only in a preſent to His Czariſh Majeſty. There are two ſorts of it; one looks as if candied, the other like ſmall parſley roots, and has ſomething of the ſame taſte. They ſlice down or pound it; and, after infuſion and ſlight boiling, they give it to the patient. I could never learn from their phyſicians what ſpecific qualities this plant poſſeſſed, only that it was of univerſal uſe. I have heard many ſtories of ſtrange cures performed by it; that perſons ſeemingly dead have, by its means, been reſtored to health. I believe, indeed, it may be a good reſtorative plant; but, if it really has any extraordinary virtues, I could never diſcover them, though I have made many experiments on it at different times. I ſhould imagine this rare plant might be cultivated, with ſucceſs, in the country, where it grows naturally; and it appears improbable the Chineſe would neglect ſuch a ſovereign remedy.

The great men in China follow the example of the weſtern Aſiatics, in keeping eunuchs to attend them, who are their counſellors, and chief confidents, on all occaſions. Their buſineſs is to take care of the women; and, being in a manner detached from the world, they are much reſpected. Caſtrating is a trade in China; and ſo ſkilful and dexterous are the performers, that few die under their hands. I knew a man who, being reduced to low circumſtances, ſold himſelf to be made an eunuch after he was thirty years of age.

The language of the Chineſe is compoſed chiefly of monoſyllables, and ſeems to me eaſily acquired; at leaſt, as much of it as is ſufficient for converſation. The difficulty of learning their letters, or rather marks for words, cannot be ſo great as is commonly repreſented; for you ſcarcely meet a common hawker who cannot read and write what belongs to his calling. It requires, indeed, much labour, and conſiderable abilities, to acquire the character of a learned man in China.

I have

I have mentioned above a few only of their manufactures. I cannot omit taking notice of their paper, which is made both of ſilk and cotton, and is remarkably clean and ſmooth. They had been in poſſeſſion of this art for many ages before they had any intercourſe with the Europeans, as appears from their records. Their ſheets are made larger than any I ever ſaw in Europe; and, though they generally write with hair pencils, I have ſeen Chineſe paper that bore our pens and ink very well.

Their ink, called *touſh*, is well known to our painters and deſigners. I was told the chief ingredient in it is the burnt bones of animals. They have ſeveral ſorts of it; but the beſt is very cheap, and is made up in paſtes of various figures, ſtamped with characters or letters. It is generally put up in little flat boxes, ſometimes double the value of the ink they contain.

I ſhall here inſert a ſpecimen of Chineſe numbers, and a few capital words, with thoſe of ſeveral other Aſiatic nations.

Chineſe Numbers.

1	Iga.	16	Shileoga.
2	Langa.	17	Shiziga.
3	Sanga.	18	Shiſpaga.
4	Siga.	19	Shizuga.
5	Uga.	20	Shielga.
6	Leoga.	30	Shinſhiga.
7	Tziga.	40	Tzeziga.
8	Paga.	50	Uſhiga.
9	Tziuga.	60	Leoſhiga.
10	Shiga.	70	Tziſhiga.
11	Shiyga.	80	Paſhiga.
12	Shierga.	90	Tzioſhiga.
13	Shiſenga.	100	Ibay.
14	Shiſga.	1000	Itzen.
15	Shiuga.	10,000	Van.

A Specimen of Engliſh and Chineſe Words.

God, *Foy.*	Wind, *Fung.*
The heavens, *Tien.*	Rain, *Eu.*
The earth, *Tiye.*	Good, *Cho.*
The ſun, *Shilo.*	Bad, *Pu.*
The moon, *Jualang.*	A good friend, *Cho-pung-yu.*
The ſtars, *Tziſing.*	Farewell, *Manſay lea.*
The devil, *Kuy.*	Fire, *Choa.*
Water, *Shuy.*	Bread, *Bobon.*

The Mantzur's Numbers.

1	Emu.	6	Nynguin.
2	Dio.	7	Naadan.
3	Ilan.	8	Iaachun.
4	Tunin.	9	Une.
5	Suinja.	10	Ioan, &c.

The

The Mongall's Numbers, and ſome of their Words.

1	Neggea.	16	Arba-zurga.
2	Choir.	17	Arba-dolo.
3	Gurba.	18	Arba-nauma.
4	Dirbu.	19	Arba-juſſu.
5	Tabu.	20	Choiry.
6	Zurga.	30	Gutſhy.
7	Dolo.	40	Dutſhy.
8	Nauma.	50	Taby.
9	Juſſu.	60	Dira.
10	Arba.	70	Dala.
11	Arba-neggea.	80	Naya.
12	Arba-Choir.	90	Irea.
13	Arba-gurba.	100	Dzo.
14	Arba-dirbu.	1000	Ming.
15	Arba-tabu.	10,000	Tumea.

God, *Burchan.*
The heavens, *Tengery.*
The earth, *Gadzar.*
The ſun, *Narra.*
The moon, *Shara.*
The ſtars, *Odu.*
The clouds, *Ulea.*

The Tangut's Numbers.

1	Dgi.	6	Duk.
2	Neé.	7	Dunn.
3	Sum.	8	Dja.
4	Che.	9	Gu.
5	Gno.	10	Dju-tamba, &c.

Numbers of Indoſtan.

1	Eck.	6	Tzo.
2	Duy.	7	Tateé.
3	Tin.	8	Aatſa.
4	Tzar.	9	Nouy.
5	Penge.	10	Dafs, &c.

The people of Indoſtan have little or no correſpondence with China, being ſeparated from it by impaſſable mountains, and barren deſerts. They call China by the name of Kitat, and the Emperor Amola-Chan.

The Indians call Ruſſia Olt.

The firſt great Lama, or high Prieſt near the borders of India, is called Beyngin-Bogdu; and hath his reſidence at a place called Digerda.

The ſecond is the Delay-Lama, reſiding at Lahaſſar. The Indians call him Tamtzy-Kenna. From Digerda to Lahaſſar is a month's journey on foot.

The third is the Kutuchtu, called by the Indians Tarranat, who reſides at the Urga, not far from Selinginſky.

The preſent Great Mogul is called Sheyhalim-Patiſha. The Indian married prieſts are the Brachmans; their monks are called Atheits, and their military men Reſput.

The Indian and Tangut numbers, together with theſe few notes, I had from the Faquir at Selinginſky; who told me, that the greateſt penance that could be impoſed on any of their order, was a pilgrimage to viſit theſe three high prieſts. Though I have hinted ſomething concerning them during my ſtay at Selinginſky, yet, as I ſhall have no opportunity in future to learn any thing more about thoſe great men, I think it will not be unacceptable that I have inſerted the foregoing ſhort notes.

I had, from my early youth, a ſtrong inclination to viſit the eaſtern parts of the world; and Providence afforded me an opportunity, far beyond my expectations, of gratifying my curioſity in the moſt ample manner. For never, perhaps, were thoſe countries in a more flouriſhing condition than under the famous Emperors Kamhi and Peter the Firſt; and, perhaps, ſuch another conjuncture of circumſtances may not happen for ſeveral ages. I have now finiſhed my account of the obſervations I made during my reſidence in China; and, had we returned by the ſame route we went eaſtward, I ſhould here conclude my Journal; but, as our route was different in many places, particularly in our paſſage by water from Selinginſky to Tobolſky, I ſhall proceed to make my remarks on ſuch places and things only as I have hitherto had no opportunity of mentioning.

CHAP. XIII.—*Our Departure from Pekin; Occurrences, &c. during our Journey back towards Moſco.*

MARCH 2d, we ſent off our heavy baggage early in the morning; and about noon, left the fine city of Pekin, accompanied by ſeveral Chineſe gentlemen, who were to return with Mr. de Lange, whom His Czariſh Majeſty had appointed to remain as his agent at the court of Pekin. In the evening, we reached a large town, called Sang-ping-ju, where we lodged.

The 4th, Mr. de Lange and our friends returned to the city, and we continued our journey. I have already mentioned moſt of the remarkable towns through which we paſſed; and, as little happened on the road worth notice, I ſhall only obſerve, that we were entertained by the governors in the ſame hoſpitable manner as before.

The 9th, we arrived at Kalgan, the laſt town of any note, and about three miles diſtant from the long wall. We ſtaid here two days, in order to provide bread, rice, and other proviſions, for our journey over the Hungry Deſert.

Next day, the governor waited on the ambaſſador, and invited him to ſee ſome Chineſe troops perform their exerciſe. We accordingly walked into an adjacent field, where we found about four thouſand infantry drawn up in ſix lines. All their guns had match-locks. The field officers were on horſeback, armed with bows and arrows; but the ſubalterns on foot, having ſpears, longer or ſhorter, according to their rank. All the troops kept a profound ſilence, till the commanding officer ordered the ſignal to be given for beginning the exerciſe, which was done by firing a ſmall gun, mounted on the back of a camel. Upon this ſignal, they advanced, retreated, and performed their evolutions, according to the diſcipline of the country, in a very regular manner. After finiſhing this exerciſe, the whole corps at laſt divided itſelf into companies of fifty men each, and kneeling, as cloſe to one another as poſſible, continued in this poſture for ſome minutes; they then roſe, and running to their former ſtations, quickly formed themſelves, without the leaſt confuſion. From what I obſerved of their motions, I am of opinion they might eaſily be taught any exerciſe whatever.

The 12th, we arrived at the gates of the main wall, which we found open. Here the commander, and ſeveral officers of the guard, met us, and invited the ambaſſador to

to walk into the guard-room, and drink a diſh of tea. After this repaſt, we proceeded a few miles farther; but as it was too late to get over the mountains that night, we took up our quarters at a village where we had lodged in going to Pekin.

Next morning early we left the village, and travelled along the banks of a torrent, which runs through a narrow valley between the mountains. For conveniency of the road, we croſſed this rivulet ſeveral times. The weather was very fine and warm, and the face of this country extremely pleaſant. On the ſides of the rocks, we ſaw ſcattered many neat cottages, ſurrounded with little gardens, and crooked trees, which the Chineſe have naturally deſigned on ſome of their japanned and China-ware. After travelling about a dozen of Engliſh miles, we aſcended the rocks by a winding-path, formed by art; and, as ſoon as we reached the ſummit, we entered on the plain; for there is little or no deſcent into the deſert from the opening between the rocks. I obſerved, that all the rivers which ſpring from the mountains on the north and weſt of China, run towards the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt; and thoſe that riſe weſtward of the deſert, direct their courſes through Siberia, to the north and north-weſt; which makes it evident, that the rocks and deſerts are higher than any places in China or Siberia. We now felt a very ſenſible change in the air. In the morning, we left a warm climate; but here we found the deſert all covered with ſnow. We travelled about five miles farther, and then pitched our tents on the banks of a ſmall rivulet.

The ambaſſador, conſidering that to travel along with the heavy baggage would render the journey, at this ſeaſon, tedious and diſagreeable, reſolved to leave it under a proper guard, and proceed by the ſhorteſt and ſpeedieſt way, to Selinginſky. Lomy, our former conductor, being appointed in the ſame ſtation, was conſulted on this occaſion, and agreed to make one of our company; while the Chineſe guard, commanded by another officer, took care of the baggage. Our party conſiſted of the ambaſſador, Mr. Kreſlitz, myſelf, and four ſervants. We packed up beds, and a few neceſſaries, and ſet out directly.

We rode very hard all the 14th: and, in the evening, took up our lodgings in a Mongalian tent, along with the family. The outſide of the tent was hung round with ſeveral pieces of horſe-fleſh, on which our landlord and his wife ſupped, and invited us to ſhare their repaſt; but as we had proviſions of our own, we deſired to be excuſed. The diſagreeable ſmell of this ſupper made us reſolve to ſleep in the fields for the future till we came to Selinginſky; for although the nights were ſomewhat cold and froſty, the weather was dry and pleaſant.

Next day, having got freſh horſes, we proceeded on our journey. Nothing of moment occurred till the third of April, when we arrived, before noon, on the banks of the river Tola. It was now nineteen days ſince we left our baggage, during which time we rode very hard, changing horſes generally three or four times a-day; and this was the firſt running water we had ſeen. I cannot help taking notice of the pleaſure that appeared in every face at the ſight of this ſtream; and I need not mention how cheerfully we regaled ourſelves on this occaſion. For my own part, I thought the moſt delicious wines of Iſpahan and Thiras not worthy to be compared to this ſimple element, ſo little prized by thoſe who enjoy it in plenty. Our bread was all ſpent ſome days before; however, we had ſtill ſome mutton, with which we had been ſupplied, from time to time, during our journey. All this time, we obſerved no road; but kept moſtly about one, or ſometimes two days journey to the northward of our former route. The greateſt danger attending this way of travelling, aroſe from the arrows which the Mongalls had ſet in ſtrong bent bows, covered with ſand, for killing antelopes. One of our horſes happened to tread on one of theſe bows; the arrow immediately

diately flew out, and fortunately hit the ſtirrup iron, otherwiſe the horſe or rider would have been killed upon the ſpot. We had, indeed, guides to conduct us from place to place; but they were unacquainted with any ſnares laid beyond their own bounds.

This day, about noon, ſome Mongalls unluckily ſet fire to the long graſs before us, which, by means of a ſtrong wind, ſoon ſpread to a great diſtance. We immediately retired to the top of a neighbouring hill, (for now the grounds begin to riſe, and the ſoil is much better near the river,) and, ſetting fire to the graſs around us, travelled near a mile in a diſmal cloud of ſmoke. Some of our people, who were behind us, and unprovided with flints, were put to hard ſhifts, having their hair and cloaths all ſinged. We forded the Tola in pretty deep water, and continued our journey through pleaſant valleys, between gently riſing hills, ſome of whoſe tops were adorned with woods, which looked as if planted by art.

Nothing worth mentioning occurred till the morning of the 6th of April, when we reached the river Iro, but found the ford ſo frozen that we could not ride it. As our proviſions were now nearly all ſpent, and we were quite tired of lying in the open air, we wanted to paſs the river at any rate. After long ſearch for a ford, we at laſt found a place clear of ice, but exceſſively deep. We immediately ſtripped off our clothes, mounted our horſes, and ſwam acroſs the river, which was at this place about forty yards broad. After getting all ſafe to the other ſide, we lighted a great fire of ſticks to dry and warm ourſelves, and then ſet forward to the rivulet Saratzyn, the boundary between the Ruſſian and Chineſe territories, which we reached in the evening. From the Tola to this place we had ſeen no inhabitants, but here we found a few Mongalls, ſubjects of Ruſſia, who hoſpitably entertained us with ſuch fare as the place afforded.

The 7th, we ſet out early; and at noon came to a zimovey (a ſingle houſe built for the accommodation of travellers) inhabited by a Ruſſian, who entertained us with good bread and other homely fare. After a ſhort ſtay, we mounted, and at night came to another of theſe houſes, belonging to Mr. Stepnikoff, the commiſſary of the caravan, where we were well provided with neceſſary accommodations.

Next day, we arrived in good health at the town of Selinginſky; and all of us had good reaſon to return our moſt grateful thanks to the Almighty Diſpoſer of all events, who conducted us ſafe through ſo many dangers, without the leaſt accident befalling any of our company.

The 12th, the ambaſſador having made the conductor an handſome preſent, and thanked him for his trouble and obliging behaviour, that gentleman took leave, and returned to China.

Next day, we ſet out on horſeback for Irkutſky. We lodged every night in villages till the 16th, when we arrived at the Poſſolſky monaſtery, ſituated on the ſouth ſhore of the Baykall Sea, as formerly obſerved. The ſuperior received and entertained us with great hoſpitality, and furniſhed us horſes and ſledges for paſſing the ſea upon the ice, which we found perfectly firm, though the people on the ſouth ſhore were plowing and ſowing their oats.

April 7th, having taken leave of the monks, we placed ourſelves in the ſledges, and drove along a path-way upon the ice. We found ſeveral large gaps in the ice, which run for many miles acroſs the ſea, and are generally from two to five or ſix feet wide. Theſe we paſſed on long boards, which we were obliged to carry along with us for that purpoſe. They are made, I conjecture, by the air, which being pent up under the ice, burſts out through theſe apertures. I obſerved alſo a number of ſmall round holes, which are made by the ſeals, who come thither for breath, and to baſk themſelves in the ſun. Theſe circumſtances render travelling on the ice extremely dangerous, except

in day light and clear weather. Towards evening, the ambaſſador and myſelf, being provided with light ſledges, put on at a great rate, in order to get in with the ſhore before night. This we happily accompliſhed, and arrived at a fiſherman's houſe near the mouth of the Angara; where we found a warm room, and a boar's head, hot from the oven for ſupper. But, a little before ſun-ſet, a thick fog aroſe to the weſtward, accompanied with terrible thick drifts of ſnow, which ſoon covered the road upon the ice, and filled every gap and hole. Our poor people, who had not yet reached the land, were caught in the ſtorm, forced to ſtop ſhort, and lie on the ice all night, with their horſes and carriages. We had, indeed, diſpatched the fiſhermen to conduct them to the ſhore; but the ſnow continuing to fall very thick, they returned without being able to find them. This diſappointment created in us ſome uneaſineſs; but there was no remedy. We were obliged to wait patiently till the morning, when they arrived in a very diſtreſſed condition, half dead with cold and wet. However, by proper accommodation, and ſome warm liquor, they ſoon recovered. Next day, we ſent back the ſledges to the monaſtery; and after our people had refreſhed themſelves with a little ſleep, about noon we mounted and proceeded about four miles, to the ſmall chapel of St. Nicolas. We had now paſſed all the cataracts, and there was no ice to be ſeen in the river; we immediately, therefore, got boats and rowed down the ſtream. In the evening, we put aſhore at a ſmall village, where we lodged, and were plentifully provided with variety of excellent freſh fiſh for ſupper.

The 19th, in the morning, we went again on board, and, about two in the afternoon, landed at Irkutſky, and dined with our old friend, Mr. Rakitin, the commandant, who met us on the river, about two hours before we landed. Some days after our arrival, Mr. Iſmayloff was ſeized with a fever, which went off in a few days without any bad conſequences. We waited here for our baggage, which did not arrive till the ſecond of July. During this time, little remarkable happened. We diverted ourſelves with hunting and fiſhing; and, though we lived much at our eaſe, the time grew tedious, and we wanted much to be gone.

About the 10th of May, the ice began to break up in the Baykall, and continued floating down the river, for ſome days, in great ſhoals. The weather was very hot before the ice came down; but, when this happened, an alteration was ſenſibly felt; for the air about the ſides of the river became extremely chilly. A ſmall part only of the ice, about the mouth of the Angara, floats down that river; the reſt, being ſcattered along the ſhore by the winds, is melted down as the ſeaſon advances. This is accounted the moſt unhealthy ſeaſon of the year; as people, notwithſtanding all poſſible precautions, are very apt to catch cold. I have already made ſome remarks on Irkutſky, and the country adjacent; I ſhall therefore only add, that, in ſummer, which is very hot, the country is much peſtered with ſwarms of muſkitoes and large gnats, which are ſo troubleſome, that thoſe who have occaſion to go into the fields are obliged to wear nets of horſe hair, to defend their faces from the attacks of thoſe inſects.

July 2d, the barks arrived ſafe from Selinginſky, with our people and baggage. They told us many diſmal ſtories of the hardſhips they had ſuffered in paſſing the deſerts; but, on comparing notes, the difference was not great between their misfortunes and our own.

After our people had reſted a few days, and neceſſaries were procured for the voyage, on the 5th they ſhoved off, and rowed down the Angara. The ambaſſador, myſelf, and two ſervants, ſtaid behind, in order to proceed in a ſmall ſhallop, which had a little cabin in the ſtern, and was rowed with ten oars. The commandant cauſed it to be built

for

for our uſe; and as it ſailed quickly, and was rowed by our own men, we could purſue the voyage at pleaſure, without being confined to attend upon the heavy barks.

The 7th, we went on board, accompanied by the commandant and ſeveral other gentlemen, and fell down the river to a monaſtery in the neighbourhood, where we were invited to dine with the ſuperior, who made us a grand entertainment of excellent fiſh, and furniſhed us beſides with ſtore of proviſions for our voyage. In the evening, we took leave of the abbot and the reſt of our friends; and being aſſiſted by a rapid current, went down the river at a great rate. At night we put aſhore, and took up our quarters in a village.

As little of importanc occurred during the progreſs of our voyage, I need not be particular in deſcribing it. The banks of the river on both ſides are pleaſant and fruitful, and beautifully diverſified with tall woods, villages, and corn-fields; and we found every where great abundance of fiſh. But what renders this fine country extremely diſagreeable, is the ſwarms of muſkitoes with which every part of it is infeſted. The gnats about Ilimſky, in particular, are of a much larger ſize, and are reckoned more venemous than any in Siberia; but have this good quality, that they never enter houſes as the muſkitoes do. The Tonguſes, when they are angry with any perſon, wiſh that an Ilimſky gnat may ſting him. This may appear but a ſlight puniſhment, but it marks the character of theſe ſimple people.

The 9th, we ſailed the whole day, with a fair wind and ſtrong current, and in the evening overtook our barks. Next day, we came to a great cataract, called Padun from the ſteepneſs of the fall. This fall we paſſed ſafely, as there was water enough upon the rocks for our veſſels. The next cataract we met with, which from its great length is called Dolgoy, was reckoned more dangerous; for, beſides the length and deepneſs of the paſſage, it was extremely crooked, winding from one ſide to another by turns, among rocks and great ſtones. In paſſing theſe cataracts, the pilot ſits upon the bow of the veſſel, and makes ſigns with his cap to the people at the helm which way to ſteer: for the waters, daſhing againſt the rocks and great ſtones, make ſuch an hideous noiſe, that not a ſingle articulate ſound can be heard. The oars, beſides, muſt be plied very hard, in order to prevent the veſſel from running to either ſide; for, if once ſhe touches the rocks, all the goods muſt infallibly be loſt, and perhaps the men's lives; of which diſaſters there are many examples.

The 11th, we paſſed another cataract, called Shamanſky, which is reckoned the moſt dangerous of them all, the channel being very narrow and crooked. Some of our company choſe to walk along the banks, rather than run the riſk of paſſing by water: but they repented of their reſolution; for they were obliged to ſcramble over rocks, and through thickets, where they ſaw many vipers and other venomous creatures. We ſtopped at the bottom of the fall to take them on board and refreſh our rowers. As the ambaſſador ſtaid on board, I remained along with him.

Beſides theſe three great cataracts, there are many leſſer ones, called by the country people Shivers; but, as the paſſing them is attended with little danger, I make no mention of them.

It is ſurpriſing that loaded veſſels ſhould paſs theſe falls againſt the ſtream. They are commonly warped up by means of ſtrong anchors and cables, and on the goodneſs of the tackle all depends; for ſhould it chance to give way, all is loſt. This is a laborious piece of work, though not very coſtly in theſe parts; and the navigation of this river is attended with no other invonvenience, except that of ſtriking againſt ſtumps of trees hid under the water.

The

The 14th, we left Angara, and entered the Tonguſky, a mighty ſtream, formed by the Angara and another ſmall river called Elim. The Tonguſky points to the northward of the weſt, and is well ſtored with excellent fiſh.

We went aſhore this day at a little village called Sceza, ſituated on a high bank of the Tonguſky. Here we were met by our old acqnaintance General Kanifer, who came from Elimſky to ſee Mr. Iſmayloff. I took notice before of having ſeen this gentleman in our journey eaſtward. We diſpatched our barks, and ſtaid with him two days. After which, we proceeded down the river, and he returned to Elimſky by water, attended only by his own ſervants; for, though he was a priſoner, he had liberty to go where he pleaſed, as an eſcape was impracticable in ſuch remote parts.

The 17th, we ſet ſail with an eaſterly wind and a ſtrong current, which carried us along with great velocity. We paſſed many villages, and ſome Tonguſian huts, upon the banks, to which we made ſeveral viſits. We found the men generally employed in fiſhing in their little canoes, and the women in looking after their children and reindeer, which, at this ſeaſon, lie near the huts, becauſe the gnats will not ſuffer them to ſtay in the woods. In order to baniſh theſe troubleſome vermin, they light fires all around the place of their abode; and the inſects, unable to endure the ſmoke, immediately fly off. For the ſame reaſon, no perſon ſtirs abroad without carrying in his hand a ſmall earthen pot filled with ſmoking coals. The canoes ſkim upon the water very ſwiftly, but the leaſt touch of an unſkilful hand overſets them. The Tonguſe places himſelf on his knees, in the middle of his boat, keeping it as even balanced as poſſible; and, with a little paddle only, ventures to croſs the greateſt rivers. I have ſeen them haul to the ſide a ſturgeon of great weight. When a Tonguſe wants to go from one river to another, acroſs a neck of land, he takes his boat upon his back, and carries it whither he pleaſes.

The 19th, we were overtaken with ſuch a heavy ſhower of rain, in the middle of the river, that, before we could reach the bank, our boat was half full, notwithſtanding all hands were employed in rowing, or ſcooping out the water. However, after much labour and difficulty, we at laſt got to land, wet to the ſkin; and, what was much worſe, all our bedding thoroughly drenched in water. After we had hauled up our boat and faſtened it to a tree, we went into a thick wood, and kindled a great fire to warm and dry ourſelves; but, the rain being abated, a violent ſtorm of wind aroſe from northweſt, ſo that we were forced to remain all night in this diſmal place, at a great diſtance from any village. In this condition we lay, round a great fire, till next morning.

The 20th, early in the morning, we left the woods, went on board our boat, and proceeded down the river. About noon, we reached a village, on the right hand, where we halted ſome hours to refreſh ourſelves and dry our clothes. In the evening, we puſhed off again, and came to another village, where we lodged. On this river are great numbers of water-fowl, of different kinds, which come hither to hatch their young in ſummer, and fly off, to the ſouth, at the approach of winter. I obſerved alſo a large fowl of a grayiſh colour, about the ſize of a kite; after it has hovered for ſome time upon the wing, if it ſpies a fiſh in the water, it ſtoops ſuddenly, ſtrikes its prey, and even dives below water to catch it; after which it flies to the bank and eats it.

There are alſo wild goats upon the rocks along the ſhore. They are very large animals with long and thick horns. Their ſhaggy coat is browniſh, having a black ridge down the back. They have long beards, like common goats, but are twice as large; it is ſurpriſing to ſee them leap from one rock to another. They go in pairs about this ſeaſon; but towards winter retire in herds to the ſouth. On the hills and in the woods are all ſorts of game and wild beaſts natural to the climate.

The 21ſt, we overtook our barks and kept in company with them till night, when we arrived at a village where we lodged. In this river are many iſlands, ſome of which are very large, and others are ſurrounded with high rocky ſhores. Moſt of them are covered with tall birch and pine-trees, fit for maſts to the largeſt ſhips and form a beautiful proſpect. We had no need to go aſhore in order to ſeek ſport, as we found plenty of wild-ducks and other water-fowl wherever we came. As to freſh fiſh, we had more of them in every village than we could conſume.

The two following days we continued our voyage, without meeting with any thing worth mentioning, and, on the morning of the 24th, arrived at the conflux of the rivers Yeniſey and Tonguſky, where the latter loſes its name, and both joined retain the name of Yeniſey. The Yeniſey falls into the Tonguſky from the ſouth, and its courſe is then turned northward by the current of the other, which, in my opinion, is the larger of the two. It is obſerved that the Yeniſey does not afford ſuch plenty of fiſh, nor ſo good of their kinds, as the other rivers of this country. Theſe two rivers joined form a mighty ſtream, among the greateſt in the world. I think it larger than the Volga at Aſtrachan. It continues its courſe to the north-weſt, daily augmented by other conſiderable rivers, till it falls into the Icy Sea.

In the evening, we arrived at the town of Yeniſeyſky, where we were met by our friend Mr. Becklimiſhoff, the commandant, who conducted us firſt to our lodgings, and then to his own houſe to ſupper. Our barks alſo arriving in the evening, the whole company met again at this place, not a little happy at having ſafely paſſed the waterfalls, and eſcaped the dangers to which we had already been expoſed, though we were ſtill above a thouſand leagues from the end of our journey.

As we had no time to loſe, our baggage was landed next day, and the barks diſcharged. The packing the baggage for land-carriage took up two days; after which it was tranſported to a place called Makofsky, on the river Keat, where it was again put on board other barks, which lay ready for that purpoſe. The road lies to the weſtward, moſtly through thick and dark woods; in dry weather it is tolerably good; but in heavy autumnal rains ſcarce paſſable. We ſtaid at Yeniſeyſky, through the perſuaſion of our hoſpitable landlord, the commandant, till we heard all was ready at Makofsky.

Having formerly mentioned the pleaſant ſituation of Yeniſeyſky, and the fertility of the ſoil about it, I ſhall only add that the harveſt at this place was already far advanced, the barley being all reaped and the people at work in cutting their oats. This ſeems very early in a climate ſo far to the north, and muſt proceed from the heat of the ſummer and the ſoil being fertilized by the nitrous particles of the ſnow which lies ſo long upon the ground.

Auguſt 2d, we left Yeniſeyſky on horſeback, accompanied by the commandant, who ſtaid with us all night, at a village about ten miles from town. Next morning, we took leave of our friend, and proceeded to Makofsky, where we arrived in the evening, and found the barks ready waiting for us.

The 4th, early in the morning, we went on board, and puſhing off from the ſhore, rowed down the river Keat. The water being ſhallow, we made but little way the firſt day; but, as we advanced, it increaſed daily by rivers and brooks from both ſides. Before we left Makofsky, we laid in proviſions for three weeks, in which time we computed we would enter the Oby; for during this long navigation, there is not a ſingle houſe nor village to be ſeen, except one religious houſe, poſſeſſed by three or four monks, reſembling more an hermitage than a monaſtery.

The

The Keat is really a moſt diſmal river. It is not above the flight of an arrow broad, and ſo overſhadowed with tall trees, that you can ſcarce ſee the ſun. The banks are a perfect wilderneſs, and ſo entangled with buſhes, that no creature can paſs along them but wild beaſts; with which theſe woods greatly abound. Near the edge of the river, we found great quantities of black currants upon the buſhes, the largeſt and beſt I ever ſaw. I was told the bears feed much on this fruit.

The river Keat takes its riſe from a lake at a ſmall diſtance from the Yeniſey; and, were a canal cut between them, which might eaſily be done, there would be a paſſage by water from Verchaturia to the borders of China. But His Czariſh Majeſty was at this time employed in works of the ſame nature, of much greater importance to his country.

The Keat runs in a crooked channel, pointing, in general, to the weſt. The bottom is ouzy, and ſometimes ſandy. The barks, at firſt, run often a-ground on the ſand-banks, and the people were obliged to get into the water, and heave them off, by main force, with levers and ſetting poles; beſides theſe little inconveniencies, we were moleſted with gnats and muſkitoes, in this confined place, more than we had formerly been in any part of our journey. They were not, indeed, ſo numerous as they had been in the heat of ſummer; for the nights began to be cold, and the wind northerly. However, no wind could reach us in this cloſe place; and I even wiſhed myſelf in the deſert again, where I might breathe the freſh air. In ſhort, the appearance of this place put me in mind of the deſcriptions given by the Poets of the river Styx.

During our tedious voyage down the dark Keat, our only diverſion and exerciſe was ſhooting wild-ducks. One day, Mr. Iſmayloff and myſelf went down the river, in a ſmall canoe, rowed by two ſoldiers, at ſome diſtance before the barks. We met with a large flock of ducks, which ſwam up a narrow creek, in order to avoid us. We ſailed a little way after them; and, in the mean time, our barks paſſed us, and continued before us till night, ſtill imagining they had not overtaken us. This day's ſport coſt us dear; for, our rowers being quite fatigued, we were obliged to relieve them, and row in our turns, till at laſt we came up with the barks, both hungry and tired. To make ſome amends, we had a good diſh of wild-ducks for ſupper.

The 20th, we met with two Oſteacks in their canoes, who had come from the river Oby, to catch fiſh, and kill ducks, and had their fiſhing tackle and bows and arrows along with them. We were glad to ſee any human creature. We called them on board, and they willingly ſtaid with us till we entered the Oby, and ſupplied us with plenty of fiſh and wild-fowl. Theſe were the firſt of the tribe of the Oſteacks I had ſeen. I ſhall give ſome account of them when I deſcribe our voyage down that river, on the banks of which they have their habitations.

I formerly mentioned the great abundance of black currants growing on the banks of the Keat. We found them an excellent and wholeſome fruit; many of our people eat great quantities of them without the leaſt bad effect.

After a tedious voyage, with little variety, we arrived on the 28th at a village called Ketſkoy, a few miles diſtant from the Oby. After procuring, at this place, what neceſſaries we wanted, and refreſhing ourſelves a few hours, we continued our voyage, making what way we poſſibly could, for fear of being frozen up, near ſome deſert place on the Oby, before we came to Tobolſky, where we intended to land. We had no rain all the time we were upon the Keat; which was a lucky circumſtance, as our oars were upon deck. Had our barks only drawn about eighteen inches water, as was intended, we ſhould not have been above fourteen days on this river, and thereby ſaved much

time and labour; but, coming from China, every perſon in the retinue had a little, which overloaded the veſſels, and retarded their progreſs. The next day, we entered the famous river Oby, which, from its breadth and depth of water, appears at leaſt equal to the Volga or Yeniſey, and could carry ſhips of conſiderable burden.

The 30th, we reached the firſt town upon the Oby, called Narim, ſituated on the north bank, about a gun-ſhot from the river, and a few miles from the mouth of the Keat. It commands a fine proſpect, up and down the river, and of the woods to the ſouth. Near the town are a few corn-fields, and garden-grounds, abounding with greens and roots. This place has a ſmall fortreſs, governed by a commandant. The inhabitants are generally dealers in fur, which they buy from the Oſteacks; and either carry them themſelves to the borders of China, where they are exchanged for the commodities of that nation, or diſpoſe of them to merchants going thither.

The 31ſt, we dined with the commandant, and ſpent the reſt of the day in laying in a ſtock of proviſions. We found, at this place, plenty of fine fiſh, particularly ſterlet, ſturgeon, and muckſoon, and many more too tedious to mention. The laſt is peculiar to the Oby and Irtiſh.

Here I met with Mr. Borlutt, a native of Flanders, who had been a Major in the Swediſh ſervice, and ſent to this place a priſoner of war. He was a very ingenious gentleman, and had a particular turn for mechanics. The commandant treated him more like a friend than a priſoner; which, indeed, was the caſe of moſt of thoſe unfortunate gentlemen whom the fate of war had ſent to this country. His Czariſh Majeſty, well conſidering their circumſtances, ſent them to a plentiful country, where they could live at their eaſe, till peace was reſtored.

September 1ſt, having provided ourſelves with neceſſaries, and got new rowers, our former ones returning to Yeniſeyſky, from whence they came. In the evening we went again on board, and, putting off in fine calm weather, rowed down the Oby at a great rate; our courſe being much favoured by the rapidity of the current. We paſſed ſeveral villages, and a little monaſtery called Troytza. The banks to the north are pretty high, but to the ſouth flat; by which means, on the melting of the ſnow in the ſprings they are overflowed to a great extent. The river runs towards the north-weſt, with little variation. We continued our voyage night and day, except in great darkneſs, or a gale of contrary wind, when we were obliged to lie by in ſome creek.

The Oſteacks I mentioned above differ from all the other tribes of natives in Siberia, both in complexion and language. Many of them are fair, reſembling the people of Finland; and they have many Finniſh words in their language. Their manner of life is nearly the ſame with that of the Tonguſe, who border with them to the eaſtward. In ſummer, they live in the woods, in huts covered with birchen bark. In winter they dig pits, acroſs which they lay ſtakes, above them ſpread earth to keep them warm. They have a fire in the middle, and a hole in the roof to let out the ſmoke. During this ſeaſon, they live chiefly on fiſh, dried and ſmoked, wild fowl, or what elſe they catch in hunting. Many of them are ſtout fellows, fit for any ſervice. Two of them, with their bows and arrows, a ſhort ſpear, and a little dog, will attack the greateſt bear. They are dexterous archers and fiſhermen. We had always a number of them in canoes round our barks, who ſupplied us with plenty of fiſh and wild-fowl, of various ſorts, at an eaſy rate. Give them a little tobacco, and a dram of brandy, and they aſk no more, not knowing the uſe of money.

The Oſteacks, though a ſavage people in their manner of life, are far from being barbarous; for a ſingle Ruſſian will travel about all their abodes, in order to purchaſe

furs, without fear of any violence. They are alſo remarkable for their honeſty; and the ſmall tribute of furs which they pay annually to His Czariſh Majeſty, they bring punctually to the place appointed.

In ſummer, they wear nothing but coats and ſhort drawers, made of fiſh-ſkins, dreſſed after their faſhion; but in winter, are clothed with ſkins of deer, and other wild beaſts.

They have no cattle except rein-deer, which ſupply their children with milk; and are, beſides, of great ſervice to them on many accounts.

As to their religion, they are ignorant heathens, like the reſt of the natives of Siberia. They have many both male and female ſhamans, who are in great eſteem among them. Theſe ſhamans have many ſmall images, or rather blocks of wood, rudely cut with a knife or hatchet, repreſenting a human figure, dreſſed up in rags of various colours, by which they pretend to foretel future events, ſuch as the good or bad luck of thoſe that go a-hunting. But theſe are no better than others of the ſame ſpecies, already mentioned, who impoſe on the ignorance or credulity of their neighbours.

From what I have now and formerly ſaid concerning theſe poor ſavage tribes, it will appear that they are involved in the moſt profound ignorance. Their manners are ſo rude, and minds uncultivated, that many of them ſeem ſtupid, and altogether unmindful of any thing beyond their preſent employment. I have, however, met with men of reflection among them, who agreed with the reſt of mankind in acknowledging one great Almighty Creator of this world, and of every thing elſe.

The Archbiſhop of Tobolſky has of late baptized many of the Oſteacks, and other natives, in a tour he made through Siberia with that view; and it is to be hoped his ſucceſſors will follow his laudable example.

CHAP. XIV.—*Our arrival at the Town of Surgute; our Journey from thence to Moſco; ſome Account of the Creature called Mammon, &c.*

AFTER a voyage of ten days from the town of Narim, during which little remarkable happened, we arrived on the 11th of September, at another town, called Surgute, ſituated on the north bank of the Oby, and defended by a ſmall fort. The inhabitants, like the people of Narim, are moſtly traders in furs. The adjacent country, on both ſides of the river, is overgrown with dark and tall woods, where there is no cultivated ground, except a few gardens. Bread is got at a ſmall charge, by water-carriage, from Tobolſky, and other places on the river Irtiſh.

In the banks of the Oby, about this place, are found great quantities of that kind of ivory called in this country mammon's horn. Some of it alſo is found on the banks of the Volga. Mammon's horn reſembles, in ſhape and ſize, the teeth of a large elephant. The vulgar really imagine mammon to be a creature living in marſhes, and under ground, and entertain many ſtrange notions concerning it. The Tartars tell many fables of its having been ſeen alive. But to me it appears that this horn is the tooth of a large elephant. When, indeed, or how theſe teeth came ſo far to the northward, where no elephants can at preſent ſubſiſt during the winter ſeaſon, is what I am unable to determine. They are commonly found in the banks of rivers which have been waſhed by floods. The commandant of this place had his entry ornamented with ſeveral very large ones, and made me a preſent of one of them.

I have been told by the Tartars in the Baraba, that they have ſeen this creature called Mammon, at the dawn of day, near lakes and rivers; but that, on diſcovering

them, the mammon immediately tumbles into the water, and never appears in the day-time. They ſay it is about the ſize of a large elephant, with a monſtrous large head and horns, with which he makes his way in marſhy places, and under ground, where he conceals himſelf till night. I only mention theſe things as the reports of a ſuperſtitious and ignorant people.

I have obſerved, in moſt of the towns we paſſed, between Tobolſky and Yeneſieſky, many of theſe mammons horns, ſo called by the natives; ſome of them very entire and freſh, like the beſt ivory, in every circumſtance, excepting only the colour, which was of a yellowiſh hue; others of them mouldered away at the ends, and, when ſawn aſunder, prettily clouded. The people make ſnuff-boxes, combs, and divers ſorts of turnery ware of them.

They are found in the banks of all the great rivers in Siberia, weſtward of Iencouſky, when the floods have waſhed down the banks, by the melting of the ſnow in the ſpring. I have ſeen of them weighing above one hundred pounds Engliſh. (I brought a large tooth, or mammon's horn, with me to England, and preſented it to my worthy friend Sir Hans Sloane, who gave it a place in his celebrated muſeum; and was of opinion alſo that it was the tooth of an elephant. This tooth was found in the river Oby, at a place called Surgute.)

The 12th, after we had been ſupplied with a freſh ſtock of proviſions, and freſh rowers, we proceeded towards the next ſtage, called Samarofsky-Yamm, near the conflux of the Oby and Irtiſh. The wind being contrary, we made but ſlow progreſs. The near approach of winter, which uſually begins about the firſt of October, made us haſten forward as faſt as poſſible.

Next day, the wind being eaſterly, we hoiſted our ſails, and run along at a great rate; and the 14th, arrived at a ſmall village on the north ſhore. The ſouth bank ſtill continued low and flat. At this village we ſaw great quantities of wild geeſe, picked, and ſmoked, and hung in ſhades, for winter proviſions. We had ſome of them dreſſed; but I cannot much praiſe them for agreeable food. The people of this place catch vaſt numbers of them in day-nets, more on account of the down and feathers than of their fleſh, which is but of ſmall value. We let our barks proceed, and detained a boat to follow them, as ſoon as we had ſeen the method of catching the wild geeſe. The ſportſman conducted us into a ſpacious open plain, encompaſſed with wood and water. Here he had his large nets, with wide maſhes ſpread, and a ſmall hut, made of green branches, to conceal himſelf. Upon the graſs were ſcattered about a ſcore of geeſe-ſkins ſtuffed, ſome of them ſtanding, others ſitting, in natural poſtures. As ſoon as he ſees a flock flying over his head, he calls, with a bit of birchen bark in his mouth, exactly like the wild geeſe. On hearing the call, they take a turn round, and then alight among the ſtuffed ſkins; which being perceived by the ſportſman, he immediately draws a ſtring, and claps the nets over the whole flock, or as many of them as are within their reach. The geeſe always alight and riſe with their heads to the windward; to prevent therefore, ſuch as eſcape the day-net from flying off, he has a deep long net, placed on tall ſlender poles, to windward, which entangles great numbers in their riſing. I am perſuaded this method might eaſily be practiſed, in other parts of the world, to greater advantage; though, I believe, there are no where ſuch quantities of water-fowl, eſpecially geeſe of different kinds, as in theſe northern climates; where, free from annoyance, they bring forth their young among woods and lakes, and, at the approach of winter, fly off to the Caſpian Sea, and other ſouthern regions.

There is here one ſpecies of geeſe, called kazarky, of a ſize leſs than the common wild gooſe, having beautiful ſcarlet ſpots about the head, and ſome feathers of the ſame colour

colour in its wings. Of this ſort I ſaw great flocks about the Caſpian Sea in winter. Beſides theſe, there are numbers of ſwans, and all ſorts of water-fowl, natural to the climate.

The woods are ſtored with game, and various ſorts of wild-fowl, particularly the coc-limoge, the heath-cock, and ſeveral others too tedious to mention.—The manner in which the coc-limoge is caught by the Oſteacks is ſomewhat curious.

They make a paling, about four or five feet high, running from any wood, along a ſandy bank, to the edge of a river, having the ſtakes ſet ſo cloſe that the fowls cannot paſs between them. In this paling they leave openings, at certain diſtances, large enough to afford a paſſage for theſe birds; and, rather than take the wing, the cock will ſeek a paſſage from one end of the hedge to the other. In theſe openings are ſet ſprings, on bent branches, which, as ſoon as touched, fly up, and catch the fowl, either by the neck or feet. The Oſteacks brought us theſe and other wild-fowl in great plenty.

The 15th, in fine weather, we continued our voyage, uſing our ſails or oars, by turns, as circumſtances obliged us. Little material happened till the 19th, in the evening, when we left the Oby, and entered the river Irtiſh; and, night coming on, we put aſhore, where we ſtaid till the next morning. On entering the Irtiſh, we had a ſtrong current againſt our courſe, which had been down the ſtream, in all the different rivers, from Selinginſky to this place.

Before I proceed farther, I ſhall take a view of the famous Oby. It is one of the largeſt rivers in the world, and runs as long a courſe as any in Siberia, or perhaps in any other quarter of the globe. It riſes in the deſert, ſeveral hundred miles ſouthward of the Baraba; and is daily augmented, by many ſtreams of different names, till it reaches a place called Belogarſky, where it takes the name of Oby, at the conflux of two large rivers, the Alley and the Tzaritt. Theſe rivers joined, form the Oby. The Oby ſignifies *both* in the Ruſſian language. But I am of opinion this river had that name long before Siberia was known to the Ruſſians, as the natives ſtill give it that name.

In going eaſtward, we paſſed the Oby upon the ice, at a place called Tzauſky Oſtrogue, where it made no great appearance, in compariſon of what it does after receiving the rivers Tom, Tzulim, Keat, Irtiſh, and many others, when, indeed, it may be reckoned in the number of the largeſt rivers in the world. It points generally to the north, with various windings, till it meets the Keat, when it turns to the north-weſt; and runs in that direction many miles, till, meeting with the Irtiſh, it turns ſhort, in a rapid current, towards the pole, ſwallowing up many rivers and brooks in its courſe, and at laſt, it diſcharges itſelf into the Northern Ocean, at a great bay called Obſkaya-Guba, or the Lips of the Oby.

Few rivers in the world contain greater plenty and variety of fiſh than the Oby. The banks to the ſouth produce woods in abundance, interſperſed with corn-fields, and good paſturage. I have been informed, that in theſe parts are rich mines of copper and iron, and even ſilver.

At the conflux of the Oby and Irtiſh are ſeveral large iſlands, and farther north, ſeveral villages; but only one town of any note, called Bergoſa, ſituated on the left hand.

I may here obſerve, that geographers generally agree, that a line drawn from the place where the river Tanais, now called Don, diſcharges itſelf into the ſea of Azof, or the Black Sea, to the mouth of the Oby, is the proper boundary betwixt Europe and Aſia.

The

The 20th, early in the morning, we ſhoved off from the ſhore, and made the beſt of our way up the Irtiſh. In the evening, we reached Samariofsky-Yamm, where we lodged this night.

Next day, having taken on board freſh labourers, and the wind being northerly, and very cold, we put off in haſte, hoiſted ſail, and went along at a great rate. The wind continuing from this point, was a certain ſign that winter was at no great diſtance, and that we might ſoon expect to be met by ſhoals of floating ice.

The 22d, the north wind ſtill continued very ſtrong, to our great joy: for, although there are many villages on the Irtiſh, we dreaded the being frozen up near ſome deſert place.

Next day, there fell a little ſnow, which ſoftened the coldneſs of the air; but, at the ſame time, the wind unfortunately chopped about to the weſtward, and retarded our progreſs.

The 24th, we continued our voyage; and, next day, the wind again becoming northerly, we uſed our ſails all that day and night. We proceeded without any thing material happening, till the 29th, when we reached Demianſky, a town ſtanding on the eaſtern bank.

Next day, we ſet out immediately, after taking in freſh rowers. The fields were now covered with ſnow, and the froſt ſo ſtrong, that the ice began to float in the river, and we expected every day to be frozen up.

Theſe ſigns of approaching winter influenced Mr. Iſmayloff to leave the barks, to follow as ſhould be poſſible for them, while himſelf made the beſt of his way to Tobolſky, in a ſmall boat. Accordingly, carrying me along with him, we immediately ſet out towards that place.

October the firſt, we continued rowing along near the banks, and took in freſh rowers as occaſion offered. The river was full of great ſhoals of ice, the froſt ſtrong, and much ſnow. In the evening, we arrived, cold and wet, at a ſmall village, where we lodged in a warm room, about fifty verſt from Tobolſky.

Next day, the river was ſo covered with ice that we could proceed no farther in our boats; but luckily, in the night, there fell ſnow enough for ſledges. We ſoon got horſes, and ſuch open ſledges as the place afforded, and, in the evening, arrived ſafe at the city of Tobolſky. We went immediately to the palace of Prince Alexie Michaylovitz Cherkaſky, the governor, who was an intimate friend of the ambaſſador. This prince was much eſteemed for his capacity, as well as his great probity and honour. We ſupped with him, and then retired to our lodgings; but could not avoid commiſerating the fate of our fellow travellers, labouring with the ice, and afraid of being frozen up every minute.

The 3d, we ſent ſome ſoldiers to meet the barks, and aſſiſt them in coming up the river. And on the 5th, they arrived ſafe at Tobolſky, where they were next day diſcharged.

We were obliged to ſtay here for the falling of the ſnow, in order to proceed on ſledges, the common method of travelling in winter. At this place we thought ourſelves at home, having good lodgings, good company, and plenty of proviſions, ſo that we waited patiently for the ſetting in of winter; beſides, we had now a frequented road, lying through a well inhabited country, all the way to Moſco.

During our ſtay at Tobolſky, I was informed, that a large troop of gipſies had been lately at that place, to the number of ſixty and upwards, conſiſting of men, women, and children. The Ruſſians call theſe vagabonds tziggany. Their ſorry baggage was carried on horſes and aſſes. The arrival of ſo many ſtrangers being reported to Mr. Petroff

Petroff Solovy, the vice governor, he ſent for ſome of the chief of the gang, and demanded whither they were going? They anſwered him to China; upon which he told them, he could not permit them to proceed any farther eaſtward, as they had no paſſport, and ordered them to return to the place whence they came. It ſeems theſe people had roamed, in ſmall parties, during the ſummer ſeaſon, croſs the vaſt countries between Poland and this place, ſubſiſting themſelves on what they could find, and on ſelling trinkets, and telling fortunes to the country people. But Tobolſky, being the place of rendezvous, was the end of their long journey eaſtward; and they, with no ſmall regret, were obliged to turn their faces to the weſt again.

Before I leave this new world, as it may be called, of Siberia, I think it well deſerves a few general remarks, beſides the particulars mentioned in my journal.

This vaſt extent of eaſtern continent is bounded by Ruſſia to the weſt, by Great Tartary to the ſouth, on the eaſt and north by the reſpective oceans; its circumference is not eaſy to aſcertain. Foreigners commonly are terrified at the very name of Siberia or Sibir, as it is ſometimes called; but, from what I have ſaid concerning it, I preſume it will be granted, that it is by no means ſo bad as is generally imagined. On the contrary, the country is really excellent, and abounds with all things neceſſary for the uſe of man and beaſt. There is no want of any thing, but people to cultivate a fruitful ſoil, well watered by many of the nobleſt rivers in the world, and theſe ſtored with variety of ſuch fine fiſhes, as are ſeldom found in other countries. As to fine woods, furniſhed with all ſorts of game and wild-fowl, no country can exceed it.

Siberia is generally plain, ſometimes varied with riſing grounds, but contains no high mountains, and few hills, except towards the borders of China, where you find many pleaſant hills and fruitful valleys.

Conſidering the extent of this country, and the many advantages it poſſeſſes, I connot help being of opinion, that it is ſufficient to contain all the nations in Europe, where they might enjoy a more comfortable life than many of them do at preſent. For my part, I think, that, had a perſon his liberty and a few friends, there are few places where he could ſpend life more agreeably than in ſome parts of Siberia.

Towards the north, indeed, the winter is long, and extremely cold. There are alſo many dreary waſtes, and deep woods, terminated only by great rivers, or the ocean; but theſe I would leave to the preſent inhabitants, the honeſt Oſteacks and Tonguſes, and others like them, where, free from ambition and avarice, they ſpend their lives in peace and tranquillity. I am even perſuaded, that theſe poor people would not change their ſituation and manner of life, for the fineſt climate, and all the riches of the eaſt; for I have often heard them ſay, that God, who had placed them in this country, knew what was beſt for them, and they were ſatisfied with their lot.

During our ſtay at Tobolſky, a meſſenger arrived from court, with the glad tidings of peace being concluded between His Czariſh Majeſty and the crown of Sweden, after a deſtructive war, which had raged above twenty years. This was very agreeable news to every body, particularly to the officers who had remained ſo long in captivity. The peace was proclaimed with firing of guns, and other rejoicings uſual on ſuch occaſions.

November 18th, all the roads being now firm, and fit for ſledges, we left Tobolſky in a ſtrong froſt. As we returned by the ſame road we went to the eaſtward, which I have already deſcribed, I ſhall not repeat the particulars, but only name the towns through which we paſſed, viz. Tumeen, Epantſhin, Verchaturia, and Solikamſky. The weather being exceſſively cold, we remained two days at this place. From thence we came to Kay-gorod, then to Klinoff; from which, inſtead of going towards Cazan, we proceeded ſtraight through the woods towards the town of Niſhna-Novogorod, ſituated

at

at the conflux of the Volga and Ocka. This road is neareſt, but very rough and narrow in many places, the country being overgrown with large tall woods, of different kinds, according to the nature of the ſoil. The principal inhabitants are the Tzeremiſh, who afford but indifferent accommodation for travellers; however, the people are very courteous and hoſpitable. Among them are ſcattered a few Ruſs villages, and a very few Ruſs towns of ſmall note; for which reaſon, I ſhall only mention the names of ſuch as lay in our road from Klinoff to Kuſma-Damianſko, (which laſt place is ſituated on the eaſt bank of the river Volga), viz. Biſtritſky, a large village; Orloff, a ſmall town; Yuriefsky, a village; Kotelnitzy, a ſmall town; a village called Tzorno-Retzky; a large village called Voſkrenſky; Yaranſky, a ſmall town; Tzarevo-Sanchurſky, another ſmall town; Shumetrey, a village. Beſides theſe, and ſome others, we paſſed through many villages, inhabited by Tzeremiſhian and Tzoowaſhian Tartars, to mention which would be too tedious. Theſe people, having deſtroyed the woods about their villages, live much at their eaſe, have plenty of corn and cattle, and great numbers of bee-hives, whereby they furniſh the markets with great quantities of honey and bees-wax. They alſo furniſhed us with changes of horſes whenever we had occaſion for them; but their tackling of harneſs, &c. is ſo bad, that much time was loſt in accommodating them to our heavy carriages, ſo that we thought ourſelves happy when we met with Ruſſian villages, which are far better provided in that reſpect, and more accuſtomed to travelling than thoſe poor people, who never go far from their own home.

After a tedious journey, we came out of the woods to the Volga, and travelled along upon the ice, which, in ſome places, was not very firm. In the evening, we reached Niſhna-Novogorod, where we ſtaid ſome days to refreſh ourſelves, and kept our Chriſtmas with the commandant.

We proceeded again on the 28th, and, little material happening, arrived ſafe at the capital city of Moſco, on the 5th day of January 1722, where we found His Czariſh Majeſty, and all the court, who had lately arrived from St. Peterſburg, and preparations were making for grand fire-works, triumphal arches, and other marks of joy, on account of the peace: with which I ſhall conclude my journal.

I think it will not be unacceptable to the reader, if I ſubjoin a liſt of the places and diſtances between St. Peterſburg and Pekin.—They are as follow:—

It is to be noted, that the diſtances between St. Peterſburg and Tobolſky, in Siberia, are all meaſured verſts, each verſt being 500 Ruſs fathoms, each fathom conſiſting of ſeven feet Engliſh meaſure; ſo that a Ruſſian verſt meaſures exactly $1166\frac{2}{3}$ yards.

	Verſts.		Verſts.
From St. Peterſburg		To Bronitza - -	35
To Yeſhore - -	35	Zaitzoff - -	30
Toſſinſky-Yam - -	23	Kriſtitſkom - -	31
Lubany - - -	26	Yazhetbeetſach -	39
Chudova - - -	32	Zemnigorſkom -	23
Spaſkoy Poliſte - -	25	Edrovo - -	22
Podberezwa - -	23	Kotelofsky - -	35
Novogorod - - -	22	Viſhny-Volotſhoke -	36

	Verſts.
To Vidropuſko	33
Torſhoke	36
Medna	33
Tweer	28
Gorodna	31
Zavidovo	27
Klinn	27
Peſhka	30
Tſhorny Graz	24
City of Moſco	28
Novo-Derevenoy	27
Bunkovo	26
Kyrzatſky	29
Lipnach	28
Undola	17
Volodimer	22
Selo-Dartſhevo	26
Murom	30
Selo-Monachovo	25
Selo-Pagoſty	29
Selo-Bogoroditzky	39
Niſhna-Novogorod	28
Zyminka	25
Selo-Tatintza	31
Belozerika	35
Fokina	29
Selo-Sumkach	34
Koſma-Damianſko	20
Bolſhoy-Rutky	10
Kumea	50
Shumetrey	30
Zarevo-Santzurſky	30
Potavinoy-Vrague	47
Yaranſkey	29
Selo-Voſkreſenſky	34
Tſhorna-Retxka	47
Kotelnizy	46
Yuriofsky	20
Orloff	26
Selo-Biſtritz	21
Klinoff	30
To Slobodſky	28
Selo-Prokofiefsky	30
Selo-Solovetzkoy	33
Trotiſka-monaſtery	22
Kruto-Gorſky	25
Katharinſky-monaſtery	25
Tikofsky	35
Leonſky	25
Kay-Gorod	35
Reka-Volva	34
Koriſh Retſka Bereſofsky	25
Selo-Yſinofsky	30
Zezefsky	15
Selo-Koſſinſky	36
Logginoff	32
Selo-Syrinſky	28
Nikonoff	25
Town of Solikamſky	30
Martinſkoy	25
Yanvey	35
Moltzanoff	35
From Moltzanoff to Verkutaria are five ſtages, making	181
thence to Saldinſkay Pogoſtia	27
To Maggnevoy	46
Fominoy	28
Babichinoy	53
Turinſky	53
Slattkoy	50
Selo-Roſhdeſvinſky	50
Tumeen	51
Soſſnovoy	46
Pokorfska-Slaboda	31
Iſkinſkoy	35
Backſarino	34
Sheſtakovo	26
Dechterevo	39
City of Tobolſky	43
	3119

From St. Peterſburg to Moſco	734
From Moſco to Kuſma-Damianſko	564
From Kuſma-Damianſko to Zarevo-Santzurſky	120
From Zarevo-Santzurſky to Sollikamſky	813
From Sollikamſky to Tobolſky	888
	3119

It will be obſerved, that, in our journey outwards to China, we went by Cazan, which muſt make the diſtance we travelled between St. Peterſburg and Tobolſky, more than the above (which is the ſhorteſt road) by at leaſt 200 verſts.

The route continued from Tobolſky eaſtward, down the river Irtiſh, and up the rivers Oby and Keat by water.

From Tobolſky	Verſts.
To Samariofsky-Yamm - -	570
the town of Surgute - -	262
the town of Narim - -	590
the town of Makofsky up the river Keat	1480
by land to Yeniſeyſky - -	92
to Elimſky, along the river Tonguſky	627
to Irkuſky - - -	450
croſs the Baykall lake to Selinginſky	394
to Saratzine, the boundary between Ruſſia and China - - -	104
to the river Tola - - -	467
the wall of China, croſs the Hungry Stepp, or Deſert, - -	1212
the city of Pekin - -	200
From Tobolſky to Pekin - -	6448
From St. Peterſburg to Tobolſky -	3119
	9567

N. B. The verſts between Tobolſky and Pekin are computed, which generally exceed the meaſured verſt.

It will be noted, that the route above recited is that by which we returned from China.

JOURNAL OF THE RESIDENCE OF MR. DE LANGE, AGENT OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY OF ALL THE RUSSIAS, PETER THE FIRST, AT THE COURT OF PEKIN, DURING THE YEARS 1721 AND 1722. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

TRANSLATION OF THE EDITOR'S PREFACE TO THE READER.

THIS Journal is very curious, and an authentic piece, and certainly merits the attention of the public, as well for its uſe, as the novelty of the ſubject it treats of.

As the world is not ſo ſufficiently informed of what paſſes in thoſe diſtant countries, as to form a tolerable judgment of what the court of Ruſſia may have to do with that of China, I am now about to give a ſuccinct relation thereof to the reader, that it may ſerve him as an introduction to the work.

It is now well known that the frontiers of Siberia are contiguous to thoſe of China; for this reaſon, it is natural to think that the court of Ruſſia ſhould have more frequent correſpondence with that of China than any other court of Europe. Nevertheleſs, this correſpondence between the two courts is of no ancient date, as it did not commence but ſince the Mongall Tartars made themſelves maſters of China, about the year 1040; for it was about that time that the Ruſſians, after being poſſeſſed of Siberia from the latter end of the ſixteenth century, began to ſpread themſelves over that vaſt country, not having met the leaſt reſiſtance from the ancient inhabitants of thoſe parts; till, at laſt, they came to eſtabliſh themſelves about the lake Baykall, and the river Amoor, thereby becoming near neighbours to the Mongall Tartars; by intercourſe with them, the Ruſſians ſoon came to underſtand that their nation had poſſeſſed themſelves of China; and that it was the Prince who was actually their Chan, who filled at that time the throne of China.

The court of Ruſſia was not ignorant of the extreme opulence of the empire of China; and appriſed that the diſtance from Siberia could not be great, reſolved to try if they could not derive ſome advantages from that diſcovery, by eſtabliſhing a regular commerce between Siberia and China; promiſing themſelves no leſs than to draw into Ruſſia, from that empire, a great part of its riches. For this purpoſe, the court of Ruſſia ſent, ſucceſſively, ſeveral ambaſſadors or envoys to China; who ſucceeded ſo well, that the Chineſe at length conſented to the entry of the caravans into their dominions from Siberia, on conditions very advantageous to Ruſſia.

During theſe tranſactions, the Ruſſians daily gained ground on the frontiers of the Mongall Tartars; and even made no ſcruple, when they thought fit, of eſtabliſhing themſelves on their territories, with a deſign to approach on one ſide, along the river Amoor, towards the Oriental Sea; and on the other ſide, along the river Selinga, towards the frontiers of China.

In the mean time, the new government of China was not long of comprehending, that all theſe new ſettlements which the Ruſſians made upon the frontiers of the Mongalls, would in time render their power too formidable to the ſubjects of China; and might come at laſt to be very dangerous to the repoſe of China itſelf, in caſe any miſ-

underſtandings between the two nations ſhould ariſe. On theſe conſiderations, they reſolved to oppoſe ſettlement to ſettlement, and to build ſome towns and villages on the frontiers of the Mongall Tartars, at ſome diſtance from the laſt ſettlements of the Ruſſians; in order thereby to prevent their penetrating farther into the country, to the prejudice of the Tartar ſubjects of China.

In conſequence of this reſolution, the Chineſe built, about the year 1670, the towns of Mergeen and Naun, and the borough of Xixigan, with ſeveral other boroughs and villages thereabouts; which they peopled with colonies of Mongalls, ſubjects of China.

Thence aroſe diſputes between the two empires, on the ſubject of their frontiers. And in place of the negotiations being confined to affairs of commerce, and mutual proteſtations of amity and friendſhip, on one ſide and the other, the grand object of all their aims came now to be the accommodation of the affair of the frontiers, and the regulation of limits between the two empires. But, in as much as one would preſerve to themſelves the right of doing as they thought fit, and the other would, at all hazards, keep them from doing what they thought dangerous, there aroſe a great coolneſs between them; which came to blows in the years 1684 and 1685. It is true, that they laboured inceſſantly, both on the one ſide and the other, for a re-eſtabliſhment of good harmony between the two nations; to this end there were held two different congreſſes, at the town of Nerchinſky, between the plenipotentiaries of Ruſſia and thoſe of China. But thoſe gentlemen met with ſo many difficulties, in reconciling their different ſentiments and intereſts, that they were obliged to ſeparate without ſucceſs. At laſt, F. Gerbillon, a Jeſuit, returned again to the town of Nerchinſky, in quality of plenipotentiary of the court of China; and there, in 1689, ſigned a treaty of peace and perpetual alliance, between the two empires, which was afterwards ratified, in the uſual forms, by both the courts.

That treaty was not very advantageous to the Ruſſians, becauſe it ſet bounds to their eſtabliſhments on theſe frontiers, which was a very diſagreeable article. And as they believed the Chineſe would not regard it very ſtrictly, provided they did not advance further on the ſide of the Selinga, and the towns they had lately built to the ſouthward of the frontiers, the Ruſſians again began to make new ſettlements along the river Amoor; and, at laſt, to build along the ſouth bank of that river, thirty leagues beyond their limits, a town they called Albazin; in hopes that the Chineſe could not be without Siberian furs, and would rather chooſe to wink at theſe enterpriſes than enter into a new war. But they were quite miſtaken in their calculation; for the Mongalls furniſhed ſuch quantities of furs to China, from the time they had orders from the Chan to ſpread themſelves along the banks of the Amoor, that the Chineſe began to perceive that they could be ſufficiently ſupplied with furs, without thoſe from Siberia. And in theſe ſentiments they ſpoke freely their thoughts of theſe new enterpriſes of the Ruſſians.

In the mean time, the Ruſſians gave them good words and fair promiſes, but continued to carry on their point, flattering themſelves that they might find ſome favourable opportunity of pacifying them. Nevertheleſs, the Chineſe growing doubtful of the Ruſſians complying with their demands, which they thought well founded, at length they had recourſe to force; and in the year 1715, made the Mongalls, ſubjects to China, take arms, and laid ſiege to the town of Albazin, the place which was the principal ground of their complaints. The ſiege continued three years; and as the late Peter the Great was occupied in his grand deſigns to the weſtward, he would not continue the quarrel with China. Thus, they let the town fall into the hands of the Mongalls, and agreed to a new proviſional treaty with the court of Pekin. But as other

differences on the frontiers ſtill ſubſiſted, the court of Ruſſia ſent again, in 1719, an envoy extraordinary to Pekin, to regulate entirely what remained to be adjuſted between the two empires; and ſeeing that, by means of theſe differences, the commerce of the caravans was much leſſened, the true object of his negotiation was to re-eſtabliſh that commerce; and, to that end, to try to induce the court of China to conſent to the reſidence of an agent from Ruſſia, at the court of Pekin, who might take care to watch over the affairs of the caravan, and ſo preſerve a good underſtanding between the two empires. The envoy of Ruſſia, having happily executed the laſt part of his commiſſion, left, at his departure from Pekin, Mr. de Lange, as agent of Ruſſia at the court of Pekin, who was the author of the following Journal.

The public is obliged for this tract to a foreign miniſter, who reſided many years at the court of Ruſſia, and who permitted it to be communicated to the public. But, to make the reading of it more agreeable and more uſeful to the world, it was thought fit to add ſome little remarks in the places which required elucidation, that nothing might be wanting to the reader on ſo intereſting a ſubject.

JOURNAL OF MR. DE LANGE, &c.

March 1721.

MR. DE ISMAYLFOFF, ambaſſador and envoy extraordinary of His Czariſh Majeſty, having fixed his departure from Pekin to be on the 2d of March, after having finiſhed his negotiations at the court of China in the beſt manner he poſſibly could *, I took the reſolution of accompanying him to the wall of China; but the gentlemen of the miniſtry thought proper to refuſe me a paſſport; pretending that, as I was ordered by His Czariſh Majeſty to reſide at the court of the Chan †, it was neceſſary that I ſhould have permiſſion of the Bogdoi-Chan himſelf, not only for going as far as the grand wall, but alſo for every time that I would go to ſtay a night without the walls of Pekin: to the intent that the court might always be aſſured that no ill accident ſhould happen to me, being a foreigner ‡. And, as the Bogdoi-Chan had already quitted his reſidence of Pekin, to take the diverſion of hunting, it was not without a deal of trouble that I obtained a permiſſion to accompany Mr. de Iſmayloff as far as Czampinſa, which is a town ſixty ly § diſtant from Pekin, from whence I returned, being eſcorted by a clerk of the council for the affairs of the Mongalls, and ſome ſoldiers; and thus came back to Pekin on the 6th.

* Mr. de Iſmayloff, a gentleman of great merit, and a captain in the regiment of the Preobraſchinſky guards, was ſent, in the year 1719, by the late Emperor Peter the Great, to China, with the character of ambaſſador and envoy extraordinary, to renew the treaties between Ruſſia and China, and to endeavour to bring the court of Pekin to agree to a regulated free commerce with Ruſſia.

† All the Tartars give to their reigning princes the title of Chan; and as the houſe which at preſent fills the throne of China is come from that branch of Pagan Tartars known to us by the name of Oriental Mongalls, the Emperors of China conform themſelves to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of their nation, preſerving, to this time, the title of Chan. Vide Hiſt. Genealog. des Tartares.

‡ Mr. de Iſmayloff, at his departure from Pekin, left, by virtue of his inſtructions, Mr. de Lange, in quality of agent of Ruſſia, to treat of, and to bring to a concluſion, a regulation of commerce, and an eſtabliſhment of an eaſy correſpondence between the two empires; and, although the Chineſe miniſtry oppoſed moſt ſtrenuouſly the reſidence of the ſaid agent at their court, on pretence that it was contrary to the fundamental conſtitutions of the empire; yet the ſaid ambaſſador knew ſo well how to take his meaſures, that the Bogdoi-Chan gave his conſent to it, notwithſtanding all the intrigues of the miniſtry to the contrary.

§ One ly of China is exactly 360 geometrical paces.

The

The 7th, early in the morning, I ſaw enter the court-yard of my houſe a man who had the appearance of a poor beggar; he brought with him ſome poor ſtarved fowls, and ſalted cabbage, together with ſome pots of taraſſun, which is a fermented liquor, made of grain, and what the Chineſe drink inſtead of wine, making it warm before they drink it. This man, having ſet it all down in my court-yard, was returning, when I ordered him to be called back, to inform me of the meaning of his ſo doing. Upon which he told me, "That it was part of the proviſions he had bought for me, by order of the college who have the charge of the Emperor's magazines of proviſions; but that, not being able to bring all at once, he was going to fetch the reſt." Whereupon, being informed by him what his occupation was, I underſtood, "That he had made a contract with the ſaid college to furniſh me, every nine days, with a certain quantity of proviſions for my houſe. Upon which I ordered him to take every thing away that he ſaid he had bought for me, and bring no more to my houſe, till I ſhould receive previous information, from the council for foreign affairs, how much I was daily to receive by order of the Bogdoi-Chan, and through whoſe hands I was to receive them.

Whereupon I ſent to let the Mandarins (who were appointed to propoſe to the council what might regard me) know what had occurred with this man, who came, in the above manner, to bring me proviſions on the part of the Bogdoi-Chan; and alſo that I ſhould always moſt reſpectfully receive whatever the Bogdoi-Chan, from his friendſhip for his Czariſh Majeſty, ſhould order for my ſubſiſtence, in caſe it was ſent me in a proper manner; at the ſame time, deſiring them to acquaint me with the particulars of what the court had ordered for my ſubſiſtence. Whereupon thoſe gentlemen ſent me the following anſwer: "That I ſhould receive the ſame allowance which I had received before, during the reſidence of the envoy extraordinary at this court; and that they had already made an agreement to deliver my allowance regularly." I repreſented to them thereupon, "That I never had any ſeparate allowance during the reſidence of his Excellency the envoy at Pekin, having had the honour of eating always at the ſame table with him; that, for this reaſon, I could now receve nothing, until I ſhould know preciſely wherein it was to conſiſt; and that, after I ſhould know what the allowance was to be, I ſhould deſire them to pay me the amount of the ſame in money, which they were to pay to the purveyor." Theſe gentlemen were not wanting in letting me know, "That I ought not ſo nicely to examine what the Bogdoi-Chan, without any obligation, had ordered to be given me out of his mere grace." But I aſſured them, in ſtrong terms, in my turn, "That I abſolutely would receive nothing on theſe terms; for I was very doubtful whether the Bogdoi-Chan was informed, that ſuch a perſon was truſted with the diſpoſition of what allowance he was pleaſed to order for me." This reſolution much diſcompoſed the gentlemen Mandarins, who had reckoned on ſupplying their own tables with my proviſions; but, ſeeing how difficult it was to obtain their ends on this occaſion, they at laſt delivered to me the following ſpecification, and ſaid it was what the Bogdoi-Chan had ordered for my allowance, viz. per day,

1 fiſh.
1 ſheep.
1 pot of taraſſun.
1 fowl.
1 bowl of milk.
2 oz. of tea.
2 oz. of butter.
2 oz. of lamp oil.
½ gin ſalted cabbage.
2 ſmall meaſures of rice.
15 gin of wood.

To

To my interpreter per day,

1 oz. of tea.	2 oz. of lamp-oil.
½ gin of flour.	2 ſmall meaſures of rice.
2 oz. of butter.	8 gin of wood.

And every nine days a ſheep.

To every one of my domeſtics per day,

1½ gin of beef.	1 meaſure of rice.
1 oz. of ſalt.	5 gin of wood.

To a dragoon who was left behind by the envoy at Pekin, upon account of ſome tapeſtries they were working for His Czariſh Majeſty,

1 meaſure of rice.	2 oz. of butter.
1 oz. of tea.	2 oz. of lamp-oil.
½ gin of flour.	5 gin of wood.

And every nine days a ſheep.

By *laen* you are to underſtand ounces, and by *gin* pounds.

Upon delivering this ſpecification, the Mandarins acquainted me, "That, as they were obliged to buy the fiſh, the fowls, the ſheep, and the milk, for my proviſions, with ready money, I might receive the value of thoſe things in money; but, in regard to the other articles, I muſt content myſelf to receive them in kind from the Chan's magazines *."

Upon which I aſſured them, "I ſhould make no objection, provided they did it in a decent manner, and not by unknown people, who marched off as ſoon as they had thrown it down in my court-yard, as they had once done." At the ſame time I demanded of them, "Whether I could ſtill have the Chan's horſes, to make uſe of them when I ſhould have occaſion, as I had during the reſidence of the envoy extraordinary." They anſwered me thereupon, "That I might certainly have the Chan's horſes always; but then, as the ſtables of the Chan were at a conſiderable diſtance, it was neceſſary for me always to acquaint them of my intentions, the day before I intended to ride out; upon ſuch notice, they would take care that the horſes ſhould always be ready at my quarters very early in the morning †." To avoid this inconvenience, and to avoid the being obliged to let them know every day where I would go, I took the reſolution to buy ſix horſes, and to keep them at my own expence, though forage was very dear at Pekin. The guard that had been placed upon the envoy's quarters, during the time of his ſtay at Pekin, under the command of a brigadier, remained ſtill on the ſame footing after his departure, as did the two Mandarins of the thirty-ſeventh order ‡, together

* The Emperor of China receives the greateſt part of the tribute of his ſubjects in the country in proviſions and manufactures of the growth of the ſeveral provinces, which are afterwards diſtributed in kind to all perſons in the ſervice of this monarchy, and reckoned to them as part of their ſalary; ſo that all the gold and ſilver that comes into the treaſury of the Chan, ariſes from the tribute of the cities, the duties inwards and outwards, the tolls of paſſengers, the mines of gold and ſilver, and fines or confiſcations; all which together amount every year to immenſe ſums.

† At Pekin they always make viſits in town on horſeback. But the princes of the blood, and the grand Mandarins, are generally carried in litters on theſe occaſions, attended with a numerous train of domeſtics.

‡ Every man appointed to any public charge or dignity in China, from the higheſt to the loweſt, is called by the name of Mandarin; whence it comes that there are many orders, which are all diſtinguiſhed,

together with a clerk, to receive from me whatever I ſhould have to propoſe, whether by word of mouth or by writing, and to make their report to the council of foreign affairs; and this appeared to me a very good omen.

The 9th, the brigadier of the guard of my quarters let me know, that the Bogdoi-Chan would return from hunting the next day, and that if I was deſirous to go to meet him, he would give orders that the Mandarins ſhould be ready to eſcort me with a guard of horſe for the ſecurity of my perſon.

The 10th, I mounted on horſeback very early to go to meet the Chan. When His Majeſty ſaw me, he called me to him, and aſked, "If I did not repine to be alone in a foreign empire, ſo far from Europe?" He further aſked, "If I was well, and if I was contented?" Upon which, having with a profound reverence thanked His Majeſty for my gracious reception, I aſſured him, "That I found myſelf perfectly well, and I could not but be well content with having the honour of reſiding at the court of ſo grand a monarch." After which His Majeſty, having diſmiſſed me, was carried in his litter to Pekin, followed by a very numerous court *.

The 11th, 12th, and 13th, I notified to the Mandarins, ſolicitors in my affairs, "That, having ſeveral things to get made for the Emperor, my maſter, I ſhould have great occaſion for the money which divers merchants of Pekin were owing to the Commiſſary Guſaitnikoff, who had been lately at Pekin with the caravan of Siberia †; and I craved their aſſiſtance to facilitate the recovery of thoſe ſums, ſeeing the debtors had engaged themſelves, before the envoy extraordinary, to pay me the ſame immediately after his departure." The Mandarins explained themſelves very favourably thereupon; but our debtors, having got notice of it, retired into the country, which obliged me to leave this affair to another opportunity.

The 15th, the Bogdoi-Chan went to Czchan-zchumnienne, which is a houſe of pleaſure belonging to His Majeſty, twelve ly weſtward of Pekin, where he frequently makes his reſidence. But having obſerved, in his paſſing, that the triumphal arches, and other like ornaments, which are raiſed on his birth-day, on both ſides of the grand road, paved with ſquare flat ſtones, that reaches from Pekin to Czchan-zchumnienne, were not of the uſual magnificence, all the miniſtry were diſgraced for many weeks. Upon which the miniſters, having inſtantly ordered the demolition of all that had been built, cauſed to be built up anew, from the palace of the Emperor at Pekin quite to Czchan-zchumnienne, a great number of triumphal arches, and of moſt magnificent columns, of an exquiſite taſte, all embelliſhed with gildings, and feſtoons of all ſorts of rich ſilks, of moſt lively figures and colours. At the ſame time, in ſeveral places, they

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one from another, by difference of habits, characters, and figures, which are embroidered or ſewed on their habits; inſomuch that, upon ſeeing a Mandarin, it may be immediately known of what order he is; becauſe every Mandarin is forbid to appear in public without the habit of his order, under pain of the moſt rigorous penalties.

* The Emperor of China might be then in his ſixty-ninth lunar year; but he was ſtill very well diſpoſed in body and mind, and was looked upon as a monarch of ſuperior penetration and genius. The Fathers Jeſuits, miſſionaries in China, had great influence with him; and he uſually conſulted them on all affairs of importance. He mounted the throne anno 1662, aged eight years, and died in September 1722.

The prince, his third ſon, who already commanded the armies of the empire, ſucceeded to the empire; for the deceaſed Emperor had confined his two eldeſt ſons in a cloſe priſon, ſome years before his death, upon ſome alledged attempts to rebel, true or falſe, and declared them excluded from ſucceeding to the empire. Nevertheleſs their brother ſet them at liberty, immediately upon his acceſſion to the empire, and heaped favours on them, to make them forget the loſs of their right which he poſſeſſed.

† They give the title of Commiſſary to thoſe who have the direction of the caravans, which come from Siberia to Pekin to trade.

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erected theatres of great beauty, where the moſt able comedians exerted their talents, in repreſenting the moſt difficult and curious parts of their profeſſions, accompanied with the grandeſt concerts of muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental, diverſified with the amuſements of dancing and feats of uncommon agility. All theſe entertainments being prepared, the miniſters went in a body to the Imperial palace, ſupplicated the monarch on their knees, with their faces proſtrate to the ground, that he would be pleaſed to admit them to his good graces, and that he would be pleaſed to ſend ſome, in whom he could confide, to examine their new ſtructures *. But the Bogdoi-Chan ordered them to be told, "That he would ſee nothing of what they had done, and that he would never celebrate his birth-day at Pekin more, for that he was as much Emperor of China at Czchan-zchumnienne, as he ſhould be though ſitting on the Imperial throne at Pekin †."

The 17th, I deſired the Mandarins, ſolicitors for my affairs, to come to me upon buſineſs that regarded the council. Upon which they ſent me word, that, one of them being ill, the other dared not to meddle in matters that regarded the council, without the participation of his comrade. This obliged me to wait the recovery of the ſick Mandarin, and till I could ſee them both together.

The 18th, 19th, and 20th, I was willing to avail myſelf of the opportunity the ſickneſs of one of my Mandarins gave me, to make ſome viſits to merchants of my acquaintance, and to the Father Jeſuits, hoping thereby to induce them to return my viſits, and give me opportunity of knowing ſomething of the commerce of this empire. But I found that they all received my viſit with very forced civilities, and great reſerve, particularly the merchants, who endeavoured to appear much occupied about other important affairs; ſo that, ſeeing it very difficult to bring them into my views, in the preſent conjuncture, I thought it beſt to poſtpone theſe ſorts of viſits to a more proper time. But they, not doubting that ſuch a reception would occaſion my making many reflections, let me know by a third hand, "That my viſits ſhould be always moſt agreeable to them, and that they wiſhed, with all their hearts, to divert me every day better than the cuſtom of their country permitted them; and likewiſe, on occaſion, to come and ſee me, were it not for fear of the ſoldiers, who followed me every where, which prevented them.—For, in caſe they ſhould not place the ſoldiers in the ſame chamber with themſelves and me, and entertain them with every thing to their liking, they were capable of accuſing them of having a clandeſtine commerce, of great importance, with me, or other ſuſpicious negociations, which would not fail of coſting them conſiderable ſums of money, and poſſibly might prove their entire ruin ‡." It is true, the Father Jeſuits could

* The honours which they pay to the Emperors of China approach even to adoration; all thoſe who have audience of him, being obliged to proſtrate themſelves three times before him, from which none are exempted, not even ambaſſadors, or other foreign miniſters; Mr. de Iſmayloff, notwithſtanding his quality, being obliged to go through that ceremony, as well as all others.

† The deceaſed Emperor of China held the great lords of China very cheap; for he very well knew, that, in their hearts, they bore the Tartar yoke very impatiently. Nevertheleſs, ſince the very ſevere executions he ordered in the beginning of his reign, he ſeldom puniſhed with death the great Chineſe Mandarins who fell into diſgrace, contenting himſelf with condemning them to pay exorbitant pecuniary fines; which incapacitated them from doing any thing againſt his authority, whatever deſire they might have ſo to do.

‡ The princes of the houſe of the Tartars, who at preſent reign in China, have learned, at the expence of their predeceſſors, that they ought not to depend too much on the fidelity of the Chineſe; for this reaſon, all the military of the empire is, in a manner, compoſed of Mongall Tartars, who, on that account, enjoy conſiderable privileges, which makes them very inſolent and almoſt inſupportable to the Chineſe. And as the number of theſe Tartars were not deemed ſufficient to curb the Chineſe, conſidering the vaſt

could not alledge ſuch fears of the ſoldiers of my guard as the merchants; their belonging to the court put them on quite another footing than the ordinary rank of people were upon; but they pretended that, as they were foreigners, they were obliged to act with great caution, in order to prevent ſuſpicion *. This did not ſurpriſe me at all, in regard to a nation, the genius of which I had already had a tolerable knowledge of. The affairs I had to manage were of a very difficult nature, and in all countries the entering properly into ſuch ought to be the principal care; but I, nevertheleſs, flattered myſelf, that this unpromiſing aſpect, at my entering on my functions, would take a more favourable turn, as ſoon as the Bogdoi-Chan ſhould receive the credentials I had from the Emperor my maſter.

The 22d, my Mandarins came together to ſee me, and to know what I had to propoſe to the council; upon which I requeſted them,

" 1. To put the Allegamba, or preſident of the council for foreign affairs in mind, in my name, that they had let my credential, from the Emperor my maſter, remain in my hands beyond the uſual time; and that I waited, through his hands, the order of the Bogdoi-Chan, to appoint when he would pleaſe to receive them.

" 2. To acquaint the preſident, that I had reſolved to hire a houſe for myſelf, near the quarters of the Ruſſians, againſt the arrival of the caravan, to the end that the ſaid quarters might be repaired, which, from age were gone to ruin, and might be entirely beat down by the approaching rainy ſeaſon; that, unleſs this reparation be made, the commiſſary would not know where to lodge on his arrival at Pekin, except he would run the riſk of having the merchandizes damaged.

" 3. To demand for me a paſſport, with the neceſſary eſcort, for ſome baggage, left at Pekin, during the time of the ambaſſade, which I wanted to ſend out of hand to Selinginſky †." The ſaid baggage was ſome raw ſilk which I had bought on account of Mr. Nicolai Chriſtizy, with caſh and effects that he had left in my hands ‡.

The anſwer which I received immediately after from thoſe gentlemen, contained in ſubſtance, " That the Emperor himſelf having allotted that houſe for my quarters, no perſon would readily inſinuate to him that I was not ſatisfied with it; and that, without a ſpecial licence from him, no perſon in all Pekin, were it even the Imperial Prince himſelf, would dare to let me a lodging, ſeeing it would thereby look as if the Bogdoi-Chan had not an inhabitable houſe for a foreigner." To which I replied, " That I made no doubt of ſo great a monarch's having houſes enough for lodging as many

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extent of the empire, the late Bogdoi-Chan found it neceſſary, in order to augment their number, to make a law, whereby all the Tartar Mongalls, men or women, who ſhould marry with Chineſe, were obliged to bring up their children according to the cuſtoms of the Mongalls, and to teach them the Mongalls language; and that, by means of this precaution, all thoſe children ſhould be deemed naturalized Mongalls, and enjoy the privilege of native Mongalls.

* This was but an excuſe of the Jeſuits, to prevent the viſits of Mr. de Lange, whoſe reſiding at Pekin could not be very agreeable to them, as it was to act in the affairs of a monarch who had turned all the Jeſuits out of his empire, and would ſuffer no other Roman Catholic miſſionaries, but the Capuchins, to reſide in his dominions.

† Selinginſky is the laſt fortreſs belonging to Ruſſia, towards the north-weſt of China. This town is in the country of the Mongalls, upon the eaſt-ſide of the river Selinga, thirty days journey from Pekin, in lat. 51. 30. The climate of Selinginſky is very mild, and the country about it is very pleaſant. The Mongall Tartars did not accuſtom themſelves to the cultivation of ground; yet every thing that is ſown or planted there, thrives exceedingly.

‡ Through all Ruſſia they uſe hardly any other ſilk but that of China, which is undoubtedly the beſt in the world; it being certain, that two pounds of Chineſe ſilk will go as far in manufacturing as three pounds of either Perſian or Italian ſilk.

foreigners

foreigners as he pleaſed; but, that I was well perſuaded, when the Bogdoi-Chan ſhould be informed of the condition that houſe was in, he would not oblige me to inhabit it longer. Beſides, that it was acting contrary to the common right, allowed by all the world, to reſtrain a perſon, in a public character, from hiring a lodging, with his own money, which might be commodious for him, without a previous application to the Emperor himſelf." They anſwered me thereupon, "That the uſages in Europe were not practiſed by them; and, as all the countries in the world had their particular cuſtoms, China had hers, which would not be altered on any conſideration whatever." They alſo told me plainly "That they could not write to the council on this ſubject; for that they knew of a certainty, that no perſon durſt make the propoſition to the Emperor."

Upon which having told them, "That, as the caſe was ſo, I muſt ſubmit to remain there, till the impoſſibility of abiding longer may force me to have recourſe to other meaſures." They of themſelves propoſed to me, "That the Chan might be petitioned to allot me other quarters, without alledging that my preſent quarters were in ſo miſerable a condition." But, ſeeing I did not pretend to go out, but becauſe it was in ſuch a ruinous ſtate, they perſiſted in ſaying, it was impoſſible for them to make the propoſal to His Majeſty on that footing.

The 23d, the aforeſaid Mandarins came again to acquaint me, "That the preſident would conſult the other members of the council upon my credential letters, and would put the Emperor in remembrance, when occaſion ſhould offer. But, concerning the ſending away the baggage, I muſt have patience till after the Emperor's birth-day; ſeeing the preparations for its celebration ſo fully employed every body, that nothing elſe was attended to, though of ever ſo great conſequence."

April.

The 1ſt of this month, the Aloy, or maſter of the ceremonies of the Chan, invited me, by order of the Bogdoi-Chan, to come to Czchan-Zchumnienne. Upon which I went there inſtantly. I was no ſooner arrived, but I ſent to notify the ſame to the ſaid Aloy, and forthwith went to his apartment. I underſtood from him, that the Bogdoi-Chan had an intention to have admitted me that day to an audience, but other affairs had unexpectedly intervened; he had ordered him to deliver to me a piece of the tapeſtry which they were at work upon for the Czar, in order that I might ſend it to Ruſſia by an expreſs, and acquaint the Czar, that what pieces remained to be made ſhould be ready in three months *. I laid hold of this opportunity of the paſſports and convoy neceſſary for the piece of tapeſtry, to requeſt of this gentlemen, "That he would be ſo good as to manage it ſo, as that, when His Majeſty ſhould give order for the paſſport and convoy for the piece of tapeſtry, I ſhould at the ſame time be furniſhed with paſſports for the baggage above-mentioned which I had to forward; and that he would pleaſe to be at the trouble of informing himſelf, when His Majeſty would be pleaſed to receive my letters of credence from the Czar with which I was charged." Whereupon the Aloy deſired me to remain at his lodgings, whilſt he went to make the propoſal to the Emperor; and at his return, he acquainted me, "That His Majeſty would, out of hand, give orders to the council, that they ſhould furniſh me with the paſſports and convoy neceſſary, as well for the tapeſtry as the baggage I wanted to ſend; but that it could not be till after the birth-day." That, as to the letters of credence, he did not find it

* The tapeſtry of China is generally made of ſatin, embroidered with large figures of gold and ſilk, the colours very bright, but the deſigns not correct; they are not adjuſted to furniſhing of rooms, unleſs beſpoke on purpoſe, or compoſed of many different pieces.

proper to mention it to the Emperor, it appearing to him that His Majeſty frequently thought of me, and would not forget my letters of credence*, and gave me, in ſome meaſure, an aſſurance that the Chan would not long defer the receiving it. And then he made his excuſes that he could not longer wait on me, being obliged inſtantly to return to the court.

The 2d, according to cuſtom, the birth-day of His Majeſty ſhould have been celebrated, with the utmoſt magnificence, at Czchan-Zchumnienne; but, inaſmuch as His Majeſty was ſtill diſpleaſed with his miniſters, he only received the ordinary compliments on that occaſion, without any other ceremony; after which every body retired to their own houſes. I had, among others, the honour of paying my compliments to His Majeſty on that occaſion. That which appeared to me moſt worthy of obſervation at that time, was 3000 old men, the youngeſt of which was above 60 years old, which, by expreſs orders of the Emperor, had been brought to Pekin from all the provinces of the empire. They were all dreſſed in yellow, which is the colour of the imperial liveries, and marched in parade to Czchan-Zchumnienne, where they ranged themſelves in the court of the caſtle, and had the honour of making their compliments to the Emperor; after which His Majeſty diſtributed to every one, without diſtinction, four laen of ſilver, and ſent them home.

The ſame day, the parſon of the church of St. Nicolas, at Pekin†, preſented me with a memorial of ſome debts which he had owing him, by divers perſons of that city, on account of the deceaſed Archimandrite, praying my aſſiſtance in the affair.

The 3d, having received from the council the neceſſary paſſport for the courier I was to diſpatch with the piece of tapeſtry, I diſpatched him, the ſame day, under the eſcort of a Chineſe courier.

The 8th, ſome unknown people having entered my houſe, told me, by my interpreter, "That they had bought for me a certain number of ſheep; but if I would not receive them in kind, they were ready to pay me half a laen of ſilver for every ſheep." I returned them in the ſame manner I did the former, letting them know, "That ſome perſon of the college, which had the direction of the Emperor's magazines of proviſions, muſt come to me to ſhow me thoſe who were to bring me proviſions." They attempted ſtill, on ſeveral occaſions, to bring in wood and other proviſions in the ſame way to my houſe, without my being able to know who they were, or who ſent them.

The 11th, I received the paſſport for the baggage of Mr. Nicolai Chriſtizy, which I

* The late Emperor of China, notwithſtanding his great age, had ſo extraordinary a memory, till a little time before his death, that a Flemiſh Jeſuit, who is yet at Pekin, recounted to one in the retinue of Mr. de Iſmayloff, that, above 20 years ago, this Monarch having ſhown him a wood-pecker, aſked him if there were ſuch birds in their country; and having anſwered yes, he aſked its name in Flemiſh. That, ſome time after the arrival of Mr. de Iſmayloff, the Emperor, having caſt his eye on ſuch a bird, aſked him then alſo, if ſuch birds were in their country; and now anſwering, no, the Emperor aſked him why he did not tell him the truth; and if he did not remember, that, at ſuch a time, he told him there were ſuch birds in their country; upon which the father Jeſuit declared, that he had been ſo long out of his own country, that he really did not know whether there was or not. The Emperor was very merry upon the Jeſuit's having forgot his mother-tongue; and told him the bird's name in Flemiſh.

† Thoſe of the Greek religion have but one church at Pekin, but the Roman Catholics have three churches very magnificently built, where there reſort, on Sundays and holidays, a number of people of all conditions, the Roman Catholic religion being tolerated there; but it is remarkable, that the men do not uncover their heads during divine ſervice, becauſe it is a mark of infamy among them to have their head uncovered; no women appear there, having a ſeparate apartment in the churches. The late Emperor favoured the worſhip of the Roman church to ſuch a degree, that he ordered that all the ſons of Mandarins, who made their ſtudies under the direction of the Jeſuits, ſhould be obliged to go, all Sundays and holidays, to their churches, which gave great uneaſineſs to the Chineſe Bonzes.

diſpatched two days after from Pekin, under the eſcort of a Chineſe courier. The preſident of the council letting me know, at the ſame time, "That I ought not to ſend many of thoſe expeditions, as long as the new treaty of commerce between the two empires was unratified in the accuſtomed forms; ſeeing it was not underſtood that they conſented to a continual paſſage by ſmall caravans, which I myſelf ſufficiently knew the reaſons for, having aſſiſted at all the conferences held on that ſubject."

The 13th, I learned that the Bogdoi-Chan was about to ſet out inſtantly for Iegcholl, which is a town newly built, with a magnificent caſtle, without the great wall, 440 ly, or two days by poſt, eaſtward of Pekin, where he uſually paſſes the fine ſeaſon of the ſummer in hunting, and other country diverſions.

The 14th, I mounted on horſeback to go to the preſident of the council; being arrived at the gate, the guard made me wait till they had acquainted him of my being there; immediately after which, he ſent one of his ſervants to inform himſelf, "Whether I came purely on a viſit, or had occaſion to ſpeak to him about buſineſs; and that in caſe I came about buſineſs, that I ſhould communicate the ſame to his ſervant, that he might inform his maſter of the ſubject of it." I made my compliments to the preſident by the meſſenger, and told him, "That I came to pay a viſit to his maſter; but as to the buſineſs I came about, that concerned the maſter, not the ſervant." After which, the ſame ſervant returning, told me, "That I would be welcome to his maſter*." Whereupon, entering into the court-yard, the preſident came out of his apartment to receive me, and having taken me by the hand, after ſome reciprocal compliments, he led me into an open ſaloon, where we ſat down together, and were ſerved with tea and milk, according to the Chineſe manner. After ſome time, I deſired that he would put the Bogdoi-Chan in remembrance that I had letters to preſent to him from the Czar, my maſter, and that I ſhould be very glad to know if he would be pleaſed to receive them before his departure. He anſwered me thereupon as the maſter of ceremonies had done before, "That His Majeſty was well informed of it, and would know himſelf when he would have time to receive them, without being put in mind of it; and that, if we ſhould put His Majeſty in remembrance of it, that would look as if he or I wanted to preſcribe the time of doing it to His Majeſty." I fought, by all ways poſſible, to engage him one way or other in this affair, but all in vain; and I was obliged to hold this for an anſwer; after which he added, "That, if His Majeſty had reſolved not to receive my letter of credence, he would not have conſented to my reſiding at his court in quality of agent; and that Mr. De Iſmayloff having ſufficiently explained the reaſons of my ſtay in Pekin, theſe letters could contain nothing very preſſing." Upon which I replied to him, "That, in Europe, the monarchs were not accuſtomed, when the Czar wrote letters to them, to let ſuch a length of time paſs without receiving them; nor take it amiſs, from their miniſters, if they put them in mind of ſuch important affairs; that I never expected ſuch an anſwer in China; but yet, as it was what I could not remedy, I muſt bear it patiently, till ſuch time as His Majeſty was diſpoſed to receive them."

The 16th, I mounted again on horſeback to go to ſee the alegada, or firſt miniſter, in hopes of getting a reſolution more favourable to my affair than I got from the preſident of the council. Being arrived at his houſe, I was indeed admitted to come into his court-yard; but as I had no deſire to go into the rooms of his ſervants, I was obliged to re-

* In China, when they go to ſee a Mandarin, of what order ſoever, upon buſineſs regarding his office, the Mandarin is obliged to put on the habit peculiar to his order; upon failure whereof, he is amerced in large fines.

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main in the court till they notified to him my being there. He, like the others, fent a fervant to me, to inform himfelf of the reafon of my coming. To whom I fignified, that I wanted the honour of feeing him, and of acquainting him with an affair which I did not think proper to explain to a fervant. The fame fervant returned very foon to me, faying, "My matter thanks you, Sir, for the trouble you have given yourfelf; he is very well; but it is not convenient for him to fee you."

The 17th, I was again in his neighbourhood; and having fent my interpreter to him, to afk permiffion to fee him for a moment, he fent me word, that it was impoffible, becaufe he was that inftant going to His Majefty, and that he did not know when he fhould have time to fpeak with me. Whereupon, feeing this was an affair that could not be forced, I refolved to let it lie dormant for fome time.

The 19th, I went to fee a German Father Jefuit, who being an old acquaintance, and a friend of mine from my firft journey to China, made no fcruple of telling me, that many of the principal Mandarins of China much difapproved of the Chan's confenting to my remaining at Pekin*. But that, as there was no perfon in all the empire that was bold enough to dare contradict the will of the Emperor, unlefs they would expofe themfelves to very great danger, it was very probable they would, by degrees, accuftom themfelves to my being there†. He faid to me alfo, that he had frequently fent his fervant to me with his compliments, but that the guard at my door had as often turned him back, as a perfon who had no bufinefs at my houfe. Nevertheleſs, he did not think they would have been fo untractable, if he would have given them a piece of money. He moft ftrongly enjoined to take no notice of what he told me; for he would by no means appear in this affair; it was fufficient that I was informed by him, in order to take my meafures thereupon when occafion offered.

There are at Pekin a great number of fmall merchants, or rather pedlars, who, as foon as they hear of any foreigners being arrived from Ruffia, or other parts, bring to their quarters all forts of merchandize, which they get partly from the brokers, and partly from other houfes, of different forts of people, who may have any goods which they would be willing to difpofe of; and it is often better to deal with thefe pedlars, for all forts of curiofities, and for made filks, than with the fhop-keepers; for which reafon, I bid fome of thefe people bring to my houfe, from time to time, what they fhould light upon moft curious in its kind, whether in rich filks, or jewels, or other goods of value, to the end that I might acquire a competent knowledge of all the forts of merchandife to be got in this city. Upon which they repreſented to me, that I might well believe that they fought nothing more than to gain a little money, it being their trade; and of conſequence, they would not fail of doing as I defired them, if my houfe was occupied by different perfons; becaufe what goods were not liked by one might find a buyer in another, and fo they might probably always fell fomething; but as I alone occupied the houfe, and had fuch a numerous guard at the gate, they did not know how

* The Chinefe regard their ancient laws and cuftoms as facred and inviolable; and it is not to be wondered at that they with great reluctance fuffer the refidence of a Ruffian agent at Pekin; as it is directly contrary to the fundamental conſtitutions of the empire, which abſolutely forbid the Chinefe to go out of the empire, and the admiffion of foreigners to an abode in it.

† The frequent executions which the late Emperor of China was obliged to cauſe to be made, in the early part of his reign, in order to keep the Chinefe quiet, occafioned fuch a dread in all the Chinefe, that the greateſt Lords of the empire could not approach his perſon without fear and trembling. Nevertheleſs, this Monarch was far from being a tyrant in reality, for he was a true lover of juſtice, and ſpared the blood of his ſubjects as much as poſſible. He had forbid, under the moſt ſevere penalties, the putting a criminal to death, for what crime ſoever, unleſs he ſhould confirm and ſign the ſentence of death with his own hand

to do it; becauſe, before they were permitted to enter my houſe, they were obliged to agree with the ſoldiers of the guard, how much they were to pay them on their going out; and, whether they ſold any thing or not, they were equally obliged to pay the money they agreed to for the permiſſion or entry.

The 20th, I ſent to demand of the Mandarins, who had the care of my affairs, "If it was with their knowledge that the ſoldiers of the guard that were at my gate did not permit any perſon to enter my houſe without their giving them money?" They, in anſwer, let me know, "That they knew nothing of the matter; but they would not fail to make inquiry; and, if they found out the ſoldiers who through ignorance had done ſuch a thing, they would put things in better order for the future." And I found that they had ſpoke to the officers of the guard, who told them, "They had ſtrict orders to guard this houſe, and take particular care that the common people, who are generally very inſolent, ſhould not find means of coming into the court-yard to ſteal any thing; and, as they were to be anſwerable, they were obliged to uſe the precautions neceſſary to this effect." They came to report this to me, as an unanſwerable argument. But I aſſured them, that, whenever the guard admitted people to enter my houſe during the day-time, I would not make them anſwerable for any robbery that might happen at my houſe, for that I had a ſufficient number of my own ſervants to drive out of my court-yard any perſons who ſhould dare to come there without having buſineſs.

It muſt be obſerved on this occaſion, that the Chineſe have the cuſtom of explaining themſelves but once on one propoſal; and, having once given an anſwer upon a matter, whatſoever it be, they always hold themſelves upon this anſwer, as an infallible argument; ſo that, if you turn an affair into twenty different lights, to convince them by one means or other of their error, or to make them alter their ſentiments, it is all loſt trouble, they firmly holding by their firſt word. And it is a general rule with the Chineſe, high and low, in all they have to do with foreigners; inſomuch that every time a propoſal is made to them, which their intereſt or vanity may incline them not to approve, it may be certainly depended upon, that, after infinite diſputes, you will be obliged to receive the firſt words, which they pronounced in the beginning for an anſwer, be it agreeable or diſagreeable.

The 21ſt, I ſpoke with the brigadier of my guard about this affair, who is a perſon generally eſteemed by all the people of merit in the empire; ſome years paſt he had filled the greateſt poſts of the ſtate, but was diſgraced and made brigadier, on account of the bad conduct of his brother. I can truly ſay, this is the moſt worthy man I have known in China, full of honour, reaſon, and probity; and the Fathers Jeſuits agreed with me, that there was not his equal in all this great empire. He diſapproved very much the conduct of the officers and ſoldiers of my guard; but he repreſented to me, at the ſame time, "That, having preciſe orders from the Emperor, that all ſorts of the lower people ſhould be prevented from entering or leaving my houſe at their pleaſure, to the end that no inſult might be offered me, he could not avoid giving the ſame orders to the officers of my guard; but, to prevent the abuſe of his orders for time to come, he would come regularly twice a-week to my quarters, to have an eye on their behaviour." Which gave me opportunities of making a particular friendſhip with him; but neither mine, nor all the threats which the brigadier gave to the officers and ſoldiers on this head, nor the rigorous treatment he made them feel on ſeveral occaſions, could get the better of the inſatiable avarice of theſe military people, who look upon it as their right to exact contributions of thoſe who trade with foreigners. In ſhort, it would have become inſupportable to me, to be at the mercy of the chicanes that this pretended guard of honour ſtudied to vex me with every day, if I had not had the hope that my cre-

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dential letters would be very ſoon received; and that I ſhould then be able to do my affairs with more ſatisfaction.

The 23d, my interpreter having met one of our debtors, he put him in mind of the promiſes he had made to Mr. de Iſmayloff, and aſſured him, that, if he deferred ſatiſfying me, he ſhould be arreſted, ſeeing this affair would not allow of more prolongation. Upon which, he promiſed to come to me, in two or three days, with his comrades, and to endeavour. to the utmoſt of his power, not to come empty handed.

The 26th, two of theſe debtors came to my houſe with a Chineſe merchant, who was their ſecurity; they told me, that one of their partners, named Dzchundzchan, who was indebted to us in 1400 laen of fine ſilver, died the year before. But, as I was appriſed that three of them were firmly bound in ſuch caſe, one for the other, which they could not themſelves gainſay, this ſum muſt be brought to the account of the ſurvivors. Of theſe two debtors which came to my houſe, the one named Dzchinborche was ſtill in arrear 700 laen, according to what my interpreter ſaid, but he acknowledged no more than 650 laen; the other, called Dzchin-ſanga, was to deliver 340 thun of kitaika * on the arrival of the next caravan at Pekin, and this by virtue of an obligation which he had given to the commiſſary Guſaitnicoff, payable to him, or order. I told them, "That, though I had not in my hands the obligation he had given to Mr. Guſaitnicoff, that need not hinder their paying the debt to me, if not all at once, at leaſt by little and little, according as their abilities would enable them, ſeeing this money was to come into the treaſury of His Czariſh Majeſty, and that, as ſoon as they paid the whole, I would give them an obligation of indemnity, which would make their obligations to Guſaitnicoff of no value †." Upon which they replied, "That they could not object to this expedient, and that, conformable to their promiſes to the envoy extraordinary, to give me entire ſatisfaction thereupon, they would not fail to do it, ſo as I ſhould receive part of their debts before the end of the month." Theſe promiſes continued, from day to day, without any part of them being fulfilled; and as I knew, by my own experience, that there are no where worſe paymaſters than in China, unleſs they can be compelled by force, I was obliged to fall on other methods.

May 1ſt, I delivered to my Mandarins two memorials on the ſubject of thoſe debts, and the debts of the parſon of St. Nicholas, deſiring they would preſent them to the council, and communicate to me the anſwer which they ſhould receive on them. The ſame day my Mandarins put into my hands eighty-two laen and twenty-ſix fun of fine ſilver; ſaying, "That His Majeſty had ordered this ſum to be paid me for the value of the ſheep, fiſh, fowls, and milk, for two months paſt; and, for the time to come, every nine days, a clerk from the Imperial treaſury would bring me twelve laen, and thirty-ſeven fun, in payment for the ſaid proviſions; and that the other allowances, which I was to receive in kind, ſhould be likewiſe ſent me by a clerk of the magazines from whence they were taken." So that all I ſhould receive for my monthly allowance, in money and proviſions, would amount, according to the current prices, to forty-eight laen; but they allowed no forage for my horſes, which is a conſiderable article at Pekin,

* A ſort of glazed cotton, kalendered and ſmoothed, which they make in China, of all ſorts of colours, whereof they ſell great quantities through all the northern Aſia.

† The commerce between Ruſſia and China is at preſent a monopoly belonging to the treaſury of Siberia, no other ſubjects of Ruſſia being to concern themſelves in it, on pain of death, unleſs employed on account of the crown, though it is often evaded, by connivance of the Weywodes on the frontier places. By virtue of the laſt treaty, they can ſend no more than one caravan a year from Siberia to Pekin, which doth not conſiſt of more than two hundred perſons, inſtead of one thouſand and more, which they amounted to heretofore, and which were ſubſiſted at the charge of the Chan of China, whilſt they they were on the territories of China; but now they are to ſubſiſt upon their own charges.

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where forage is extremely dear. After which, during the reſt of this day, the weather was very bad, a great deal of rain with mighty guſts of wind; the old houſe where I lodged could no longer ſtand the bad weather; all the wall of one ſide of my chamber fell, about midnight, into the court-yard, which made me very apprehenſive for what remained. I was obliged to retire into an adjoining chamber, to avoid, in ſome meaſure, the danger to which I found myſelf expoſed. As this chamber, though a ſorry place, was very low, I found myſelf in leſs danger; beſides it was not quite ſo old and infirm as the other.

The next day, the 2d of this month, I advertiſed my Mandarins of what had happened, praying them to cauſe immediate reparation to be made, if not of the whole houſe, of that apartment where I lodged at leaſt. Whereupon they ſent to aſſure me it ſhould be done without loſs of time.

But on the 4th, they changed their note, and let me know, that they could do nothing in it before the departure of the Emperor, ſeeing the college which had the care of the buildings were ſo much employed about the court, that they could give no attention to other affairs for the preſent. Whereupon I offered to repair it by people I would hire on my own expences. But they wanted to impoſe upon me in the price. And the Mandarins proteſted to me, that it was an affair that might be their utter ruin, if the Emperor ſhould come to know that they had conſented to my repairing with my money a houſe that belonged to him; but they aſſured me they ſhould ſet to work upon it very ſoon.

The 8th, the Bogdoi-Chan departed for Jegcholl; and, having the honour to attend him, on this occaſion, to fifteen ly from Pekin, His Majeſty aſked me, "If I expected the caravan ſoon?". I anſwered thereupon, "That I had not received any advices from the commiſſary, but nevertheleſs I computed that the caravan might be at Pekin in two months from that time." Whereupon he aſked me, "If I would not come and paſs the time with the court at Jegcholl?" I received ſuch a gracious invitation with all due ſubmiſſion, promiſing to come to pay my devoirs to His Majeſty at Jegcholl as ſoon as poſſible *. But, on my returning to Pekin, the governor of the city let me know, "That I could not follow the Emperor before His Majeſty had ſent the neceſſary orders to him and the council, to give me poſt-horſes, and the eſcort of Mandarins, which I ſhould have occaſion for in this journey." In the mean time, I made ſeveral agreements with divers perſons, for different ſorts of japanned ware, which His Czariſh Majeſty wanted to have, which I could not get at the uſual price, becauſe thoſe who ſupplied me with them were obliged to give a great part of what they gained on them every day to the ſoldiers of my guard, for the liberty of entering my houſe.

The 10th, my Mandarins being come to ſee me, one of them took leave of me; being, as he told me, named by the court to go, in quality of envoy, to the Delay-Lama †; and the other gave me poſitive aſſurances that, early the next morning, the workmen ſhould begin to repair my quarters, and that they had already provided the materials neceſſary for that purpoſe. In regard to my two memorials, concerning the

* The late Emperor of China was extremely affable and gracious towards Europeans, more eſpecially to thoſe who excelled in any ſcience. He was taller than uſual for people of his country, and not to be known, either by his complexion or feature, to be of Tartar extraction; it was only to be obſerved, that his cheek-bones, under his eyes, were a little riſing and prominent like the Mongalls.

† The Delay-Lama is the ſovereign pontiff of the Kalmucks, Mongalls, and many other idolatrous nations north of the Indies. He is adored as a god by all theſe people, and by them believed to be immortal. He lives in a convent near the city of Potala, in the kingdom of Tangute, upon an high mountain ſouth of the deſerts of Xame, towards the frontiers of China. Vide Hiſt. Genealog. des Tartares.

debts above mentioned, he gave me for anſwer, "That the preſident would not receive them, not finding it proper to meddle with ſuch trifling things, as he had beforehand told Mr. de Iſmayloff himſelf, that the council would abſolutely not embarraſs themſelves with any affair of debts; that nevertheleſs he had ordered his mandarin to preſs the debtors to diſcharge their debts, in caſe they were in a condition of paying ſuch ſums."

The 20th, my mandarin coming, ſtopped at my gate, and, having learned that my apartment remained ſtill in the ſame condition, he ſent one of his ſervants to make his excuſes to me, for not coming to ſee me; alledging, that the great heat approaching at noon would, he feared, incommode him. But I cauſed him to be told, for my whole anſwer, "That I did not underſtand ſuch a compliment, and that I wiſhed with all my heart, that, in time to come, he would diſpenſe with coming to my houſe at all." Upon this anſwer, he thought fit to come himſelf to me, and to complain much of the negligence of the college which had the care of the buildings, in not adverting to the repair of my houſe, notwithſtanding he had wrote to them ſeveral times on the ſubject, in the moſt preſſing terms. I demanded of him, "What he believed the Czar, my maſter, would think of ſuch uſage as he ſhewed me? and if he was not afraid that, in time, he might be made reſponſible for ſuch treatment?" But he, laughing told me, "That there paſſed may other things with them, and of more importance than this was, without daring to carry complaints to the Chan; and he did not doubt but that it was the ſame at our court." Nevertheleſs, the brigadier of my guard, on being informed of the affair, went to the mandarins of that college, and threatened them with his going himſelf to acquaint the Emperor, that, by their negligence, they contributed to the diminution of his glory in foreign countries, if they did not, without further delay, cauſe my houſe to be repaired the very next day.

The 25th, at length there came workmen to put my apartment into an habitable ſtate. The ſame day one of our debtors, named Dzchin-Sanga, brought me 50 thun of kitaika; but I ſaw no appearnce of getting any thing from the others, they being very poor and indigent; and I perceived that the proceedings of our mandarin with them, tended more to get ſome little preſents from them to himſelf, from time to time, than ſeriouſly to preſs them to the diſcharge of our debt.

In the months of June, July, and a part of Auguſt, there paſſed nothing material regarding me, either at the court or with the miniſtry; all thoſe of any diſtinction being going to partake of country diverſions. Wherefore, I ſhall fill this vacation by a faithful report of the obſervations which I could make, during my ſtay at this court, as well myſelf as by ſome of my friends, of the preſent ſtate of trade in the city of Pekin; but I muſt, at the ſame time, acknowledge to the reader, that there is much wanting to make the obſervations ſuch as they ought to be, and might have been, if I had not been ſtraightened, and if they had let me enjoy the means of informing myſelf thoroughly of things.

The people of Korea, who are tributary to China, come twice a year to Pekin *, viz. in the months of March and Auguſt, to the number of forty or fifty perſons, as

* Korea is a peninſula, eaſtward of the grand wall of China; it is contiguous on the weſt to the province of Leotang of China, and on the north to the eaſtern Mongalls. The Koreans are, from time immemorial, tributaries of China, who treat them very hardly, not permitting them any commerce with ſtrangers. Nevertheleſs, they do not fail to come clandeſtinely with their goods, by the ſea of Japan, to the river Amoor, and thence by the Naunda to the city Naun, to traffic with the Mongalls, and indirectly with the Ruſſians.

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well to pay their tribute to the Emperor as to carry on their trade; which conſiſts principally of the following merchandiſes:

A ſort of large paper, made of raw ſilk, ſomething like the large paper for wrapping up things in Europe. They make uſe of this paper in China for windows in place of glaſs.

Paper, with gold or ſilver figures, for hanging their chambers.

All ſorts of large fans, of different faſhions.

Mats very neat and fine, which they uſe in ſummer in place of matraſſes.

Cut tobacco, very ſmall, for ſmoking, much eſteemed in China, and preferred to that of their own growth.

Striped cotton ſtuffs.

A ſort of furs, which the Ruſſes call chorky, and which they call colouk in Siberia; it is in great abundance in Korea; they ſell a great deal of it in Pekin.

A ſort of dry fiſh, which they get from a certain large ſhell-fiſh in the ſea of Japan.

It is with theſe commodities that they trade; and although they may, in a manner, be conſidered as the ſame nation with the Chineſe, and in ſome degree their ſubjects, yet they do not enjoy the leaſt liberty during their abode at Pekin; all communication and converſation with foreigners being abſolutely forbidden them, and much reſtricted with the Chineſe themſelves; inſomuch, that the Chineſe are not leſs ſuſpicious of them than of any other nation whatſoever. As they cannot make by their trade any thing to a conſiderable amount, they generally bring with them to Pekin large ſums in ſilver, in Spaniſh pieces of eight, and in Dutch dollars, which are looked upon in China as inferior to the fine ſilver of China, which they call the Chan's ſilver, by 5, 6, or 7 per cent. which ſhews, that the inhabitants of Korea have ſome trade with the iſlands of Japan, or, at leaſt, with the iſlands lying between Japan and Korea; although it is abſolutely forbid the inhabitants of that country to have the leaſt communication or commerce with other nations, or to admit foreign ſhips into their ports; having, for that end, a mandarin always reſiding in Korea, to have an eye on the proceedings of that nation. With this money they buy at Pekin,

The fineſt raw ſilk.

A ſort of damaſk, called by the Ruſſes goly, and by the Chineſe couty-toanza, that is, damaſk of Korea; becauſe, at firſt, the Koreans alone bought that ſort of damaſk.

A ſort of ſtuff mixed with ſilk, fit for linings, called by the Chineſe fanſa.

Tea and china-ware.

All ſorts of diſhes of white copper, for houſehold uſe.

Cotton.

They likewiſe buy the tails of ſables, to border their caps, and the collars of their robes.

It is likely that they trade into other parts with the ſilk and damaſk, which they carry from Pekin, ſeeing they take away much greater quantities than the conſumption of their own country can require.

When there is no Ruſſian caravan, nor any of that nation at Pekin, they quarter thoſe of Korea in the habitation appointed for the Ruſſes; but when there are Ruſſes in this city, they give the Koreans other quarters: for this reaſon the Chineſe call this houſe Ccuty Coanne, or magazine of the Koreans, when it is occupied by the Koreans; and Uruſſa Coanne, or magazine of the Ruſſes, when occupied by people of that nation.

When the Koreans, whether deputies from that country or merchants, arrive at Pekin, there are two mandarins forthwith named to go to their lodgings to obſerve who

goes in to them, or comes out from them; and to examine the cauſe of their coming, and how they became acquainted with the Koreans: they likewiſe place guards all around their quarters, to prevent any perſon from having private acceſs to them. When any of this nation go abroad, upon any affair, the guard follows them every where, with large whips, to prevent any perſon from joining them in the ſtreet; and they dare not go to ſee any perſon without permiſſion of the guard. As the inhabitants of Korea are not uſed to ride on horſeback, and are afraid to mount a horſe, for fear of accidents, they give them a guard of infantry, who have no other arms, when they are in garriſon, than their whips. Beſides all theſe ſteps, full of ſuſpicion, they fix, at their quarters, an edict of the court, ſignifying, that all perſons whatſoever are forbid to enter their houſe without the knowledge of the mandarin, deputed for that purpoſe, who, after examining them as to what they have to do there, takes notice of their names, and ſends a ſoldier into the houſe with them to obſerve what paſſes. It is a very profitable commiſſion for thoſe mandarins who are deputed to guard the Koreans; for they always farm the privilege of trading with them to that company of Chineſe merchants who offer the moſt money for it, which ſometimes amounts to a conſiderable ſum; and it is by no means permitted to any other merchants, beſides the members of this company, to trade, for that time, with the Koreans.

The Chineſe have not, in a manner, any trade with the Indies *, excepting of ſome ſmall dealings they may have on the frontiers of the neighbouring ſtates: but it was impoſſible for me to get to the knowledge of what thoſe trades conſiſted in; for, among a thouſand people of the inhabitants of Pekin, it is rare to find one perſon who hath the leaſt knowledge of any thing that paſſes without its gates. It is true that the Chineſe do carry on trade, ſometimes at Bengal, to the Philippine iſlands, to Batavia, and even to Goa; but that is not brought about but by ſtealth, by the connivance of the mandarin governors of the ſea-ports, obtained by means of a round ſum of money, without the knowledge of the court; beſides it is abſolutely forbid, to every ſubject of the empire, to go into foreign parts, upon what occaſion ſoever, without a permiſſion, or an order, from the Emperor or the government †.

The Bucharians come alſo to Pekin, but without obſerving any ſtated times ‡. They bring large round cornelians, of a very good colour, which they barter with the Chineſe

* China is ſeparated from the country of the Great Mogul by ſandy deſerts, impaſſable for merchants; and the other provinces of India by mountains, which are very difficult to paſs, and in a manner hinders all commerce between theſe two empires.

† The greateſt part of the Chineſe, who are diſperſed in ſeveral places of the Eaſt Indies, for the ſake of commerce, are the poſterity of thoſe who left China when the Mongall Tartars made themſelves maſters of that empire; and they have no other than clandeſtine communication with their Chineſe countrymen. They are eaſily known by their long hair, which is natural to them; inſtead of which the Chineſe, ſubjects to the Tartars, are obliged, under pain of death, to cut their hair ſhort like the Kalmucks and Mongalls, who have all their heads ſhaven, except a tuft of hair on the top of their head, which they preſerve of the natural length of their hair.

‡ There are two Bucharias, the Great and the Little. The Great Bucharia is ſituated between Perſia and the country of the Grand Mogul, about the 40th degree of latitude. This is the country of the Uſbeck Tartars, who are Mahometans. The Little Bucharia is ſituated to the eaſt of the Great, and extends to the frontiers of China, on the ſide of the deſert Xame, and kingdom of Tibet, which is there confined to the ſouth; this laſt is ſubject to the Kontayſha, Grand Chan of the Kalmucks. The Bucharians are a particular nation, which have no connection either with the Mahometan or Pagan Tartars, nor with any other people of thoſe parts. They do not know themſelves whence they draw their origin. Nevertheleſs, they make profeſſion of the Mahometan religion. They occupy the towns of the two Bucharias, and only employ themſelves about their commerce. Thoſe of the Great Bucharia carry on their trade in the dominions of the Great Mogul in Perſia, and in Siberia, and are tributary to the Chan of the Uſbecks. Thoſe

neſe againſt damaſks, kitaika, tea, tobacco, china-ware, and ſilver. They ſtring theſe on ſmall ſilken lines, in the manner of beads; and they are worn by mandarins of the firſt orders, when they appear at court, or in the colleges, in their habits of ceremony, wearing one row of them about their necks, which hangs down on their bellies. They bring alſo muſk, rough diamonds, and many other ſorts of precious ſtones, but, as I was informed, of no great value, becauſe it is rare to find, among the Chineſe, any who will riſk the laying out a conſiderable ſum for a fine ſtone. The Chineſe poliſh theſe ſtones, after their own faſhion, in order to make them proper for ornamenting the heads of the fair ſex.

I had no opportunity of being acquainted with any of this nation, not being allowed liberty ſufficient for that end; and, on their part, they dared not run the riſk of coming to my houſe, for fear of the guard at my gate; ſo that I cannot give an exact account concerning them.

They alſo bring to Pekin gold duſt*, which the Chineſe buy commonly at the price of five, ſix, to ſeven laen of ſilver per laen of gold-duſt, becauſe it is unrefined; they aſſure me that it is very fine when purified, and is then equal to the gold of the Chan.

Theſe Tartars dwell in the provinces of Chamill and Turfan†, under the protection of the Emperor of China, in conſideration of a moderate tribute, which they pay him annually. In return, they buy at Pekin,

Hides of Ruſſia to make boots.
Fox-ſkins, red and brown.
Squirrel-ſkins, white and gray.
Beaver-ſkins.
Sables, and other furs.
Kitaika.

Cotton, like the woollens of Europe, of which they uſe part themſelves, and ſell part to the Kalmucks‡, their neighbours. They alſo take,

Tea,
Tobacco,

And

Thoſe of the Little Bucharia trade into China, into the kingdoms of Tibet and Tangut, and with the Kalmucks and Mongalls their neighbours; theſe laſt pay tribute to the Kontayſha. The Bucharians have many cuſtoms and ceremonies, much like thoſe of the Jews; nor is their dialect, phyſiognomy, and ſize much unlike them; which may give occaſion to many reflections.

* The gold which the Bucharians bring to China comes from the high mountains which ſeparate the dominions of the Great Mogul from the Grand Tartary. All theſe mountains abound in rich mines of all ſorts, but none of them are wrought; nevertheleſs, they make conſiderable gains annually, by the great quantities of gold-duſt which the mighty torrents, formed by the rains in the ſpring, along with the ſnows melting, bring down with them into the neighbouring valleys: for the inhabitants of theſe mountains, together with the Kalmucks, who encamp with their cattle in the adjacent plains, come afterwards to gather theſe grains of gold, in the pits which the torrents have made in their paſſage, and barter them, with the Bucharians, againſt all ſorts of ſmall things for which they may have occaſion in their way of life.

† The provinces of Chamill and Turfan are ſituated to the weſt of the Deſert of Xame, towards the 40th degree of latitude. They make a part of the Little Bucharia, and have been ſubject hitherto to the Kontayſha, Grand Chan of the Kalmucks; but a few years ſince the Chineſe, joined by the Mongalls, have poſſeſſed themſelves of it, after having driven out the Kalmucks.

‡ The Kalmucks occupy a great part of the Northern Aſia; they are divided into three principal branches, under one ſovereign Chan, whom they call the Kontayſha; they have no fixed habitation, but always live in tents. Though the Kalmucks are indiſputably the braveſt of the Tartars, they are, nevertheleſs, deſirous of living peaceably, contenting themſelves with the ſubſiſtence which their cattle can afford them, and do no harm to any, unleſs they are hurt by them; but when once irritated, they become irreconcileable enemies. Their religion is that of the Delay-Lama.

And of the ſmalleſt China-ware; of all which in pretty large quantities.

Beſides the goods I have above ſpecified, I know of no others which they bring to Pekin.

The moſt valuable furniture of lackered ware, viz. cabinets, chairs, tables, baſkets, and other things of that ſort, as alſo the richeſt porcelain-ware, come from Japan*. For, when the Emperor ſends any perſon to Japan, in a public character, moſt of the princes and great men of the court, ſeldom fail to engage him to bring them ſome of thoſe things at his return. Sometimes they find means to bring theſe things into China clandeſtinely; but that is very ſeldom. This is the reaſon that the commodities of Japan are not always to be had at Pekin, unleſs a man would pay an exorbitant price; nevertheleſs, they are found there ſometimes reaſonable enough; becauſe ſeldom a year paſſes that the Emperor doth not amerce ſome or other of the great lords in very conſiderable fines, which obliges them to raiſe all the money they can on their moveables and immoveables; and whoever hath money lying by him, doth, on theſe occaſions, lay it out to great advantage, and buy the moſt curious and valuable things for little money †.

After the lackered ware of Japan, that of the province of Fokien is looked upon as the beſt; but none of it comes to Pekin, becauſe the great lords of China oppreſs the merchants to a great degree, and take their goods from them, upon many frivolous pretences, without leaving them the leaſt hopes of ever obtaining any payment. For this reaſon, all merchants, and others of any lucrative trade, at Pekin, have fallen into the cuſtom of putting themſelves under the protection of ſome one or other of the princes of the blood, or other great lords, or miniſters of the court; and by this means, with the aſſiſtance of a round ſum of money, paid annually to their protectors, they are able to get clear of the extortions of the mandarins, and ſometimes of thoſe of the common ſoldiers: for without ſuch a powerful protection, a merchant muſt be an undone man at Pekin, where every one thinks that they have an undoubted right to form pretenſions upon a man that lives by trade. And if any of them are ſo imprudent as to attempt obtaining ſatisfaction, by the way of juſtice, they fall from bad to worſe; for the mandarins of juſtice, after having drained from them all they can, ſeldom fail of ordering the goods taken from them unjuſtly, to be brought to the college; but he muſt be a cunning fellow, indeed, who ſhall be able ever to get them from thence.

They have at Pekin a people dexterous enough at lackering, but their works fall ſhort of thoſe of Japan and Fokien, which may be attributed to the difference of climate; and it is for this reaſon that the lackered work made at Pekin is always much cheaper than the other. Nevertheleſs, the lackered work made at Pekin infinitely exceeds any work of that kind made in Europe.

The ſhips which arrive every year at Canton from England, France, Holland, Denmark, and other parts, generally bring the following ſorts of merchandiſe.

Silver of different coins.

All ſorts of fine cloth.

Camblets.

* All merchandiſe of Japan is contraband in China, which is the reaſon they cannot be brought into Ruſſia, with the caravans from China, at leaſt without very great riſk. The ſmall quantity of Japan goods, which are clandeſtinely brought into China, being kept very private, and paid for at very dear rates by the Chineſe themſelves.

† It ſeems to be a favourite maxim, adopted in all the eaſtern courts, to wink at the vile practices, and rapacious impoſitions, of the miniſters; and when they have well plucked and drained the ſubſtance of the people, the prince then ſqueezes them dry for his own uſe.

Woollen

Woollen ſtuffs.
Fine Holland linen.
Standing clocks and watches.
Looking-glaſſes of all ſizes.
Mathematical inſtruments.
Etwys from England.
Pencils.
European paper of all ſorts.
Different ſorts of millinery wares.
Some ſorts of European liquors, eſpecially wine.

A good part of thoſe merchandiſes are diſtributed in preſents among the mandarins of the government of that city; of the reſt, the European merchants generally make a very conſiderable profit. They employ the ſilver theſe bring in purchaſing divers ſorts of goods, by virtue of an agreement made before hand: they carry away with them from thence;

Raw ſilk.
Damaſks wrought according to draughts furniſhed to them.
Wrought ſilks.
Lackered ware.
Tea, green and bohea.
Badians, a ſeed having a taſte much like aniſeed.
Canes, and China-ware, made according to models given them.

They alſo ſometimes bring away gold, but very ſeldom, becauſe they generally get it cheaper in the Indies. They alſo find at Canton pretty valuable ſtones, except diamonds, but not in any great quantities.

They make the beſt ſilk brocades of China, that are brought to Europe, in the provinces of Quoantung and Fokien.

The ſilver which they bring from Europe to Canton is received at the ſame rate as that brought from Korea to Pekin; and they have the advantage of buying their goods at Canton from 30 to 40 per cent. cheaper than they could do at Pekin.

The laſt year, there arrived at Canton a French commiſſary, belonging to the new India Company eſtabliſhed in Paris*, who obtained leave of the court to reſide there for time to come; but when he wanted to diſpatch the ſhip loaden with merchandiſe, he met with ſo many obſtacles at the cuſtom-houſe, and from the government, doubtleſs to draw more money from him, notwithſtanding he had already made ſufficient preſents, that at length, deſpairing to ſee an end of theſe impoſitions, he gave orders to the captain to weigh anchor and depart, in ſpite of thoſe people; which was done as he deſired. But he was obliged, to avoid being very ill treated on this occaſion, to take the Chineſe habit, and to retire to a convent of Dominicans, at the diſtance of two leagues from Canton †, where he kept himſelf incognito, till ſuch time as the French Jeſuits at Pekin had found means, by the force of preſents, to obtain liberty for him to appear openly, with two or three domeſtics, and remain there till the court ſhould otherwiſe direct; on the condition that he and his ſervants ſhould wear the Chineſe habit. Nevertheleſs, I was afterwards informed, that the mandarins of the government of Canton let no opportunity eſcape them of chagreening him, inſomuch, that he found

* The Miſſiſippi Company.

† There are many Roman Catholic convents in China, which, in the time of the late Emperor of China, had much the ſame immunities as the convents in Europe enjoyed. No perſon durſt enter but with the conſent of the religious of the convent, unleſs by expreſs order of the Emperor of China.

himſelf obliged to re-imbark the firſt opportunity that offered itſelf. They alſo had the laſt year at Canton a frigate from Oſtend, bearing the Emperor of Germany's colours.

For the reſt, they carry to China from Europe, and bring back from China, a very great variety of toys, and different ſorts of curioſities, upon which they make a very conſiderable profit; but theſe are ſo numerous that it is not poſſible to furniſh a complete ſpecification of them.

In regard to our commerce with China, it is at preſent in a very languiſhing condition; and nothing in the world would bring more prejudice to our caravans than the commerce which is carried on at Urga*; for from this place there is brought monthly, and even weekly, to Pekin, not only the ſame ſorts of goods which our caravans bring, but of a better quality than thoſe brought by our caravans, and in ſo great quantities, that the merchandizes which the merchants of Pekin, who go continually between Pekin and Urga, to trade with our people, and the goods which the lamas of the Mongalls† bring from their parts, amount every year to four or five times as much value as the caravans that come to Pekin in the name of His Czariſh Majeſty. And I have been informed, by thoſe who have been employed by the great men of Pekin to buy their proviſion of furs at Urga, that there they can buy finer, and more valuable black fox-ſkins, than they have ever ſeen in our caravan. I muſt add beſides, that theſe great quantities of our merchandizes brought from Urga to Pekin, do conſiderably lower the prices. The merchants of Pekin and the lamas of the Mongalls, who bring them to Pekin, are always capable of affording them four or five per cent. lower than the commiſſary of the caravan can, of which the reader will be eaſily convinced, if he gives attention to what I am about to lay before him.

The Ruſs merchants, and all other people that come and go continually between Selinginſky and Urga, buy their goods where they find it moſt convenient; inſtead of which, the commiſſary is obliged to receive thoſe he brings with the caravan, out of His Majeſty's treaſury, from ſworn appraiſers of the treaſury, who often ſet ſo high price on them, that they find it difficult to ſell them at half the price valued at to them. Another advantage which thoſe who go to trade to Urga enjoy, is that they make the journey thither in ten or twelve days; and beginning their traffick immediately on their arrival, they are ready to return in two or three days after; in place of which, the commiſſary, after having been at conſiderable expence, can with difficulty enough get to Pekin in three months; and when he gets there, they keep him ſhut up ſix or ſeven weeks, according to the maxims practiſed by the Chineſe hitherto; in conſequence whereof, the abundance of merchandize of Ruſſia arrived at Pekin obliges them ſtill to ſpend ſeveral months in getting quit of theirs: and as by the laſt treaty, they are obliged to maintain themſelves, and all thoſe belonging to the caravan, at their own proper expence, all theſe circumſtances cannot fail of occaſioning a very material difference in the balance of their trade. For, before they began to trade at Urga, a caravan, how large ſoever, was all ſold off in three months, at the prices ſet by the commiſſary himſelf. Moreover, all the Chineſe who traded at that time with us became rich; inſtead

* The camp of the Chan of the weſtern Mongalls, who are tributaries of China, is called Urga. This prince encamps on the right of the river Selinga, about 500 verſts ſouth of Selinginſky, towards the frontiers of China: and though he doth not always encamp in the ſame place, yet he ſeldom quits this country without indiſpenſable neceſſity. By virtue of the laſt convention of the frontiers, the Ruſſians of Selinginſky might freely come to Urga to barter Ruſſia hides, and the coarſe woollen cloth of Siberia, againſt cattle; but as, under this pretext, they brought great quantities of valuable furs, which they ſold againſt the merchandiſes of China, this clandeſtine commerce much injured the trade of the caravans of Siberia.

† The prieſts of the weſtern Mongalls, and the Kalmucks, are called lamas;—there are different orders.

of which, all thoſe who have traded with us ſince that time have traded to their own loſs, and may be deemed at preſent quite ruined. The expences of a journey to Urga are very trifling; for they can buy at Selinginſky as much proviſion for ten roubles as will ſerve ten perſons for a month; in place of which, ten roubles will hardly ſerve them a week at Pekin. Beſides, thoſe who go into China to trade are obliged to buy forage for their horſes, &c.; in place of which, thoſe who go to Urga to trade, put their horſes to graſs, without coſting them a farthing. The Chineſe merchants, on their ſide, who come to Urga, are likewiſe at much leſs expence than the commiſſary; becauſe they buy at Pekin, and the towns through which they paſs, tea, tobacco, rice, and other grains, ordinary damaſks, kitaika, and other like merchandiſe, at a very low price; which they barter on the road with the Mongalls, againſt horſes, ſheep, and, in a word, all ſorts of cattle; inſomuch that, as the private merchants make both their journey, out and home alſo, with infinite leſs expence than the commiſſary of a caravan, it cannot be otherwiſe, than that they can buy and ſell their merchandiſe on much better terms than a commiſſary can, who is obliged to remain, with a number of attendants, in a city where living is ſo dear as at Pekin, a longer time than would ſerve a merchant at Selinginſky for making four or five journeys to Urga. In fine, when the caravan returns to Ruſſia, they find, after ſuch great expences, that the quantity of Chineſe goods brought to Ruſſia by private traders, is ſo very large, that they muſt ſell theirs at a very moderate price. All theſe circumſtances well conſidered, it is eaſy to comprehend that upon cloſing the accounts of the caravan, the profits cannot, at this time, be much more than the diſburſements. But to return to our journal.

Auguſt.

The 14th, I received a letter from Commiſſary Iſtopnikoff, dated from the river Tola*, 29th of July; by which he deſired me to prevail on the council for the affairs of the Mongalls† to ſend him an aſſignment for 2000 laen of ſilver upon the cuſtom-houſe of Kalchanna‡; offering to return the ſame (for which he had preſſing occaſion, for the neceſſities of the caravan,) as ſoon as he ſhould commence his trade at Pekin; and he added, that the ſame favour had been formerly granted to Commiſſary Oſkolkoff.

The 15th, I went to the council, and having ſpoken of this affair with the aſkinnamma, or vice-preſident, he promiſed to conſult the regiſters of the council upon it, and to write directly about it to the preſident at Jegcholl, and that he would communicate his anſwer to me.

The 17th, having ſent my interpreter to the council to know if they had come to any reſolution on this affair, he brought back the following anſwer.—"That they had indeed found in the regiſters, that the council had formerly advanced money to the commiſſary; but that the trade was an object of ſo little conſequence with them, that they did not think it merited the council's being incommoded with propoſals of that ſort."

* Tola is a river in the country of the Mongalls, which comes from the eaſt, and enters the river Orchon about 250 verſts ſouth-eaſt of Selinginſky. By virtue of the new regulation, the caravans of Siberia, who go to Pekin, ought to enter on the territories belonging to China upon their paſſing this river.

† The council for the affairs of the Mongalls at Pekin is a college, who have the care of every thing regarding the nation of the Mongalls, as well thoſe who are the hereditary ſubjects of the Emperor of China, as alſo thoſe who are only under the protection of this empire. This college, at the ſame time, enters indirectly into the cognizance of all the affairs which regard the powers who border on China, from the north-eaſt to the weſt, whence it comes that they are the court who have moſt to do of any in China.

‡ Kalchanna is the firſt Chineſe city, within the great wall, that you come to, in the road from Selinginſky to Pekin. It is here the duties, inwards and outwards, are paid by the Ruſſians, as alſo for great part of the country of the Mongalls.

The 18th, a mandarin came to me from the council, and notified to me, that His Majefty, calling to remembrance my being at Pekin, had given orders to the council, that I fhould be efcorted to Jegcholl by a mandarin, and fome of the military.—Whereupon I anfwered him, that I would be ready the next day, with my interpreter and two domeftics, if they would take care to provide the relays which I fhould want for the journey.

The 19th, all being ready for the journey, I left Pekin very early in the morning.

The 21ft, I arrived at Jegcholl, and repaired forthwith to the court; and having found the chamberlain of the Chan, who is generally an eunuch*; I prayed him, according to the cuftom of the country, to inform himfelf, on my behalf, of the health of the Bogdoi-Chan, and to inform His Majefty of my being there; upon which His Majefty did me the favour of fending me a falver covered with all forts of new fruits, which were followed by another charged with divers forts of meat from his kitchen; he ordered me to be told, at the fame time, that he fent me thofe for my refreshment, and that I would do well to keep my chamber the reft of the day, to recover my fatigue from the journey. The fame evening, fome of the Father Jefuits being come to fee me, told me that the alegada had refolved to propofe to the Emperor to make the caravan encamp in the defert, near Kalchanna, till the court fhould return to Pekin; fuppofing that fo many of the court, and the greateft part of the people of diftinction, being in the country, there would be nothing to do for the caravan at Pekin; and that they believed that he would not fail of requiring from me an order to the commiffary, for that purpofe. It was eafy to fee, that what determined the miniſter to take this refolution, was nothing elfe but his apprehenfions that the prefents he expected to have from the commiffary, if he fhould be at Pekin at the time of his arrival, might, if he was abfent, fall into other hands. But, as this was a defign that might be attended with very bad confequences, and might have been the caufe of the lofs of men, as well as the horfes belonging to the caravan, by being expofed to the extremity of cold and famine in the deferts, I became obliged to ufe all my efforts to render this intention of the miniſter abortive.

The 22d, being to go in the morning to court, the Emperor fent the maſter of ceremonies to require of me paſſports for fome mandarins which were to paſs the frontiers of Ruſſia; but as I could well penetrate the grounds of their errand, I thought it my duty to refufe the paſſports demanded. Nevertheleſs, notwithſtanding all my excufes which I could muſter up, to exempt me from giving them, the maſter of the ceremonies came to declare to me, in the cleareſt terms, the next day, which was

The 23d, "That the Emperor was, at one time, refolved to fend thofe people away, whether I would give them paſſports or not; but that I ought to conſider, that in fuch caſe, I might expect an abſolute denial to every thing which I might have to propofe." Which convinced me, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for me, on this occaſion, to conform to His Majefty's pleafure, if I would retain the leaſt hopes of fucceeding in my defire of oppoſing the defigns of the miniſter. For this reaſon,

On the 24th, when the maſter of the ceremonies came again to ſpeak with me on this affair, I put into his hands a letter, addreſſed to the officers commandants on our frontiers, in the form he defired to have it; to which I joined the condition, that our caravan ſhould not be hindered from coming to Pekin directly; and that our commiſ-

* All thoſe who ſerve in the chamber of the Emperor of China are eunuchs, and are either Chineſe or Mongalls; the Chineſe nation being not leſs jealous of the ſex than other eaſtern people; but the Mongalls, and generally all the Tartars, are not very liable to this malady.

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ſary ſhould, on his arrival at Pekin, immediately be at liberty to begin his commerce, without being ſhut up for a certain time, as had at ſome times been practiſed. The maſter of the ceremonies promiſed to ſpeak to His Majeſty about it; who had not only the goodneſs to give his conſent immediately, but he, at the ſame time, gave ſtrict orders to the preſident of the council, that he ſhould take ſpecial care that no perſon whatſoever ſhould go about in any manner to interrupt the commiſſary in his buſineſs.

The 25th, a Portugueſe Father Jeſuit, called Father Maurano, came to me, and told me, "That there was a perſon of quality, who by him, made me an offer of 10.000 laen of ſilver, till the arrival of the caravan, which I might employ in what manner I thought proper; and that this Lord was very much ſcandalized at the diſobliging anſwer I had received from the council of the direction of the affairs of the Mongalls, in regard to the 2000 laen of ſilver which I had required of them for the neceſſities of the caravan."—Upon which, preſſing him to let me know who this Lord might be, he told me, "That he was indeed forbid to let me know who this perſon was; but that he would nevertheleſs, in confidence, own to me that it was the ninth prince, ſon of the Chan, who made me this offer *."—Thereupon I did not omit teſtifying to him how I was touched with the generoſity of a prince to whom I had never the honour of paying my devoirs: adding, "I ſhould never forget the good will which His Highneſs was pleaſed to ſhow me on this occaſion: and that I ſhould all the days of my life retain the ſame ſentiments as if I had received his generous offers."—But the Father Jeſuit having remonſtrated, "That the prince might poſſibly think himſelf offended if I ſhould refuſe his offer altogether;" I was obliged to accept of 1000 laen of ſilver †.

The 26th, I paid a viſit to the Father Jeſuits of the French nation ‡, where I found the preſident of the council, who let me know, by the mouth of theſe fathers, "That he was come from receiving the Emperor's orders, which were ſo favourable to our commerce, that there is no inſtance of the like liberty having ever been granted before in China."—I anſwered him, through the help of thoſe fathers, "That I had no reaſon to doubt of the punctual execution of His Majeſty's orders, ſince he had the goodneſs to charge the governor-general of Pekin with them; whoſe indefatigable zeal for maintaining a good underſtanding between the Bogdoi-Chan and the Czar my maſter, was ſufficiently known to me."—Whereupon he cauſed me to be told, "That he was not a man capable of receiving preſents from foreigners, for doing them a ſervice, as many others did in ſuch caſes; and that a ſtep of that kind would entirely prevent him from ever having the liberty of ſpeaking to His Majeſty again in favour of any

* The late Emperor of China had ſeventeen princes born of his ſeveral wives and concubines. There were three preſent at the firſt audience of Mr. de Iſmayloff, who were all very well proportioned, having fine complexions, and black eyes, well formed, without the leaſt appearance of the deformities of the Mongall nation.

† There is an appearance as if this was a ſnare laid for Mr. de Lange, to render him ſuſpected by the Emperor of China, who, in the deſign which he had then formed of leaving the ſucceſſion to his third ſon, could not fail of taking umbrage at the leaſt falſe ſtep which the agent of Ruſſia might happen to take on this occaſion, which might induce this Monarch to conſent to his being ſent away, which was probably the whole aim of this intrigue.

‡ The Jeſuits had great aſcendency on the late Emperor of China; and as the preſent Emperor hath been under their hands, it ought not to be doubted but he is likewiſe well affected to them, whatever may be reported to the contrary. At the firſt audience of Mr. de Iſmayloff, the Emperor being ſeated on the the throne, had on his left, as the place of honour, at three paces diſtance, a little advanced into the hall, three of the princes his ſons; and on his right, a little more advanced, the Jeſuits belonging to the court; at five paces behind them, a little more advanced, were placed ſeven Mongall princes of the Imperial houſe; and then, on the two ſides of the hall, the miniſters and grand mandarins of the court, all ſitting croſs-legged, according to the manner of the Tartars. By ſo remarkable a diſtinction it may, in ſome degree, be comprehended how much theſe good fathers were in favour with the Emperor.

perſon whatſoever, ſhould it come to His Majeſty's ear; but that, nevertheleſs, he believed he might reſerve to himſelf the privilege, when he ſhould come to our houſe to buy any thing, of being treated more favourably than others in the price."—Upon which I aſſured him, "That we ſhould always know to treat him with proper diſtinction in ſuch a caſe."

The ſame day, I deſired the maſter of the ceremonies to make my moſt humble acknowledgments to His Majeſty, for the gracious reception which he had been pleaſed to honour me with, during my ſtay at Jegcholl, and to pray his permiſſion for my returning to Pekin; becauſe I apprehended the caravan would ſoon arrive there. He came, ſome hours after, and informed me that His Majeſty intended, the laſt day of this month, to go upon a party of hunting in the deſert, ſome leagues from Jegcholl, and that I might lay hold of that opportunity of taking leave of His Majeſty, and of returning to Pekin. He added, that His Majeſty had likewiſe ordered the governor of Pekin to go thither, and deliver to me the tapeſtries he had cauſed to be made for the Czar.

During the reſt of my ſtay at Jegcholl, my table was furniſhed daily, the ſame as the firſt day of my arrival, from His Majeſty's kitchen. And they ſhowed me all the buildings and gardens of this charming place, which is certainly worthy to be the delight of ſo grand a Monarch, and is infinitely ſuperior, in beauty and magnificence, to the palace at Pekin or Czchanzchumniene.

The 31ſt, I had the honour of attending His Majeſty when he parted from Jegcholl; and, on this occaſion, he had the goodneſs to aſk me, "If I enjoyed my health?" After having anſwered with all the reſpect due to ſo gracious an inquiry, he ſaid to me further, "That he thought he obſerved ſome alteration in my countenance, and that I ought to take care of my health."—After which he gave me permiſſion to return to Pekin, after having, by the maſter of the ceremonies, let me know, that if the caravan had not been ſo nigh, I ſhould have had the honour of accompanying him to the party of hunting *.

The 3d of September, I was returned from my Jegcholl journey, being three days on the road.

The 7th, I ſent my interpreter to Kalchanna, to the commiſſary, with 1500 laen of ſilver.

The 10th, I acquainted my mandarin, that, as the caravan was at hand, it was moſt neceſſary that the houſe ſhould be repaired, that I might not continue under apprehenſions of the merchandiſe being damaged, for want of ſufficient cover during the rainy autumnal ſeaſon. But he continually refuſed me the liberty of getting it repaired of myſelf, under the promiſe that he would take care to get it repaired before the arrival of the caravan. But ſeeing one day paſs after another, and nothing done, I went, on the 15th, to the preſident, to pray him to give orders for repairing the houſe, at th leaſt, not to oppoſe my doing it at my own expence —But his anſwer was, he would inſtantly hire the workmen, and it ſhould be repaired in one day. And theſe promiſes were daily repeated, as well by my mandarin as by the preſident, till, at length, the commiſſary arrived with the caravan at Pekin on the 29th. As it rained very hard during the whole day, the commiſſary found, at his arrival, that there was no place where he, or any of his people,

* Hunting is the favourite employment of the Tartar pagans. And one may gather the inclination of the Tartars from the pleaſure and aſſiduity with which the late Emperor of China followed the chace; nevertheleſs, he mixed much of the politician with his favourite paſſion; for going every year a-hunting, eſcorted by a body of the army, conſiſting of fifty or ſixty thouſand men, completely armed, and generally travelling 100 leagues in this manner, this Monarch thereby inured his courtiers and his troops to the uſe of arms, and to fatigues, and prevented their falling into the ſoft and indolent manner of living peculiar to the Chineſe.

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could be covered from the rain; and he was obliged to let all the baggage of the caravan remain in the court-yard, without being able to ſecure one ſingle parcel. As ſoon as the caravan was entered into my court-yard, they reinforced the guard at the gate, and poſted centinels all around the houſe, to ſecure us, as they ſaid, againſt thieves; but, in reality, to prevent our commiſſary's having any opportunities of trading with any perſon whatſoever, till ſuch time as they ſhould receive the merchandiſes, which they might pretend to have occaſion for His Majeſty and the court. Beſides which, they ordered two mandarins, with a clerk, to remain in our houſe, to take good care that no merchandiſe was ſold on credit, and to note down exactly the names of all that ſhould come into, or go out of our houſe; what goods, and how much they bought, and at what price.

In the beginning of October, I ſent again to the council, on the ſubject of the repair of our houſe. Upon which they let me know, the 6th, by a clerk, that the preſident had ſent a courier to His Majeſty, to be informed if His Majeſty would be pleaſed to have our houſe repaired by the treaſury, or if it was our buſineſs to repair it; the Emperor, by virtue of the laſt convention between the two empires, not being obliged to furniſh any thing to our people. Whereupon I patiently waited till the 12th.

The workmen came at length to make the reparation ſo often promiſed; but it was done ſo negligently, that when they made an end, there was little alteration for the better. The commiſſary employed the reſt of this month to unpack the goods, that he might put every thing in order againſt the time he ſhould be permitted to begin to trade. In the meanwhile, we were viſited very aſſiduouſly by four mandarins, who pretended to be deputed from the court to receive the merchandiſes for His Majeſty, demanding from the commiſſary, an exact ſpecification of all the goods brought by the caravan, that they might chooſe what was neceſſary for the ſervice of the court. They were anſwered, "That they need not expect that the commiſſary would give them a ſpecification of all he had in the caravan; but that, if they had any orders of the court for us, they ought to produce letters of credit, addreſſed to me or the commiſſary; or at leaſt, to let us ſee a ſpecification of the goods wanted, ſigned by the maſter of the wardrobe of the Emperor, whereupon they ſhould know if ſuch goods were in the caravan or not." But theſe gentlemen would not quit their demand ſo, alledging, "That they muſt go according to the cuſtoms obſerved in times paſt, when the commiſſary of every caravan had been obliged to give ſuch a ſpecification to thoſe deputed by the court to receive the goods from him; that they did not intend to be ſerved at this time as they had been with former commiſſaries, when the court got goods of but indifferent quality, after the beſt goods had been diſpoſed to private perſons; that, to this end, they ſhould be careful to examine all that the commiſſary had brought, and that they would take what they wanted, for the court, out of the beſt they could find, particularly ſables, at three laen per pair, as uſual." The commiſſary, ſeeing theſe people pretend to inſiſt on his giving them goods at ſuch an under price, craved from me the protection of the Czar, our common maſter, alledging that he had ſables which coſt him twenty or thirty roubles the pair; and that it was eaſy to comprehend what market he ſhould make with the reſt of his goods, if he ſhould be obliged to ſell the ſables at ſuch a loſing price. Upon which I made the deputies underſtand, "That the merchandiſes of the caravan did not belong to the commiſſary nor to me, and in caſe they did, it was not to be ſuppoſed that we ſhould credit them at all, at leaſt without their bringing a ſpecification in form, ſigned by the perſon who hath the ſuperintendance of theſe affairs at court. But that did not ſignify, they had only to bring their money, and when the commiſſary had ſhown them the goods, he would ſee if he could agree with

with them." Theſe gentlemen ſeemed to take offence at this anſwer. Nevertheleſs, they engaged at laſt to bring ſuch a ſpecification; but they deferred it from one day to another. In the mean time, they made uſe of all their cunning to prevail on us to deliver them, at an under price, all the goods they thought fit to take.

The 1ſt of November, having ſent my interpreter to the council, to deſire them to admit the commiſſary to the liberty of trading, they let me know, in anſwer, "That it was impoſſible to do it before the deputies of the court had received the goods they had to receive for His Majeſty."

The 4th, I ſpoke of this affair, not only with my mandarin, but alſo with the Kientu, or mandarins appointed to our houſe, to the end that they ſhould diſpoſe thoſe people to give us their ſpecification, in order to end this affair. The ſame day I went to meet His Majeſty, who was returning from the hunting, and met him on the 5th at eighty ly from Pekin, at the hot-baths of Tangzchang. His Majeſty told me, "That he had received news from Europe, that His Czariſh Majeſty had made peace with Sweden, by the mediation of the Roman Emperor." After which he aſked me, "How long the caravan had been arrived?" Upon which I anſwered, "That they were, indeed, ſince the 29th of September, at Pekin; but the commiſſary had not yet got permiſſion to trade." Upon which His Majeſty, diſmiſſing me, went to the bath.

I muſt, on this occaſion, acquaint the reader with the cuſtom of this empire, in ſuch circumſtances as this of the deputies above mentioned. All the mandarins that are charged with any commiſſion of the court, be it to ſubjects or foreigners, are named and diſpatched by the miniſtry. When ſuch commiſſion is finiſhed, theſe people are obliged to make preſents, not only to the miniſters, but alſo to the princes of the blood, to the end that they may not give them too much trouble, and that they may keep ſomething to themſelves. They have no cauſe to fear that the people, with whom they have to do on theſe miſſions, will find acceſs to the miniſters, or that ever a ſerious inquiry will be made into their conduct; which is ſo true, that no perſon will readily undertake to make complaints of their tricks, becauſe there is no reparation to be expected. No perſon can carry his complaints directly to the Emperor, but they muſt abſolutely be made by the miniſters, or thoſe who hold the firſt office of the palace, or the chamber of His Majeſty; and theſe gentlemen are ſo cloſely linked to the intereſts of the other great lords of the empire, that whatever party the ſufferer may addreſs himſelf to, he will certainly remain the dupe of the affair.

The ſame day, the deputies endeavoured again to get ſome goods from us, while the ſpecification might be made out; but their deſign did not take effect.

The 9th, I ſpoke again to the mandarins of the council concerning our caravan; but I could get no other anſwer, but that this affair regarded the deputies of the court only.

The 14th, when I would have gone out myſelf to the council, the guard, at our gate, ſtopped me, under pretext that the four mandarins, deputies from the court, had ordered, that no perſon ſhould be ſuffered to go out till the goods, which they ought to have for the court, were firſt delivered. Though I paſſed in ſpite of the guard, I was nevertheleſs obliged to return without doing any thing, as the preſident was not in the city.

The 15th, I ſent my interpreter to the council to receive the reſolution of the preſident, upon what I had repreſented the day before; and as he found him not there, but was told he was at home, he went thither to ſpeak with him, and brought me the anſwer following: "That the preſident would take care that this affair ſhould be ended out of hand; that, to this end, it was nevertheleſs neceſſary, that the commiſſary ſhould

put a reaſonable price upon his goods." He deſired further my interpreter to tell me, that, at this ſeaſon, he was rarely at home, becauſe he was obliged to be all day long at Czchanzchumniene attending His Majeſty; that, when I ſhould have any affair to propoſe to him, I ſhould communicate the ſame, by my interpreter, to the mandarins of the council, who would not fail making him the neceſſary report immediately.

The 16th, the deputy mandarins having made up, according to their own fancy, a ſpecification of merchandiſes to be received by them for the proviſion of His Majeſty and the court, they came to preſent it to us, in order, by means of this impoſition, to get a large parcel of goods from us.

But the 17th, this ſpecification being tranſlated into the Ruſs language, we found that the quantity of merchandiſe which they demanded was much too large to be agreed to. For which reaſon, it was aſked of them, "From whom this ſpecification was ſent to us; and who made it out?" Upon which, after many turns and tergiverſations, employed to no purpoſe, they were at length forced to acknowledge that it was of their own forming; it being their opinion, that ſuch a quantity would be wanting for the uſe of the court. But in making this avowal, they did not fail to make the commiſſary apprehend, "That he need not flatter himſelf with a liberty of trading with any perſon, before they ſhould receive all that was contained in the ſpecification."

The 18th, the alegada being come to our houſe to buy ſome goods, I beſought him to remember the promiſes which His Majeſty had been ſo good to make to Mr. de Iſmayloff on the ſubject of freedom of commerce, ſeeing that by the courſe which affairs took at preſent, it looked as if they were entirely forgot. But he gave me for an anſwer to all, "That it was an affair that did not in the leaſt regard him, and that I had none but the council to addreſs myſelf to*."

The 22d, I ſent my interpreter to the council with a memorial on the ſubject of this affair; but the mandarins he found there refuſed to receive it, under the pretext, that they muſt have before hand the orders of the preſident thereupon, and know from him whether they ſhould receive it or not.

The ſame day the four deputies, being come to ſee us, gave us to underſtand, "That the uſual time of keeping the commiſſary at home being nigh finiſhed, they were come to commence a trade with him, and to know how much he demanded for each ſort of merchandiſe, to the end that, after they had finiſhed their bargain with him, they might then declare our houſe free for every body to enter." Whereupon I demanded of them. "Who could have authoriſed them to ſhut up, in the manner uſual with ſlaves, for any time, the ſubjects of ſo potent a Monarch as was the Czar my maſter?" But theſe gentlemen, not finding it proper to anſwer ſo tickliſh a queſtion, contented themſelves with ſaying, "That it would be well for the commiſſary to reſolve to give them the merchandiſe they required, and that at a reaſonable price, unleſs he would, out of wantonneſs, involve himſelf in expences which would much exceed the profit he thought to make by his obſtinacy; and that, in the ſituation he was, being obliged to feed his people at his own expence, he acted directly contrary to his own intereſts, not to cloſe affairs with them." Thereupon I deſired to know, "If they had orders to

* In China all is done by the diſpoſition of different colleges, to whoſe cognizance the affairs may belong; it not being permitted to addreſs the court directly upon any affair whatever. In the time of the laſt Chineſe Emperor, theſe colleges were ſo abſolute, that, on many occaſions, the Emperor himſelf dared not meddle with their decrees; but ſince the Tartar princes have been in poſſeſſion of the throne of China, they are not much regarded; witneſs the exerciſe of all ſorts of foreign religions publicly authoriſed, and the allowance of a Ruſſian agent at Pekin, agreed to by the ſole good pleaſure of the Emperor, in oppoſition to the remonſtrances of his miniſters, and to the conſtitution of the government of China.

preſs

preſs us, in ſo violent a manner, to deliver them the merchandiſes." Upon which they anſwered, "No; and that they were come to deal with the commiſſary, but that he muſt let them have the beſt goods at ſuch prices as the court always paid." The commiſſary, to make his laſt effort, offered them merchandiſes, of the ſame quality as thoſe which the court had received at other times, without advancing the price; but that did not cloſe the affair. They went away, ſaying, they would conſult together, to ſee if it was feaſible for them to augment the prices of the goods above that which the court had always given.

Soon after they came from the council to inquire for my interpreter, to communicate to him the anſwer of the preſident concerning my memorial. Upon which I ſent him directly with the ſaid memorial, no way doubting, but after what the preſident had himſelf told him, it would be received at once. But on his return, he acquainted me, that the preſident had ordered a mandarin to let me know the anſwer, which I wrote, word for word, from the mouth of my interpreter. "I applied to the allegamba on the ſubject of the memorial of the agent, and he not only forbid us to receive the ſaid memorial, but alſo charged me to tell the agent that which he had formerly told Mr. de Iſmayloff, viz. that commerce is looked upon by us with contempt, and as a very trifling object; that the agent himſelf was not ignorant that we had long refuſed to admit the preſent caravan, and moſt certainly ſhould never have conſented to its admittance into China, if His Majeſty had not ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to it, at the reiterated inſtances of Mr. de Iſmayloff." That the Allegamba had, at the ſame time, added theſe words: "Theſe merchants come here to enrich themſelves, not our people, which is eaſy to be ſeen, becauſe they pretend themſelves to fix the price of their own goods, that they may ſell them the dearer. For theſe reaſons, go tell the agent, that we ſhall not only refuſe to receive the ſaid memorial, but that, in future, he need not give himſelf the trouble of propoſing any thing to us that may be relative to commerce, becauſe we will not embarraſs ourſelves hereafter with the merchants of Ruſſia." Whereupon our confinement continued much the ſame as before; inſomuch, that it was only permitted to the domeſtics of the firſt miniſter, of the preſident, and a clerk of the wardrobe, to enter our houſe, which they did very frequently, and in all appearance to ſpy what paſſed in our quarters, in hopes that we ſhould be obliged, at length, to ſubmit our trade to their diſcretion.

The 25th, I underſtood that the brigadier, who, till that time, had the charge of the guard at our houſe, was reſtored to the good graces of the Emperor; and that His Majeſty had made him Grand Marſhall of the court, with the command in chief of the army which this monarch keeps in the country of the Mongalls*. Whereupon I repaired immediately to his houſe, to pay my compliments; and having found an opportunity, at the ſame time, of acquainting him with what had paſſed regarding the four mandarins deputed from the court; he gave me his word that he would go to court that day, to inform himſelf circumſtantially of that affair; and that afterwards, he

* The Mongalls are Tartar Pagans, who dwell to the north of China. They are divided into two branches, of which the firſt is that of the Eaſtern, or of the Northern Mongalls, or the Nieuchu, who inhabit towards the coaſt of the ſea of Japan, between the river Amoor and the Grand Wall; theſe are the natural ſubjects of the Tartar houſe which at preſent fills the throne of China; and are the very people, who, in the laſt century, made themſelves maſters of China. They are brought up in extreme groſs idolatry; and have in a manner no religion. They, for the greateſt part, dwell in towns and villages, and apply themſelves to agriculture. The ſecond branch is that of the Weſtern Mongalls, otherwiſe called Calchies. Theſe laſt are only under the protection of China, without being entirely ſubjects, having their own proper Chan. They live in tents, and ſubſiſt by their cattle, without cultivating their lands. Their religion is the worſhip of the Delay-Lama.

would order them to receive what might be abſolutely neceſſary for His Majeſty and the court without further delay. He, at the ſame time, ſeemed to be extremely ſurpriſed at the conduct of his brother the allegamba on this occaſion.

The 27th, the firſt miniſter being come to our houſe, told me, "That he underſtood the interdict on our houſe was not taken off, and deſired me to acquaint him with the cauſe of it." Upon which I made anſwer, "That I had for a long time, endeavoured to find it out, but I could find no perſon who would ſeem to know it. Nevertheleſs it muſt, in time, be cleared up, ſeeing it was a notorious injuſtice to keep a caravan ſhut up ſo long, that came upon the faith of treaties ſolemnly ratified." He replied thereupon, "That the court, for a long time, reſolved to admit no caravans, becauſe all the merchants, who had traded with the Ruſſes, were reduced to the loweſt ebb, by the very great quantity of Ruſs goods which were at preſent in China; that it was on the very ſtrong inſtances which Mr. de Iſmayloff had made, as well to the court as to the council, offering, for this purpoſe, that the commiſſary and his people ſhould ſubſiſt, for the future, at their own expence; that, in the end, they had admitted the preſent caravan; that the commiſſary, ſo far from having any regard to theſe circumſtances, refuſed now to take the uſual prices, that had been offered him for the merchandiſe which the court had occaſion for, and inſiſted on a very high price for them; that he wiſhed I would bring the commiſſary to reaſon in this affair, and let him know the reſult." Upon which I told him, "That I had nothing to do with putting a new price on goods which the commiſſary had in commiſſion; that it did not depend on me, as it was the commiſſary who was to account for the goods with which he was entruſted, who would not permit any other beſides himſelf, who ſold them, to ſet a price; that, as to what regarded the admiſſion of the caravan, it was ſtipulated long before Mr. de Iſmayloff's arrival at Pekin, and there could not the leaſt alteration be made in it, without ſhaking the foundations of the treaties concluded between the two empires; and ſuppoſing any alteration was to be made, it could not be done but by mutual conſent, and after deputies appointed for this purpoſe by the two empires, ſhould have examined this affair to the bottom, and made a new plan of convention." This anſwer ſeemed to nettle the miniſter, who broke up the converſation, and ordered the commiſſary to ſhow him ſome goods.

December, the four mandarins deputed from the court, finding, at length, that we rather choſe to have our confinement continue, than to ſubmit to their unreaſonable pretenſions; and that, on the other hand, the Grand Marſhall of the court intereſted himſelf ſtrongly in our favour, and would abſolutely have an end of this affair, the interdict on our houſe was at laſt taken off.

And the 2d of this month, the council made publication, that it was permitted to all perſons to come and trade with us; but they uſed one piece of chicanery, which hurt us much, and really kept off all the merchants; for when they perceived the merchants began to reſort to our houſe, they made known to them, "That no perſon ſhould carry out the leaſt thing, of what they bought at our houſe, without ſhowing it firſt to the four mandarins-deputies, to the end that they might take what they found proper for the uſe of the court." This notification took away from the merchants all deſire of trading with us, ſeeing they were aſſured of being great ſufferers if they were obliged to paſs through the hands of theſe greedy mandarins; which made me acquainted, more than any thing elſe, with the miſery of the profeſſion of a merchant in China, who are obliged to depend on the diſcretion of mandarins and ſoldiers, who have none. But the Poyamba or Grand Marſhall of the court, having been informed of it, had the goodneſs to remedy this new grievance, ordering the mandarins not to take any thing

for the uſe of the court, from any other perſon than from the commiſſary. For this purpoſe he ſent at the ſame time, his ſteward with them, to the commiſſary, to tell him, "That he came with them, by order of his maſter, to ſee how much, and what ſorts of merchandiſes theſe gentlemen would take, to the end that they might make him an exact report." Whereupon they were ſhown the goods; but they acted ſo much upon the reſerve, in preſence of this man, that they took in all but a very middling parcel of goods. Nevertheleſs, this did not prevent their repairing every day to our houſe, to take from the Chineſe merchants what goods they thought proper. And the more to counteract our trade, the miniſtry had repreſented to the Emperor, that there had been brought, during many years, from year to year, into His Majeſty's magazines of fur, a much greater quantity of ſables than were neceſſary for the conſumption of the court; and that, as this quantity augmented annually, it was better that His Majeſty ſhould order ſome of them to be ſold, than to let them lie and ſpoil.

The 12th, 13th, and 14th, many Chineſe merchants, and other perſons from the great houſes, and ordinary people of Pekin, having come to our houſe, ventured to buy ſome ſquirrel ſkins, and other goods of ſmall value, in order to diſcover the true deſigns of the mandarins who kept themſelves at our houſe; they did not oppoſe them until they had fixed their bargains; but when the bargains were concluded, they ſignified to them that they were not to carry out any of the things they had bought, till they ſhould chooſe the beſt of what they had for the court.

The 15th, as they were appriſed at the court and council that we had begun to trade, they publiſhed that they would ſell, at reaſonable prices, 20,000 ſables, out of the fur magazines of the Emperor; whereupon all thoſe who had begun to trade with us went to ſupply themſelves there; ſome for fear of the chicanery of the mandarins, others in hopes of buying cheaper there than with us. In ſhort, they ſold, by what I could afterwards learn, the beſt ſables at two one-half laen, middling at one one-half laen to one, and the leaſt at 90 fun; but theſe were not Siberia ſables, but thoſe of the Tonguſes*, under the dominions of China, taken about the border of the river Amoor†, of which they furniſh annually a quantity to the magazines of His Majeſty. The country whence theſe ſables are brought is called Solloni.

The 16th, I was informed that, notwithſtanding the court had conſented to a free commerce between the two nations, free of all duties, the mandarins belonging to our houſe had given the ſtricteſt orders to our guard, not to let any the leaſt thing of any kind be brought into our houſe, without producing a billet from them; and ſuch a billet coſt them 30 zſchoffes, which makes about four fun. But thoſe who would have free ingreſs and egreſs to our houſe to trade, were obliged, once for all, to make a fixed agreement with them, either for a certain limited time, or for the whole time we might ſtay at Pekin; upon which they received a billet, which entitled them to come into, and go out of our houſe, as often as they pleaſed. All thoſe who refuſed to pay in this manner for the freedom of entry into our houſe, were ſent back, as people who came to our houſe to borrow, or perhaps ſteal on occaſion.

* The Tonguſes are a Pagan people of the north of Aſia, who are very probably the deſcendants of the Tartars. They occupy a great proportion of the eaſtern parts of Siberia; and ſome branches of this people extend themſelves even to the ſouthern banks of the river Amoor. The laſt party of the Tonguſes is ſubject to China; all the other Tonguſes are ſubjects of Ruſſia. Vide Hiſtoire Genealog. des Tartares.

† The river Amoor is one of the largeſt rivers in Aſia. It takes its riſe in the country of the Mongalls, near the river Selinga, and running from thence eaſtward, it makes the frontier of theſe parts between Eaſtern Siberia and the Oriental Mongalls; and after a courſe of more than 300 German leagues, it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea of Japan, in lat. 44 degrees north.

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The 17th, my mandarin being come to ſee me, I told him, "That I was very glad to learn that the court had alſo begun to enter into trade, which they had before looked upon as ſo contemptible a thing with them, that they always reproached us with the little importance of it; that, ſince His Majeſty had given ſuch authentic marks of the eſteem he had for commerce, I hoped that, in time to come, they would ſpeak of it with more circumſpection." Whereupon he replied, "That it was not with a view of intereſt that the Emperor had ordered the ſables to be ſold that I ſpoke of, but that the ſale was made purely becauſe, having ſo great a quantity of them in his magazines, he thought it better to order them to be ſold, than that they ſhould lie there till rotten. I thereupon told him, "That if, at the court of His Czariſh Majeſty, and in his empire, they could make uſe of all the furs which the country furniſhed, they would probably ſee very few of them in China." After which, I demanded of him, "If it was with the knowledge of the Emperor that the mandarins placed at our gate, ſold to the people, who had buſineſs with us, permits of paſſage in and out, and abſolutely denied entrance to our houſe to thoſe who would not pay for thoſe permits?" I would likewiſe be informed by him, "What was the meaning that the four mandarins, deputies of the court, were continually in our houſe?" His anſwer to which was, "That the Emperor knew nothing of it, nor did any perſon dare to tell him of it; the Alegada having given them leave to ſell ſuch permits, as a ſmall caſual profit; that, as to the mandarin deputies, they were ignorant of the conſequence of what they did." Whereupon I told him at the concluſion, "That I did not comprehend why the miniſters were ſo averſe to us in every thing, even to the refuſing to ſee us, or receive our memorials; that I wiſhed, with all my heart, that they ſhould not carry it ſo far, as to oblige me to carry my complaints to the perſon of the Bogdoi-Chan direct; and further, that I aſked nothing but what was conformable to treaties, and that, if the treaties were to ſubſiſt in their full force between the two empires, there was an abſolute neceſſity to hear what I had to ſay, and to give ſuch reſolutions as they ſhould think proper, upon the memorials which I ſhould, from time to time, preſent them on the occaſion."

The latter end of this month, His Majeſty made a tour to Caiſa, which is a palace, with a fine park, ſome lys to the ſouth of Pekin, where he paſſed ſome weeks; which was the occaſion that nothing remarkable paſſed, during this time, between the miniſters and me.

The 15th of January 1722, the guard at our gate refuſed entrance to ſome carts of hay which my people had bought, becauſe the peaſants had not billets of paſſage, and they would not give any thing to the ſoldiers; and notwithſtanding I ſent to advertiſe the mandarins, and officers who commanded the guard at our gate, of this inſolence of the guard, they, notwithſtanding, drove away the peaſants with their hay. I complained of it to my mandarin, but to little purpoſe.

The 16th, after having received the news of the perpetual peace concluded between His Czariſh Majeſty and the Ottoman Porte, I cauſed Te Deum to be ſung in the church of St. Nicolas, and celebrated the reſt of the day in feſtivity.

The 2d of February, and according to cuſtom, I offered ſome preſents to His Majeſty on the new year, which is a ceremony that muſt be obſerved by every perſon vested with any public character, unleſs he would expoſe himſelf to a general cenſure. His Majeſty received my little preſents very graciouſly, and preſented me, in return, with ſome of all the ſorts of game he had taken at the hunting the laſt autumn*, and of a

* The Mongalls, and other Pagan Tartars, have a particular method for drying all ſorts of fleſh, by the air and the ſun, which entirely prevents their periſhing; by which means they keep victuals from one year to another.

good number of ſheep; and it is in this manner that His Majeſty is accuſtomed to regale annually, at the cloſe of the year, thoſe people of his court that he would diſtinguiſh.

The 4th, which is the laſt day of the Chineſe year, the court ended the year with a feaſt, which was very ſhort, becauſe His Majeſty was but juſt recovered from a fit of illneſs which he had laboured under. On this occaſion, I had the honour of ſitting over againſt His Majeſty, at ſome diſtance from the throne; and this place is a little below the ſeat of the princes of the blood, but above that of the mandarins of the firſt claſs. The feaſt being finiſhed, and His Majeſty retired, the maſter of ceremonies came to tell me, that I might be diſpenſed with coming the next day, being new year's day, to court, to pay my compliments to His Majeſty, ſeeing it was the cuſtom of the princes of the blood, and mandarins of the empire, to be all ranged in the court of the caſtle that day, every one according to his rank, where, as I was a foreigner, I could have no rank.

The 14th, the firſt miniſter gave me and the commiſſary a dinner. On which occaſion there paſſed nothing remarkable, unleſs that he aſked me, "If I was not to return with the caravan?" Which made me think they had already ſettled this affair at court. I anſwered him thereupon, "That it did not depend on my pleaſure to leave the court, where the Czar, my maſter, had ſent me to reſide, till he ſhould recal me."

The 18th and 19th, His Majeſty cauſed the celebration of the feaſt of Lanthorns, which had been annually celebrated, at the court of China, for above 2000 years. This feaſt was ſolemnized at Czchanzchumnienne with great magnificence. During the grand entertainment, which was that day at court, they repreſented all ſorts of plays, and other diverting ſhows; and at night, they exhibited grand fire-works; which, joined to ſo many illuminations, and to the prodigious quantity of lanthorns, adorned with figures, and diverſified with all ſorts of colours, cauſed a ſurpriſing agreeable view, during the darkneſs of the night*. They placed me, on this occaſion, the ſame as they did the laſt time at Pekin, at the diſtance of ſome paces from the Emperor's throne.

The 20th, being returned to Pekin, ſome of the principal of the Korea merchants came to ſee me; but when they would have entered my apartment, ſome of the ſoldiers who accompanied them oppoſed it; and they narrowly eſcaped the laſh of the ſoldiers whips, who had lifted them againſt thoſe merchants. Upon which I preſently ordered them to be kept, by our people, in the court before my houſe, to wait there till the merchants ſhould go out of my houſe. And I, at the ſame time, gave them to underſtand, that they, for the future, would do wiſely not to make uſe of their whips at my houſe. After which, the merchants indeed entered into my apartment, but dared not make any ſtay there, for fear of being inſulted by the ſoldiers that eſcorted them †. The civility with which I received them, and to which they had not been uſed with the Chineſe,

* The Chineſe are accuſtomed to be at a very great expence at this feſtival, in fire-works and in lanthorns, having lanthorns that will coſt them 10,000 laen, and upwards. The fire of their rockets is alſo remarkably beautiful. The variety and livelineſs of their colours ſurpaſs the European performances ſo much, that we are obliged to own they excel us in theſe performances.

† The Chineſe being accuſtomed to treat the inhabitants of Korea with great roughneſs, and having prohibited them all correſpondence with foreign nations, it is not to be expected that they ſhould relax their hard treatment of them for the ſake of a miniſter of the court of Ruſſia; which is, as it were, the only power who could ſupport the inhabitants of Korea, if they ſhould ever be deſirous of throwing off the Chineſe yoke; ſeeing that, by the river Amoor, the Ruſſians could fall down into the ports of Korea, without a poſſibility of the Chineſe hindering them. And it is not impoſſible but this conduct of Mr. de Lange might have been one cauſe of the court of China's ſudden reſolution of ordering him to leave the country.

made them have a desire of being more acquainted with me. For they came again on the 22d, before my house, but the guard at the gate refused them entrance.

During the month of March, we continued our trade, as much as the mandarins and soldiers of our guard would permit. There passed nothing else remarkable, unless that the commissary having sent a clerk of the caravan towards the deserts to see in what condition the horses were, which were left there in their way to Pekin; he reported to us, that they were all in very bad plight; and that, if we did not out of hand send money, that they might be put into stables, there was danger of the greatest part of them dying.

The 6th of April, I sent my interpreter, at the desire of the commissary, to the mandarins which were placed at our house on account of the caravan, and let them know, that the commissary being obliged to send one of his people with money towards the desert, in order that the people who had the charge of the horses of the caravan should be enabled to put them into stables, he would, for the greater security, have occasion for some soldiers, or some others, to escort this man; and I prayed their care of this affair. Whereupon they returned me answer, that they would make their report to the council; for without their orders, they could do nothing in it.

The 7th, two mandarins, accompanied by a clerk, came to bring me an answer from the president on this affair; and it being wrote on a sheet of paper, they read the same to me in the following terms:—"The Allegamba having been informed yesterday that you wanted to send a messenger again towards the deserts, could not but imagine that it was for some other business than that of horses, that your people made such frequent journeys between the deserts and Pekin; this gives him reason to think that, by the help of the Mongalls, you carry on a secret intelligence between this city and Selinginsky, which may give birth to complaints and threats between the two empires; for he is not ignorant that the Mongalls are a people capable of engaging in such affairs, and that the Russes do not grudge money on such occasions." I asked them thereupon, "Whether this answer was from the Allegamba, or whether it was their own composition?" Upon which they assured me, that they wrote it, word for word, the same that the Allegamba gave them; and that it was for the same reason he would not consent to the sending the person, as desired.

After this explanation, I thought necessary, for my greater security, to desire them to acquaint the Allegamba on my behalf, "That the precaution he took was not right to take, unless with prisoners, or unless he had any intercepted letter to produce, by which he would convict me of having sought to embroil the two empires; that bearing, as I did, a public character, I might write as often as I pleased, without having any occasion either for the escort or the consent of the president; and the same, if I had a courier to dispatch for my private affairs, as he could not prevent it without an open violence." I sent forthwith my interpreter to the council, with the mandarins, to know the determination of this minister. But he sent me word, that he had no desire to employ the horses and the people of the army of the Emperor his master in our service, on journies which must cause them to be at expences for which they were not furnished by their ordinary pay. Upon which I made him the proposal of being ourselves at the expence of the people for the escort which he should grant us, and that we would also mount them on our own horses, that they might have no occasion for the Emperor's; or if that was still more satisfactory, I would only demand a passport, and would run the risk of sending one of our own people without an escort. But he continued firm in his denial, and would not allow of one or other of the expedients, contenting himself with letting me know, once for all, "That he would do nothing in it."

it." I learnt, at the ſame time, from my interpreter, that they had reaſoned among themſelves, on this occaſion, in much the following manner: "Theſe foreigners come here with their commerce, to encumber us every moment with a thouſand petty affairs, pretending that they ought to be favoured, on all occaſions, no more nor leſs than if they laid an obligation on us; and yet we are ſtill to receive the firſt anſwer from them no the ſubject of our affairs."

The 16th, I underſtood that, ſome weeks ago, the Tuſh-du-Chan of the Mongalls *, who encamped at Urga, had brought complaints to the court of the ill conduct of the Ruſs merchants who came to Urga; and that he had, at the ſame time, advertiſed the miniſtry, that there never had been ſo great a concourſe of Ruſs and Chineſe merchants at his reſidence, as in this year; that, thereupon, His Majeſty had taken a reſolution to ſend a mandarin, with orders to the Chan to chaſe out all the merchants, as well Ruſſes as Chineſe, from Urga, without letting it appear that it was done by order of His Majeſty, but that it ſhould appear as the proper act of the Tuſh-du-Chan, as maſter of his own country.

The ſame day, a courier, who was lately arrived from Selinginſky, with diſpatches from the mandarin who reſided there, told my interpreter, that the intendant of Selinginſky had tendered ſeveral packets of letters that came from Ruſſia to this mandarin, in order to be forwarded to the council of the affairs of the Mongalls at Pekin; but he refuſed to receive them, becauſe the intendant could not acquaint him with their contents.

The 4th of May, two mandarins of the council, accompanied with three clerks and two officers out of our guard, being come to my apartment at eleven o'clock at night, informed me, that the Allegamba, being returned from court, wanted to ſpeak with me on an affair of conſequence; and, becauſe he was employed during the day-time, from morning till night, he prayed me to give myſelf the trouble of coming to him, though it was late at night. I was a-bed when the meſſage came to me; however, I made no difficulty of riſing, to comply with this miniſter's deſire; the more, as the mandarin aſſured me that the buſineſs he wanted to ſpeak with me about was a very preſſing affair. When I came to his houſe, I was received with remarkable civility; and the Allegamba being come in perſon to meet me, even to the court, he led me to his apartment, and deſired me to ſit down by him. He then began to make excuſes, that, in ſo long a time, he had not been able to ſee me at his own houſe, or in other places; but that he ſuppoſed I was not ignorant that he was obliged to be every day, from morning till night, with His Majeſty at Czhan-zchumnienne. Upon which I replied, that his excuſe was unanſwerable, and that I commiſerated his being obliged to paſs his time in ſo fatiguing a manner. After many other reiprocal compliments of this nature, he demanded of me, "If it was long ſince I had any news from Selinginſky?" I anſwered, "That it was ſome time ſince I had any." In the end, the affair which he was about diſcovered itſelf, by little and little, when he aſked me, "If I remembered that when I would lately diſpatch a meſſenger, by Kalchanna, towards the deſert, he told me

* This is the name of the preſent Chan of the weſtern Mongalls. This Chan was heretofore ſovereign; but, ſince the eaſtern Mongalls have poſſeſſed themſelves of China, he put himſelf under the protection of that empire, in order to be the better able to make head againſt the Kalmucks, with whom they are in a manner at continual war. He is a very powerful prince. His dominions, on the weſtern ſide, reach to the banks of the great river Yeniſey, and even from thence, on the other ſide of this river, towards the ſources of the Oby; and, on the other ſide, towards the eaſt, they reach to the great wall. The Chan of the weſtern Mongalls hath a great many petty Chans of this nation for his vaſſals, and can bring one hundred thouſand men, or more, into the field, all cavalry; but his ſoldiers fall far ſhort of the Kalmucks ſoldiery.

that he could not conſent to it, becauſe he apprehended that, by ſuch means, ſecret correſpondence might be carried on, which might bring on ſome miſunderſtanding between the two empires." I told him thereupon, "That I did remember that, and the reſt of the unexpected anſwer he then gave me; but, not having ever been able to gueſs whence ſuch ſuſpicion could ariſe, he would infinitely oblige me, if he would pleaſe to ſpeak a little more intelligibly on this affair." Whereupon he replied, "We apprehend you have intelligence of our deſerters, which you do not think fit to communicate to us *." Thereupon I remonſtrated, "That, if he would pleaſe to conſider the vaſt diſtance between St. Peterſburg and Pekin, he would himſelf judge whether it was poſſible for the courier diſpatched on this affair to be returned already, unleſs he could fly; that, as to the reſt, he himſelf knew that affairs of ſuch conſequence were not the buſineſs of a day, and required other things to adjuſt them than ſecret correſpondence." He ſhook his head at this anſwer, becauſe there was then a report current at Pekin, that orders were arrived at Selinginſky, from the Czar, not to reſtore the deſerters before ſpoken of. Some moments afterwards he aſked me, "If I would communicate to him the news when I ſhould receive my letters?" Upon which I aſſured him, "That I ſhould conceal nothing from him, whether it regarded him in particular, or regarded the court; ſeeing ſuch affairs could not be communicated to me but by expreſs orders of the Czar my maſter; which, whatever deſire I might have, I dared not keep ſecret." This miniſter, not thinking he had yet ſufficient reaſon to be ſatisfied, demanded anew of me, "If when I ſhould receive private letters, I would let him have a copy?" I anſwered thereupon, "That it was certainly the firſt time, ſince the world began, ſuch a propoſal was made; but that I could not believe that he ſpoke in earneſt on this occaſion, although it was a little too late for raillery." This anſwer being not altogether ſuch as he hoped for; he changed, for ſome time, the diſcourſe, by ſaying, "That he had an intention of telling His Majeſty, that the caravan was almoſt ready to depart, and of receiving, at the ſame time, his orders with regard to my perſon." Whereupon I deſired him, "To put His Majeſty in mind of the affair, on the ſubject of which I had ſo often made inſtances to him." At length he began to talk to me of my ſtay at Pekin, ſaying, "That the term which was agreed with Mr. de Iſmayloff, for my ſtay at this court, wanted little of being expired." And he made me fully to comprehend that I ought to prepare to return with the caravan. Upon which we diſputed together long enough; and I told him on this occaſion, "That, if he would pleaſe to remember that I aſſiſted on all the conferences that were held on this ſubject; that I had read, and had in my cuſtody, all the correſpondence of Mr. de Iſmayloff, with the council, about his negotiations; and that I was at all the audiences which His Majeſty had granted to that miniſter, he could not doubt but that what was tranſacted by Mr. de Iſmayloff, from his arrival till his departure, was as well known to me as to himſelf." I further alledged to him, on this ſubject, the reſolution of the month of February 1721, which he himſelf ſent to Mr. de Iſmayloff; wherein it was ſaid, "That

* The Tonguſes, as well as the Mongalls, and other people of Tartar extraction, who inhabit on the confines of Ruſſia and China, are accuſtomed to deſert very often, by hundreds of families, from the lands of one empire to thoſe of the other, according as their caprice or intereſt prompts them, which is often the ſubject of altercations between the two empires. In order to remedy theſe inconveniencies, it was agreed, in the laſt treaty, that, for the future, ſuch deſerters ſhould not be received by either power, but ſhould honeſtly be returned to the place from whence they came. From this article, the Chineſe pretend a right to reproach the Ruſſes with not acting candidly in deferring ſo long the reſtitution of ſeven hundred families of their ſubjects, which went over to the Ruſſian territories ſince the concluſion of this treaty; and the Ruſſes, on their ſide, alſo reclaim a good number of families, and inſiſt on its being equitable to come to a liquidation of their reciprocal pretenſions.

His

His Majeſty had given his conſent to the reſidence of an agent at his court, without any mention regarding the time, directly or indirectly." But this lord, notwithſtanding he had nothing to anſwer to what I advanced, held himſelf ſtrictly to his firſt deciſion, that my ſtay had been agreed to only till the return of the preſent caravan. And this altercation did not ceaſe till I gave him, for a final anſwer, "That the Czar, my maſter, not having ordered me to enter this empire in ſpite of the court, or to continue to reſide in it contrary to the good pleaſure of the Bogdoi-Chan, I was obliged to conform myſelf, on this occaſion, to all that His Majeſty ſhould think fit to determine in regard to me." After which he ſhewed me a ſmall letter, with an addreſs in the Ruſs language, ſaying it came from Naniti Turſoff, interpreter at Selinginſky, and that the Kutuchtu * had ſent it to Pekin, that it might be delivered to me. He added, "That he knew very well, that, ſince the departure of Mr. de Iſmayloff, I had received a good number of letters, the contents of which I had communicated to nobody; but, as to this letter, I muſt determine to open it in his preſence, and let him take a copy of it, if I wiſhed to have it; for, if he could not prevail ſo far upon me, I ſhould not read it neither, as he would take care to return it whence it came." He gave orders for this purpoſe to two tranſlators, who were then preſent, to ſet themſelves by me, and to read the letter at the ſame time I did. As I had not yet opened the letter, I aſked him, "What occaſioned a curioſity ſo unallowable? and if he did not know that this procedure was directly contrary to the rights of nations?" His anſwer was, "That he was well enough appriſed, that what he did on this occaſion was a little irregular; but this letter happening to fall into his hands, he expected that I would not make much difficulty of communicating the contents to him; and that I might determine on the alternative he had propoſed." Thereupon I delivered him the letter, ſealed as it was, and deſired him to reflect ſeriouſly on the conſequence ſuch an unwarrantable curioſity might produce; and, in the mean time, I ſhould ſee to what lengths he would carry his authority over my letters. After which, I left him, and retired to my quarters.

The 5th, two mandarins came to me, on his part, to ſee, "If I would not reſolve to comply with his will in regard to the ſaid letter?" I charged them to tell him, on my part, "That I aways found myſelf ready to do him all imaginable ſervice which he could in honour expect; but what he deſired on this occaſion was ſo unreaſonable, that I could not but conſider it as an affront which he had an intention wantonly to give me, and that he might depend on being obliged, at a proper time, to give me ſatisfaction."

The 6th, the two tranſlators above mentioned were commanded to Czchan-zchumnienne, by order of this miniſter, which made me think they had proceeded as far as to open my letter; but I was ſoon convinced of the contrary; for,

The 7th, a mandarin, accompanied by a clerk, came to bring me the ſaid letter, which had not the leaſt mark of having been opened. He, at the ſame time, made me a compliment from the Allegamba, ſaying, "That he deſired I would conceive no ill opinion of him, upon what had paſſed between us on the ſubject of this letter; inaſmuch as he aſſured me there was nothing ſerious on his ſide in this adventure; and that he only took the liberty of having a little pleaſantry with me; not altogether without flattering himſelf, that I might not be averſe to comply with his deſire on this occaſion. But

* The Kutuchtu is an high-prieſt belonging to the Mongalls and the northern Kalmucks. He was formerly no more than a ſub-delegate of the Delay-Lama, in theſe parts; but he hath, by degrees, found means to withdraw from the obedience of his maſter, and to deify himſelf at the expence of the Delay-Lama.

now,

now, being convinced that I was firmly reſolved againſt this ſort of complaiſance, to any perſon whatſoever, he would no longer delay ſending me the letter in queſtion; and at the ſame time, to aſſure me of his friendſhip." After having received the letter, I let him know in anſwer, "That I had myſelf, in the beginning, looked on this affair as a jeſt; but finding he puſhed it too far, I had been obliged to regard it in another light; ſeeing I had never looked on the talking in ſuch a manner to be jeſting. Nevertheleſs, that, after the poſitive aſſurances that the allegamba gave me, there was nothing ſerious on his part of this affair, I ought to conſider it in the ſame light; deſiring him, in time to come, to make uſe of other perſons, not of me, for his diverſion."

After which, having opened the letter, I found indeed that it was from the ſaid Turſoff, dated Urga, 20th of April, 1722. And as the mandarin and clerk, who brought the letter, were ſtill in my chamber, when I began to read it, I made my interpreter tranſlate it to them by word of mouth, in the Mongall language, to the end that they might communicate the contents to the allegamba, and know of him if he would grant me a conference on the ſubject of this affair, or would rather receive from me a memorial thereupon.

The 8th, the ſame mandarin came to my houſe, and upon my deſiring to know if he had acquitted himſelf of the commiſſion I gave him the day before, to the allegamba, he anſwered in the affirmative, and that he was ordered to bring me his anſwer, which was, "That the Bogdoi-Chan would hear nothing for the future talked of any commerce of the Ruſſes, in his empire, until all the diſturbances on the frontiers were entirely adjuſted; and as, for this reaſon, there might continue a long ſpace of time before any caravan might come again to Pekin, the Bogdoi-Chan found it proper that the agent ſhould return with the preſent caravan; and when the commerce between the two empires ſhould come to be renewed, he ſhould likewiſe be permitted to return to Pekin." Whereupon I made anſwer to the allegamba, "That the orders I received from the Czar were, as he himſelf well knew, to remain at Pekin till he ſhould recal me; but as I was in no condition to oppoſe the orders of the Bogdoi-Chan, I was obliged to have patience, and reſolved to do what I had no power to avoid doing; nevertheleſs, that this was no anſwer to what I deſired to know from him, and that I waited for it with impatience, as I did for a clear explanation upon this precipitate manner of breaking off all commerce and correſpondence between the two empires, without waiting for a reſolution upon the affairs of the frontiers, and without any declaration of war, or other previous mark of hoſtility on either ſide." But the mandarin declined to charge himſelf with ſuch a meſſage, he not thinking it proper for him to repeat ſuch terms as it was couched in to the allegamba, ſaying I muſt either ſeek an opportunity to tell him myſelf, or demand a conference for that purpoſe, by my interpreter.

The ſame day, in the afternoon, I ſent my interpreter to the council, to acquaint the allegamba, by means of the mandarins he might find there, that I had, the ſame day, received the orders of the Bogdoi-Chan for my return to Ruſſia; but I had received no anſwer on his part, upon the affair which was the ſubject I wanted to confer with him upon; for which reaſon, if he could not ſpare time to ſpeak with me himſelf, he would at leaſt let me know whether he would receive a memorial on that ſubject from me or not.

The 9th, another mandarin came to me, and acquainted me, that the allegamba had been informed of the ſubject, concerning which I had ſent my interpreter to the council the day before; and as he had not a moment to ſpare to confer perſonally with me,

he had ſent the ſame mandarin to me, to whom I might explain myſelf on what I had to ſay to him, as the allegamba had given orders to make him a faithful report of every thing which I ſhould charge him with. Upon which I told him, that I wiſhed he would inform the allegamba that I prayed him to give me, under his hand, a preciſe anſwer to the points following, viz.

" I. If the Bogdoi-Chan was diſpoſed, before my departure, to receive and to anſwer the credentials which I was charged with from His Czariſh Majeſty?

" II. If any ſuitable ſatisfaction was to be expected for the injuries done to His Czariſh Majeſty's ſubjects by the Tuſh-du-Chan, or at leaſt by his orders?

" III. What was the reaſon that they would not grant a free paſſage to the letters addreſſed to the council and to me, which remained on the frontiers?

" IV. In caſe the Bogdoi-Chan ſhould perſiſt in the reſolution of ſending me home, what I ſhould ſay to the Czar, my maſter, regarding the perpetual peace between the two empires?

" V. Suppoſing that, contrary to expectation, my departure might be deferred, I deſired to know, if, in conformity to the treaties of peace, the Bogdoi-Chan would grant me poſt-horſes for my journey, or whether I muſt find them myſelf?"

The 16th, there came to me a mandarin, from the allegamba, to inform me, " That there was no likelihood that the Bogdoi-Chan would alter his reſolution with regard to my departure; that no perſon had the boldneſs to ſpeak again to His Majeſty, after he had once explained himſelf ſo poſitively on this affair. But that the allegamba, in his turn, wiſhed to be informed why I demanded ſo preciſely to know the motives of my being ſent away; and why I inſiſted ſo ſtrenuouſly to have a clear explanation of the Bogdoi-Chan towards the Czar; that he did not know whether I durſt make ſuch demands, in caſe the Bogdoi-Chan ſhould be pleaſed to ſpeak perſonally to me, without my being afraid that he would make complaints of it to the Czar my maſter." Upon which I returned him as follows, viz. " That it was abſolutely neceſſary for me to be fully informed of what I deſired to know; that, without this being cleared up, I could not well reſolve to depart, ſeeing it appeared evidently, that ſince the departure of Mr. de Iſmayloff, the court had intirely changed its diſpoſition regarding the preſervation of the good underſtanding between the two empires; that the allegamba himſelf could not be ignorant how many of His Czariſh Majeſty's ſubjects had, immediately after the concluſion of the laſt treaty of peace, deſerted, and come to ſettle on the lands in the dominions of the Bogdoi-Chan, without the Czar's having ſhown any reſentment to this time, notwithſtanding the ſame was directly contrary to the ſenſe of the treaty; that the Czar on this occaſion, far from forbidding the ſubjects of China entrance into his dominions, had always permitted them, without interruption, to enjoy, in his dominions, an entire liberty, as well in regard to trade as all other affairs which could concern them, not even excepting ſome of thoſe very deſerters, who having affairs to tranſact at ſome places in the Czar's dominions, had been no leſs welcome than the others, ſubjects of the Bogdoi-Chan; but now, that 700 of the ſubjects of China had paſſed the frontiers, and would eſtabliſh themſelves on the lands belonging to Ruſſia, that would forthwith forbid all commerce, not receive any more letters, and in fine, at one ſtroke, break off all communication between the two empires; and that without even waiting the anſwer of the governor general of Siberia to the letter wrote to him on the ſubject; which was the only certain means of knowing whether His Czariſh Majeſty intended to retain theſe people, or to make them return. That, to conclude, I prayed the Allegamba to conſider, if it was not much more eaſy to accommodate this affair

affair by treating it with more mildneſs, than to puſh it with an haughtineſs not to be borne with*."

Whereupon the mandarin told me, he could not poſitively undertake for his daring to ſay all this to the Allegamba; but that if a proper occaſion offered, he would not fail of doing it faithfully. He told me further, on the part of that miniſter, that the mandarins, who had been ſent laſt year by command of the Bogdoi-Chan, to paſs the frontiers of Ruſſia, were returned, they not being permitted to proceed on their journey, before the governor-general of Siberia was made acquainted with it; that the Allegamba might expect to wait long enough for an anſwer, as well upon this affair as upon all other affairs which regarded the intereſt of the two empires, ſo long as they did not allow of a free paſſage to the letters written concerning them to the court. I received no anſwer then.

In the mean time, I had made a demand ſome time ago of the council, for a free paſſage for the caravan by the old road of Kerlinde, (which the former caravans had been uſed to take), to ſave them the inconveniencies attending the route by the deſerts, where the people and the cattle had much to endure for want of water; and for this purpoſe, I ſent my interpreter, with a clerk of the caravan, on the 14th, to the council, to know if the Bogdoi-Chan had given his conſent or not. But they told him for anſwer, "That they expected to have been freed from their importuning the council about their beggarly commerce, after they had been told ſo often, that the council would not embarraſs themſelves any more about affairs that were only beneficial to the Ruſſes, and that of courſe they had only to return by the way they came."

The ſame day, I ſent to the houſe of the firſt miniſter, to know if I could have the honour of ſeeing him. But he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, that being far advanced in years, he wanted to be at eaſe.

Nevertheleſs, I did not refrain going myſelf next day, which was the 15th, to his houſe; and the guard at the gate ſuffered me to paſs without interruption. I entered directly into the court-yard, and acquainted him with my being there, by one of his ſervants, deſiring he would afford me a quarter of an hour's audience: but he ſent me word, "That he was not at leiſure to ſee me, and that, as the affairs about which I would ſpeak to him very probably only regarded the council of foreign affairs, he deſired I would addreſs myſelf to them." I thereupon let him know, by the ſame domeſtic, "That I was come to ſpeak to him, as the firſt miniſter of the Bogdoi-Chan; and if I not had a very preſſing occaſion of applying to him, he might be ſure I would have been very averſe to have come to give him trouble; but that as it concerned us equally, both him and myſelf, that I ſhould have the honour of ſeeing him, therefore I was determined not to leave his houſe without ſpeaking to him." Upon this ſo preciſe a declaration, the ſame domeſtic returned, a few moments after, and ſhowed me into a grand ſaloon, well enough furniſhed after the Chineſe manner, where the maſter of the houſehold of this miniſter came to preſent me tea and milk, till his maſter ſhould come. After I had waited about a quarter of an hour in this apartment, the allegada at length came, and deſired my excuſe, with a number of compliments after the Chineſe manner, that he was not always able to ſee me when I might require it, becauſe his great age,

* It is certain, that the judgment of the late Emperor, either from jealouſy, or the artifices of ſome ſecret enemies, was ſo altered, with regard to the Ruſſia trade, a little before his death, that there was no other way of adjuſting it but the having recourſe to arms; which was fully reſolved on, on the part of Ruſſia, when the news of the death of this Monarch arrived there, which ſuſpended the execution of this deſign, till they ſhould ſee clearly into the deſigns of his ſucceſſor. But the death of Peter the Great, entirely broke theſe meaſures; ſo that the affairs between Ruſſia and China are ſtill, at this time, on the ſame terms they were on the departure of Mr. de Lange from Pekin; and ſince the laſt caravan that left Pekin with him, no caravan hath been ſent from Siberia to Pekin.

and multiplicity of affairs with which he was charged, did not permit him. Whereupon, we being both ſeated, I told him, "That if the affairs which I had to repreſent to him, regarded only my own perſon, I ſhould not have ventured to incommode him; but as they regarded our common matters, and the preſervation of a good underſtanding between the two empires; or, to ſay all in two words, peace or war between the two nations, I thought it my duty to ſeek before my departure, by every way poſſible, an opportunity of explaining myſelf thereupon with him; that he knew that the free paſſage of the caravans of Siberia was made, in ſome degree, an eſſential point in all the treaties between the two empires; that he knew, moreover, that Mr. de Iſmayloff had declared, more than once, that His Czariſh Majeſty could never allow that they ſhould any more cavil on that article; that he further knew, that the free trade of the ſubjects of Ruſſia, at Urga, was poſitively ſtipulated by the late treaty, in which they could not make the leaſt alteration, without a manifeſt violation of the ſaid treaty; that he knew, in fine, that it was with the agreement of the Bogdoi-Chan, and by virtue of a reſolution of the council, in writing, that I remained at Pekin, after the departure of Mr. de Iſmayloff, in quality of agent, impowered by the Court of Ruſſia, till ſuch time as His Czariſh Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to recal me. Notwithſtanding which, not regarding ſuch ſolemn engagements, they had, in regard to this laſt caravan, treated us ſo ill, that, if they had been at open war with Ruſſia, they could not have done worſe; that they had kept ſhut up, during many months, the commiſſary of the caravan, with all his people, juſt as if they had been ſlaves; that there was no kind of inſult to which they did not expoſe thoſe who had a deſire to come and trade with our people. And yet more, they had cauſed the Ruſs ſubjects to be ſhamefully driven out of Urga, who had come to trade there on the faith of public treaties. And as to what regards myſelf, they had made me ſuffer more affronts, on all occaſions that offered, than can be imagined; in the end, not yet ſatisfied with all thoſe ſteps, the preſident of the council had made it be declared to me poſitively, that there ſhould not abſolutely, for the future, any caravan be admitted before the affair of the frontiers ſhould be regulated to the ſatisfaction of the Bogdoi-Chan; and at the ſame time, cauſed it to be ſignified to me, that I muſt prepare to depart with the caravan, becauſe His Majeſty would not ſuffer me to remain any longer at his court, in the uncertainty that affairs ſtood in between the two empires. That, if this order regarded me only as a private perſon, there would be nothing in it which did not depend entirely on the pleaſure of the Bogdoi-Chan; but having been once admitted by him to reſide at his court, in quality of agent of His Czariſh Majeſty, it was a maxim, practiſed by all civilized nations in the world, not to ſend away, in a manner ſo indecent, a perſon veſted with a public character, unleſs entirely to break off all good underſtanding with his maſter. That, if they deſired very ardently, as they aſſerted on all occaſions, the reſtitution of the deſerters in queſtion, and an amicable convention in regard to the frontiers, he would permit me to tell him, that it appeared to me they took quite the wrong way to obtain them; and that the ſending me away, ſo far from facilitating thoſe affairs, was moſt certainly the greateſt obſtacle they could think of. That I thought it my duty to remonſtrate in the foregoing matters at this time that they might be remedied; becauſe, after my departure, I did not well ſee how it would be poſſible to get out of this embarraſſment by amicable means." The miniſter thereupon anſwered me, "That being already ſo long a time ſince the Ruſſes had given them the expectation of regulating the affairs of the frontiers, conform to the treaties concluded between the two empires, without their taking the leaſt thought of bringing things to a cloſe, His Majeſty had come to a reſolution not to admit any caravan before he ſhould be fully ſatisfied, on the part of Ruſſia, of their adherence to treaties; and as thereby my reſidence at his court became quite unneceſſary, His Majeſty ſaw nothing that ſhould oblige

oblige him to keep me longer in his empire. That in regard to what paſſed at Urga, the Tuſh-du-Chan had good reaſons for removing our people from his reſidence, who had committed great inſolences, noways conform to treaties. That as to what regarded the ill uſage which I pretended the caravan had ſuffered, he did not well know of what I ſpoke; but as to their being kept ſhut up a longer time than ordinary, it was our own fault, who would have made innovations in the trade of the caravans. In fine, in one word, that His Majeſty was tired of receiving the law, in his own country, from foreigners, of whom his ſubjects reaped no profit; and that if the court of Ruſſia delayed longer doing him juſtice, he ſhould be obliged to do it himſelf, by ſuch ways as he ſhould find moſt convenient." Upon which I replied, "That I was much ſurpriſed to find the Bogdoi-Chan in a diſpoſition ſo little favourable towards His Czariſh Majeſty, after he had the goodneſs to teſtify himſelf, on more than one occaſion, to Mr. de Iſmayloff, that he deſired nothing more than always to live in a good underſtanding with the Czar, my maſter; and that I could not conceive what cauſed his change of ſentiments ſo ſuddenly, with regard to His Czariſh Majeſty. That if the court of China had reſtitutions to demand from us, we had the like to expect from them; and that, in any ſhape, there was no reaſon that could in juſtice oblige us to reſtore their deſerters, ſo long as they retained ours. That if the indulgence of the Czar, my maſter, in the affair of Albazin*, had raiſed raſh hopes in any perſons, who are ill informed of the forces of Ruſſia, and of the Monarch who reigns over them, I was perſuaded, that a Monarch ſo enlightened, as was the Bogdoi-Chan, would not ſuffer himſelf to be blinded by ſuch deluſive appearances; and that he knew full well how to diſtinguiſh an indulgence, ariſing from magnanimity and eſteem for a prince, his friend and ally, from a forced compliance, grounded on weakneſs and indolence. That as I had, in my inſtructions, orders to apply my utmoſt endeavours for the preſervation of the good underſtanding between the two empires, I thought I might tell him, that I was exceedingly ſurpriſed at the proceedings of the Chineſe miniſtry on this occaſion; that he could not be ignorant that it depended only on His Czariſh Majeſty to finiſh the war with Sweden, in the moſt honourable manner; and that perhaps this peace was actually made at the time I was ſpeaking to him; after which, I ſaw nothing that could prevent the Czar, my maſter, from turning his arms to this ſide, in caſe they exerciſed his patience too much. That I gave him my word, that all the great difficulties which perhaps might be imagined in China to attend ſuch an enterpriſe, would vaniſh immediately, if ever His Czariſh Majeſty ſhould reſolve on tranſporting himſelf to the frontiers; for he was a prince that did not ſuffer himſelf to be hindered by difficulties; and that they might then have ſufficient cauſe to repent their having deſpiſed the friendſhip of a Monarch who was not accuſtomed to receive offences with impunity, and who was inferior to no Monarch in the world, neither in grandeur nor power." This was not at all to the allegada's taſte; therefore, after ſome ſilence, he demanded of me, "If I was authoriſed to talk to him in the manner I did? and if I was not apprehenſive of being diſavowed by the court of Ruſſia, in caſe they ſhould make complaint upon the menaces I uſed to them?" I thereupon replied to him, "That, in the ſtate to which I ſaw affairs were brought, I thought it neceſſary not to diſguiſe any thing to him, to the end that the Bogdoi-Chan, faithfully informed by him, of all he had to conſider for and againſt this affair, might thereby determine with himſelf thereupon, in a manner

* Albazin was a little town of about 500 or 600 houſes, which the Ruſſes had built in a very fertile country, upon the ſouth ſide of the River Amoor, near the mouth of the river Albazin. But at the end of the year 1715, the Eaſtern Mongalls, ſupported by the Chineſe, beſieged it, and having carried it after a ſiege of two years, raſed it to the ground.

ſuitable

ſuitable to his great wiſdom and juſtice. That nevertheleſs, it was wrong to take what I had ſaid on this occaſion for menaces, ſeeing they were only mere reflections, which I was deſirous he ſhould make on the unhappy conſequences which the diſdainful conduct they ſhowed, in regard to us, might in time produce; and that I was ſo little apprehenſive of being diſavowed by the Court of Ruſſia, that I was ready to give him in writing every word I had ſaid to him, and that it would be the greateſt ſervice he could render me to ſpeak out of hand concerning it to the Bogdoi-Chan, the more as I was well aſſured, that if they would give the leaſt attention to the irregular manner in which they had acted in this affair, with a friendly and allied power, they would not fail of comprehending that my intentions were ſincere, and only had for its aim the preſervation of the harmony between the two empires." The anſwer of the miniſter to this was, "That it being His Majeſty's cuſtom never to make any reſolution, without firſt well weighing all circumſtances, he never changed his meaſures for any reaſon whatſoever; and after what he had declared poſitively, in regard to the caravan and my perſon, he had no inclination to propoſe to him a change of ſentiment in this regard. That we had nothing to do but to make a beginning in complying with our engagements, after which they would ſee what they had to do as to the reſt." Upon which I concluded, by telling him, "That the caſe being ſo, I ſaw plainly, that it was in vain, on our ſide, to uſe more endeavours for preſerving the good underſtanding between the two empires, as long as they would contribute nothing towards it on their ſide; that, therefore, the game muſt go on, ſeeing the dice was thrown already. That, however, I had at leaſt the ſatisfaction of having done my duty in advertiſing him, as firſt miniſter of the Bogdoi-Chan, of the unhappy conſequences which would enſue from all this; and that was the ſole reaſon which made me think it abſolutely neceſſary for me to give him the trouble of this viſit." After which I roſe up and took leave of him. On parting, he re-conducted me to the entrance of the ſaloon, where he ſtaid till I was mounted on horſeback.

The ſame day I was likewiſe to take leave of the poyamba, or great marſhal of the court; and after having returned him thanks, which were truly due to him, for all the goodneſs which he had ſhewed to me ever ſince I had the honour of being known to him, I profited myſelf of the preſent opportunity to repreſent ſuccinctly to him the ſame things which I had repreſented to the allegada. He thereupon aſſured me, "That he was ſorry to ſee that the ſucceſs of my negotiations did not anſwer my wiſhes. That it was true that the Bogdoi-Chan was very much piqued that he ſaw there was no end made to the affair of the deſerters; and that he had certain advice that our court had no deſire to ſatisfy him on this article, and that we only ſought to protract time: that it was on theſe conſiderations that he had been prevailed on by the miniſtry to order my return. That for his part, he was aſtoniſhed to ſee that our court could heſitate a moment to ſacrifice ſome hundreds of families, who were in the utmoſt poverty, to the ſolid advantages which we might promiſe ourſelves from the friendſhip which the Bogdoi-Chan had conceived for the perſon of the Czar my maſter; and he made no manner of doubt, but that, if the Czar had been well informed of the juſtice of the pretenſions of the court of China, and the little importance of that affair, he would inſtantly have given orders for reſtoring the families reclaimed." I would have had him conſider the diſtance of the places, and that it was in a manner impoſſible that an anſwer could have arrived from St. Peterſburg on this affair, ſince the departure of Mr. de Iſmayloff. But he ſtopped my mouth by telling me, "That he could not ſay preciſely what the diſtance was, but he knew very well that, on other occaſions, our couriers had made the journey in much leſs time. That he adviſed me to do my beſt in this affair when I ſhould

arrive on the frontiers, and that he could aſſure me, that when the Bogdoi-Chan was made eaſy on this point, he would explain himſelf very reaſonably on all the reſt of what we ſhould wiſh to have done; that however, as to myſelf, I had cauſe to be well ſatisfied with the ſentiments the court entertained of me, and that His Majeſty had himſelf declared, that, in caſe affairs ſhould come to be accommodated, he would not be ſorry to ſee me return to Pekin."

The 16th, I went to pay my court to the Bogdoi-Chan, upon his departure from Pekin to paſs the ſummer at Jegcholl, but had not the honour of ſpeaking to him at this time; His Majeſty letting me know by the maſter of the ceremonies, "That he recommended the ſame thing to me which he had charged Mr. de Iſmayloff with, to tell His Czariſh Majeſty*. That for the reſt, he wiſhed me a good journey; and expected that I would not fail to write from the frontiers, in caſe I ſhould there be informed of any news from Europe."

A little before I received the meſſage from His Majeſty, I had an interview with the allegamba, who, after an infinite deal of careſſing and flattery, begged of me to labour, as much as poſſible, to forward the returning their deſerters; at the ſame time adding, "That the Bogdoi-Chan had great reliance on me in regard to this affair; in expectation that, according to all appearances, I would not be backward to return ſoon to China, either on the ſubject in queſtion, or on the ſubject of commerce." I aſſured him thereupon, "That His Czariſh Majeſty, having ſubjects in abundance, had at no time the leaſt temptation to keep the vaſſals of neighbouring powers unjuſtly." And I promiſed, at the ſame time, to write to him, if, at my arrival on the frontiers, I ſhould learn that any reſolution was taken on this affair. Afterwards I demanded of him, "For what reaſon they refuſed conveyance of the letters which were on the frontiers? At the ſame time, I led him to imagine ſome appearance that thoſe letters bore ſomething relating to their affair." Whereupon he anſwered me, "That if it was poſſible to believe it to be ſo, he would not make the leaſt difficulty of inſtantly ordering the letters to be brought hither; but that, if they contained orders for the rendering back their deſerters, they would not have failed to communicate the ſame to the mandarin, who kept himſelf at Selinginſky purely on that affair."

At length, not ſeeing any appearance of being able to prolong my ſtay at Pekin till the recal of His Czariſh Majeſty, I preſſed the commiſſary to neglect nothing that might facilitate his departure as ſoon as poſſible; and thereupon he diſpatched beforehand,

On the 25th, a part of his baggage for Kraſnagora, which is a place, a day's journey without the great wall, appointed for the rendezvous of all the caravans. On this occaſion they did not give a guard of Chineſe ſoldiers to the caravan as had been formerly practiſed; but they had ordered all the towns where they ſhould ſtop to give them guards; beſides which, there was a bonſka or courier, of the council of the affairs of the Mongalls, ordered to attend the baggage, who was not to leave them without a new order.

* When Mr. de Iſmayloff had his audience of leave of the late Emperor of China, this Monarch declared expreſsly that he would permit Mr. de Lange to remain at Pekin in quality of agent of the court of Ruſſia, expecting that Mr. de Iſmayloff would on his return, prevail with His Czariſh Majeſty to ſend back the deſerted families in queſtion; but in caſe that ſhould not be effected inſtantly, he would not only ſend away the ſaid agent, but would receive no more caravans, till he ſhould be entirely ſatisfied on this article. But Mr. de Iſmayloff, on his arrival at Moſcow, found the court ſo buſily employed about the expedition to Perſia, that he found no opportunity of getting a final reſolution on this affair.

June

June 6th, a mandarin, namad Tuluſhin, let me know that, having received orders from the Bogdoi-Chan to accompany me to Selinginſky, and to furniſh proviſions and poſt-horſes on the road, he would be glad to be informed when I thought I ſhould be ready to depart, that he might take his meaſures accordingly, and diſpatch, in good time, the couriers neceſſary for the deſerts, to make the requiſite diſpoſitions for my paſſage.

The 8th, the commiſſary went to the council, to demand a guard for the caravan; but they granted none; acquainting him, at the ſame time, that the Mandarin Tuluſhin was alſo charged with the care of the caravan; and that as he would be obliged frequently to leave the route of the caravan, for providing victuals and horſes which I ſhould have occaſion for on my journey, he was to have with him a clerk and two couriers under his command, who were not to leave the caravan before they ſhould ſafely arrive at Selinginſky.

The ſame day, thirty-ſix carriages were diſpatched, laden with merchandiſe, for the place of rendezvous, without any other eſcort than ſome of our own people, and a courier of the council.

The 16th, the allegamba invited me to come to him at the palace of the Bogdoi-Chan; and, when I arrived, he preſented me with two pieces of damaſk on the part of the Chan; telling me, "That His Majeſty having received preſents from me on the entrance of the new year, he was pleaſed, in his turn, to make me a preſent of theſe two pieces of damaſk." I received this preſent with all due reſpect; aſſuring this miniſter that I ſhould eternally cheriſh the remembrance of all the gracious favours which the Bogdoi-Chan had deigned to honour me with during my reſidence in his empire; and that, in whatever place I ſhould be in time to come, I would never fail of making it a ſubject of particular glory to me.

July 4th, the allegamba ſent a mandarin to me, to ſhew me a letter, which he had very lately received from the mandarin who reſided at Selinginſky, in which he made heavy complaints of the chicaneries that he was forced to bear with, during his reſidence in that place, as well as from the officers of His Czariſh Majeſty, as the other inhabitants of that city; adding, "That every body demanded of him perpetually the reaſon why he tarried there ſo long, and if he did not intend ſoon to return home? That thereupon having demanded of them, if they had come to any reſolution on the affair which was the cauſe of his being there, they had anſwered him, that they had no other orders but to conduct him back, with all civility, when he ſhould think proper to return." He related, beſides, in this letter, "That the allowance they gave him, for the ſubſiſtence of himſelf and retinue, was ſo very ſcanty, that, if he had not had of his own money wherewithal to ſupply himſelf, he ſhould have been reduced to great extremities. They had, beſides, preſſed him very hard on the ſubject of the letters, for the council and for me, that were arrived on the frontiers; and they would, by force, know of him the reaſon why he refuſed to receive the letters, and to forward them to Pekin; but that he had always anſwered them, that his ſole errand to Selinginſky being on the affair of the deſerters, he could not charge himſelf either with letters or any other affair whatſoever." After the mandarin had explained to me the contents of this letter, he told me that the allegamba demanded to know of me, "Whether it was poſſible that all this could be done by order of His Czariſh Majeſty?" I let him know, in anſwer, "That, if he had formed ideas of the perſon of the Czar my maſter, by thoſe paſſages, he would do well entirely to efface them; for that, as His Czariſh Majeſty was more magnanimous than to treat, in the manner there laid down, even priſoners

of war in his dominions, he would certainly not begin ſo bad a practice with the ſubjects of an empire in amity with him, who came into his country." I added, that, notwithſtanding I had reaſon to complain of things of more conſequence than this mandarin, I was nevertheleſs ſo far from approving the want of complaiſance uſed towards him, that, if the Allegamba thought fit to give me a copy of that letter, I was ready to take charge of it, and to make it my buſineſs that the Czar my maſter ſhould be acquainted with it. But, with regard to the orders which this mandarin hinted he was charged with, not to receive any letters, though even for the council itſelf, before he ſhould receive the deſerters in queſtion, I could not help obſerving that ſuch a procedure beſpoke much coolneſs on their ſide.

The 8th, the Allegamba ſent to me, in the evening, a mandarin, who told me, after making me a compliment from him, that he would be the next day at the council; and that, if I had time to come there likewiſe, he would explain the reaſons which determined the court to reſolve on my return; and that he would give me the ſame in writing. Upon which I told him, I ſhould come there with great pleaſure, that I might be informed of them.

The 9th, having notice that the Allegamba was already arrived at the council, I forthwith mounted on horſeback to go there alſo. He came in perſon to receive me at the door, and deſired me to place myſelf at a little table with him. After which he gave me to underſtand, "That it were to be wiſhed that my reſidence at that court might continue longer, as the Bogdoi-Chan himſelf, and all the miniſtry in general, were ſo well ſatisfied with the conduct I had obſerved during my reſidence, that they had nothing to ſay againſt my perſon; that they had remarked, with much ſatisfaction, that, by the good order I had kept, the preſent caravan had begun and finiſhed its commerce, without producing the leaſt diſpute between the merchants of the two nations *. It had alſo formerly been too uſual to ſee the ſervants and people of the caravan do numberleſs inſolencies in the ſtreets, and commit all ſorts of exceſſes, but that, for this time, they could not without ſurpriſe obſerve that nothing of this ſort had appeared; but that every thing paſſed with all deſirable decency †."

After I had paid this compliment by another, I told him, "That it was with intention of maintaining the like good order that His Czariſh Majeſty ſent me to China; and that it would be owing to themſelves, if things, for the future, ſhould not be carried on in the ſame order, and if any other petty incidents did not come to an accommodation with the like eaſe." After which, I prayed him to let me know the true ſource of the diſorders which happened at Urga, between th ſubjects of the Czar, my maſter, and the Mongalls; and "wherefore they obliged the Ruſſia merchants to leave that place before they had finiſhed their trade." He anſwered me thereupon, "That it was done

* The Chineſe uſually bought, from the caravan, goods on credit, for which, at the time when due, they could not pay; which occaſioned very frequent diſputes between the two nations. To remedy this, the court of Pekin had been accuſtomed to put into the hands of the commiſſary, at his departure, all thoſe who could not pay what they were indebted to the caravan, in order that he might compel them to pay as they beſt could. In which caſes, the commiſſaries had frequently committed great abuſes, and treated the poor Chineſe, whom they had in their cuſtody, in the moſt barbarous manner; which very much diſguſted the people of Pekin, and rendered them very averſe to trading with the Ruſſian caravans.

† The exceſſes committed by thoſe of the caravan had been but too frequent till this time; and the commiſſaries, in place of redreſſing thoſe diſorders, had been very often themſelves the authors of them, without giving themſelves the trouble of making the leaſt ſatisfaction for them to the Chineſe, notwithſtanding the great complaints to the Ruſſian miniſters thereupon on many occaſions. In all appearance, what contributed principally to the good order obſerved by the Ruſs-ſervants of this caravan, was their not getting brandy at free coſt, as they did when the Chineſe furniſhed the ſubſiſtence for the caravan.

by orders of the Tuſh-du-Chan and his council, as ſupreme judges in their country." Upon which I demanded of him, "Whether the Tuſh-du-Chan was a ſovereign prince of the Mongalls, or a ſubject of the Emperor of China?" He replied, "That in truth, the Chan was a vaſſal of the Bogdoi-Chan's; but that did not hinder his being maſter in his own country *." I then prayed him to tell me, "Whether the Tuſh-du-Chan was obliged to conform himſelf to the engagement ſtipulated by treaty between the two empires, to the end, that I might know if we ought to addreſs the court at Pekin, on the ſubject of ſatisfaction we had to demand on that affair? Or were to take it of the Tuſh-du-Chan? As it was not to be expected that affair would be let paſs without an exact inquiry. That, for my part, I thought the beſt means of terminating that affair amicably, was, that they ſhould order the mandarin, who was to accompany me on the journey, to go with me to Urga, in our way to Selinginſky; to the end, that after having full information of this affair, I might be able to ſend a circumſtantial account of it to our miniſtry." But he anſwered me thereupon in theſe terms; "With us no judge, who hath given a juſt ſentence, can be made reſponſible for his judgment, was he no more than a mere clerk. Your people who were at Urga have affronted the lamas, as well by words as deeds; and they have, moreover, attempted to carry off ſome Mongall families from thoſe quarters. It is for this reaſon that the Tuſh-du-Chan was in the right to remove them from his territories." I anſwered him thereupon, "That this judge ought moſt certainly to render account of his judgment, becauſe he had judged people who were no manner of way under his juriſdiction. But he would have acted with juſtice if, after having ſent the culpable to Selinginſky, he had proſecuted for ſatisfaction at that place. Whereas, now that he hath puniſhed the innocent equally with the guilty, and hath infringed the treaty of peace in ſo eſſential an article, his judgment cannot be regarded but as a manifeſt act of violence." The Allegamba, finding me inſiſt ſo ſtrenuouſly for an inquiry into this affair, ſmiling, told me, "Mr. Agent, you do well to make ſo much work about this affair; but I do not know how to explain myſelf more preciſely upon it at preſent; all that I can ſay to you is, that all of it will be eaſily accommodated when we ſhall receive a ſatisfactory anſwer upon the affair of our deſerters." After which, he preſented me with a writing, which he ſaid had been drawn up by order of the Bogdoi-Chan, to ſerve for my information regarding the reaſons of my being ſent away. Upon which, we again entered into diſpute together; but as theſe gentlemen, on theſe occaſions, hold themſelves ſtrictly tied down to a ſingle word, whether eſſential to the affair they are upon or not, it was impoſſible for me to draw from him any other anſwer than that they had not deſigned to grant my remaining at Pekin longer than the time of the preſent caravan; and that, when the affair of the frontiers ſhould be accommodated, they would not be wanting to give a definitive reſolution, as well upon this article as upon the other propoſitions which Mr. de Iſmayloff had made to the court. He afterwards preſented to me a letter, ſaying it was written by order of the Bogdoi-Chan, to Prince Cherkaſky, Governor-general of Siberia †;

* Though the Chan of the weſtern Mongalls is tributary to the Chineſe, they have nevertheleſs a great regard for him at the court of China; the more as he is a very powerful prince; and that, in caſe of a revolt in China, it is from him that the preſent Imperial Houſe is to expect the greateſt aſſiſtance; his ſubjects being beyond compariſon much better ſoldiers than the Mongall Chineſe; inſomuch, that if they ſhould be diſobliged, and ſhould join themſelves to the Kalmucks, or to the Ruſſes, nothing could prevent his entrance into China when he pleaſed, and probably bring about another revolution.

† The Prince Cherkaſky, Governor general of Siberia, was recalled by the court of Ruſſia, in the year 1772, upon his own ſolicitations; and they afterwards ſent thither a perſon in quality of Vice-governor, who remains there ſtill.

but

but I having refuſed to receive the ſaid letter, it diſpleaſed him a little, and made him ſay, "That it was hardly civil in me to refuſe a letter, which the Emperor his maſter had ordered to be written, and to be put into my hands." I anſwered thereupon, "That I would not chuſe to do what I did on this occaſion, if the letters which the ſaid Prince Cherkaſky, in quality of Governor-general of Siberia, had written to the council, were not likewiſe written by order of the Czar my maſter. That he could give this letter to the mandarin, who was to accompany me to Selinginſky, with orders to receive the letters for the court which were lying there; and that being done, I ſhould not then make the leaſt difficulty to receive the ſaid letter." He declared to me afterwards, that it was the pleaſure of the Bogdoi-Chan that I ſhould take Jegcholl in my way, to have my audience of leave of His Majeſty. And again reſuming the article of the letter from the court for the Prince Cherkaſky, he told me, "That what I had done on this occaſion was not altogether ſo right; ſeeing it was not allowed to any perſon, when in China, to oppoſe themſelves to the will of the Emperor." Upon which I anſwered him, "That I was perſuaded His Majeſty would put a different conſtruction on this affair, from what he did." But that I wiſhed in my turn to know from him, "Upon what he grounded his ſuſpicions, when he refuſed us, the laſt ſpring, the paſſage to the deſerts for ſome of our people, whom we would have ſent with money to provide ſubſiſtence for our horſes; and that under the pretext, that by ſuch expeditions ſecret correſpondence might be carried on, which might produce miſunderſtandings between the two empires." Thereupon he ſaid, "That in reality he had no ſuch ſuſpicions; but that he would willingly prevent the diſorders which might have happened on the journey of theſe people; ſeeing, that if they had been robbed, or aſſaſſinated on the road, we would not have failed to demand ſatisfaction from the court." Thereupon I put him in mind, "That he was now brought to explain himſelf; that it was not to hinder ſecret correſpondence that he refuſed us paſſage, and that he might very well have ſpared himſelf that uſeleſs precaution, as to what regarded us, which had cauſed an expence of ſome thouſands of laen, for not being able to put our horſes into ſtables, to which purpoſe the money we wanted to ſend to the deſerts was appropriated; and had occaſioned the death of a great many horſes; and even thoſe that ſurvived were in ſuch a miſerable condition, that they were by no means capable of ſerving in the waggons; which obliged our commiſſary to tranſport the greateſt part of his baggage to Selinginſky by carriages hired at Pekin, which could not be done but at a very conſiderable charge." This anſwer made him a little thoughtful; but at length he replied to me, "That he did not ſay ſo; but, be it ſo or not, we muſt now part good friends; to which end he prayed me to have no ill-will towards him upon account of the liberty he had taken to trifle and to jeſt with me on the ſubject of the letter from Turſoff; that he could aſſure me he had no ill intention on that occaſion; and hoped that I would be ſatisfied with this explanation, and not think otherwiſe of that affair in time to come, than as a piece of innocent raillery." To which I anſwered him, "That as to what regarded myſelf in particular, he might depend that I ſhould abſolutely think no more of it; but, for the reſt, I could not do in it according to my own pleaſure." Whereupon he aſked me, if, at my return to Ruſſia, I ſhould be obliged to give a relation in writing to our miniſtry, of every thing that paſſed during my reſidence in China, in regard to my negociations; and having anſwered him yes; he ſaid to me, that in this caſe, I would do well not to inſert a number of trifling things which could anſwer no good end, but might embroil matters more; for that it was much better that a good underſtanding between the two empires ſhould continue,

than that differences between them ſhould be widened. I replied thereupon, that, not having been ſent to the court of Pekin as an inſtrument for creating miſunderſtandings, I would make it my buſineſs in my relation, not to touch upon any things but ſuch as were neceſſary for our court to be informed of. After which we both roſe up, and having mutually embraced, we took leave of each other, reciprocally wiſhing to meet ſoon again.

The 12th, the commiſſary having left Pekin, with all the reſt of the caravan, I likewiſe departed for Jegcholl, where I arrived on the 15th; and having forthwith made known my arrival to the Chamberlain of the Chan, he let me know he would inſtantly inform His Majeſty; and, till he ſhould receive his orders for appointing the day of my audience, the intendant of His Majeſty's kitchen would take care that my table ſhould be furniſhed with every thing I might have occaſion for.

The 17th, I had my audience of leave of the Bogdoi-Chan, with the ceremonies uſual at this court.

The 18th, I left Jegcholl, and met the caravan the 24th; which being ſtill within the Great Wall, I paſſed it the 26th, with the caravan, which I left on the 28th, near Kraſna-gora in the deſerts. And, on the 26th of Auguſt 1722, I arrived at Selinginſky, after having reſided near ſeventeen months at the court of China.

A SUCCINCT RELATION OF MY JOURNEY TO DERBENT IN PERSIA, WITH THE ARMY OF RUSSIA, COMMANDED BY HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY PETER THE FIRST, IN THE YEAR 1722.

UPON my return with the embaſſy from Pekin, as hath been formerly mentioned, I found His Imperial Majeſty, all the court, the general officers, and the nobility and gentry, from all the empire, aſſembled at Moſco; and great preparations making at that city, for the celebration of the feſtivals, appointed to be ſolemnized there, on account of the peace, concluded at Aland in 1721, between Ruſſia and Sweden, after a war which had laſted more than twenty years.

Theſe feſtivals were accompanied with maſquerades, grand fireworks, balls, aſſemblies, &c. the detail of which, though it would ſwell this work to too large a bulk, yet I think it will not be unacceptable to the reader, briefly to relate one part of it, I mean the magnificent ſhows exhibited on this occaſion; which I am induced to by the conſideration, which at that time ſtruck me, of Peter the Great his having always in view, even in his amuſements and times of diverſion, all poſſible means of influencing his people to a liking of whatever tended to promote the good of his empire.

The Ruſſians, in general, had a ſtrong averſion to ſhipping and maritime affairs. In order to apprize them of the great advantages ariſing from a marine force, in his triumphant entry into Moſco, he repreſented to his people that the peace, the rejoicings for which were now celebrating, was obtained by means of his naval ſtrength.

The triumphant entry was made from a village, about ſeven miles from Moſco, called Seſwedſky.

The firſt of the cavalcade was a galley, finely carved and gilt, in which the rowers plied their oars as on the water. The galley was commanded by the High Admiral of Ruſſia. Then came a frigate, of ſixteen ſmall braſs guns, with three maſts, completely rigged, manned with twelve or fourteen youths, habited like Dutch ſkippers, in black velvet, who trimmed the ſails, and performed all the manœuvres as of a ſhip at ſea. Then came moſt richly decorated barges, wherein ſat the Empreſs and the ladies of the court. There were alſo pilot-boats, heaving the lead, and above thirty other veſſels, pinnaces, wherries, &c. each filled with maſqueraders in the dreſſes of different nations. It was in the month of February, at which time all the ground was covered with ſnow, and all the rivers frozen. All theſe machines were placed on ſledges, and were drawn by horſes through all the principal ſtreets of Moſco. The ſhip required above forty horſes to draw it. In order to its paſſing under the gates, the top-maſts were ſtruck, and, when paſſed, ſet up again; beſides which, the gate-way was dug as low as was neceſſary for admitting it to paſs.

Theſe feſtivals being ended, His Imperial Majeſty prepared to undertake an expedition into Perſia, at the earneſt requeſt of Shach Huſſein, the Sophy of Perſia, in order to aſſiſt that prince againſt the Affghans, his rebellious ſubjects, who, under the conduct, firſt, of Myrvais, afterwards, of Myr Mahmut, had not only ſeized upon the city and ſtrong fortreſs Chandahar, but alſo had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral provinces on the frontiers towards India, making frequent incurſions towards the capital of Iſpahan. As I had formerly been at the court of Perſia, I was engaged by my friend Dr. Blumentroſt, His Majeſty's chief phyſician, to accompany him in that expedition.

Accordingly, about the beginning of May 1722, all things neceſſary being in readineſs, the troops embarked at Moſco, on board of half gallies, built for that purpoſe, and fell down

down the river to Kolumna; near which town the Moſco river falls into the Oka, about ninety verſts from the city of Moſco. Kolumna was the place of rendezvous, and where the troops waited till the arrival of His Imperial Majeſty and the Empreſs his conſort, who accompanied him in this expedition.

May 13th, their Majeſties, and all thoſe of the court who were appointed to attend them in this expedition, ſet out from Moſco by land, and arrived the next day at Kolumna.

The 15th, His Majeſty employed himſelf in reviewing the troops, in inſpecting the condition of the fleet, and in giving the neceſſary orders. The fleet conſiſted of about three hundred ſail of veſſels, of all ſorts, on board of which were about fifteen thouſand regular troops, including half the guards.

The 16th, in the evening, His Majeſty and the Empreſs, attended by a few ladies, went on board a magnificent galley, of forty oars, with all proper accommodations, built on purpoſe for the voyage.

The 17th, at break of day, the ſignal was given, by firing three great guns from His Majeſty's galley, for the fleet to get under ſail. The galley led the way, and all the reſt of the fleet followed in a line. His Majeſty's galley carried the ſtandard of Ruſſia, the other veſſels their enſigns diſplayed, with drums beating, and muſic playing, which altogether made an appearance, perhaps not to be equalled in any other country. In about an hour's time, we came into the river Oka, where the veſſels had more room to ſpread.

Having, in my former journey to Perſia, mentioned the ſeveral places from hence to Aſtracan, I need not repeat them here.

I have formerly noted, that, at this ſeaſon of the year, the rivers of theſe parts may, in ſome meaſure, be compared to the Nile; for, from the melting of the ſnow, they overflow all the flat gounds adjacent to a very great diſtance.

The 21ſt, ſome of our people going aſhore, to take leave of their friends, did not return on board till late in the evening, which cauſed our being at ſome diſtance behind the fleet; upon which we uſed our beſt efforts to regain our ſtation: but, in the night, our pilot falling aſleep, the bark drove out of the channel of the river into a wood. I, being in the cabin, heard a great noiſe upon deck, not unuſual on ſuch occaſions: at laſt I perceived the veſſel to ſtrike againſt ſomething, when, coming upon deck, I was not a little ſurpriſed to ſee the people climbing up trees; for the bark was jambed in between two birch-trees of very large ſize. All our endeavours could neither move her backwards nor forwards, until we got people from a neighbouring village, by whoſe aſſiſtance we got her warped off with little damage; which being repaired, we proceeded again on our voyage.

The 25th, we came up with the fleet at the town Niſhna-Novogorod, where their Majeſties and all the court were moſt ſumptuouſly entertained at the houſe of Baron Strogonoff. We ſtaid here ſome days to take in proviſions and other neceſſaries.

The 30th, being His Majeſty's birth-day, the ſame was ſolemnized, in the uſual manner, by firing guns, &c.

The 31ſt, His Majeſty ſailed in his galley for Cazan, eſcorted by ſome of the ſmall gallies, leaving the reſt of the fleet under the command of the Lord High Admiral Apraxin.

June 5th, we left Niſhna-Novogorod, and, in fine calm weather, proceeded down the Volga.

The 8th, we arrived at the city of Cazan; the Emperor had left that place the preceding day.

The 9th, we again proceeded on our voyage.

The 20th, we arrived at the town of Saratoff. Nothing very material occurred by the way, in which we were ſometimes detained by ſtrong gales of ſoutherly winds, and by calms, during which we were incommoded by infinite numbers of muſkito-flies.

At this place we came up with the Emperor, who had appointed an interview with the Ayuka-Chan, King of the Kalmucks. The Chan, for that purpoſe, had his tents pitched on the eaſt banks of the Volga, not far from the river.

Next day, His Majeſty invited the Ayuka-Chan and his Queen to dinner on board the galley; which, for the accommodation of the royal gueſts in getting on board, was brought as near the ſhore as poſſible, and a gallery made from the ſhore to the galley, for them to walk on.

The Ayuka-Chan came on horſeback, attended by two of the Princes his ſons, and eſcorted by a troop of about fifty of his officers and great men, all exceedingly well mounted. About twenty yards from the ſhore, the King alighted from his horſe, and was received by a privy-counſellor and an officer of the guards. When the Emperor ſaw him advancing, he went on ſhore, ſaluted him, and taking him by the hand, conducted him on board the galley, where he introduced him to the Empreſs, who was ſeated on the quarter-deck, under a very rich awning.

Soon after the Ayuka-Chan was got on board the galley, the Queen arrived on the ſhore, in a covered wheel-machine, attended by one of the Princeſſes, her daughter, and two ladies, who were alſo eſcorted by a troop of horſemen. When ſhe was alighted, the Emperor went on ſhore to receive her, and, conducting her on board, introduced her to the Empreſs.

The Ayuka-Chan is an old man about ſeventy years of age, yet is hearty and cheerful. He is a prince of great wiſdom, and prudent conduct; is much reſpected by all his neighbours for his ſincerity and plain dealing. And I recollect that, when I was at Pekin, the Emperor of China made very honourable mention of him. By his long experience, he is very well acquainted with the ſtate of affairs in the eaſt.

The Queen was about fifty years old, of a decent and cheerful deportment. The ladies, her attendants, were young. The Princeſs, in particular, hath a fine complexion; her hair a jet black, which was diſpoſed in treſſes round her ſhoulders; and ſhe was, in the eyes of the Kalmucks, a complete beauty. They were all richly dreſſed in long robes of Perſian brocade, with little round caps, on the upper part of their heads, bordered with ſable-fur, according to the faſhion of the country.

The Emperor intimated to the Ayuka-Chan, that he would be deſirous of ten thouſand of his troops to accompany him into Perſia. The King of the Kalmucks replied, that ten thouſand were at the Emperor's ſervice, but that he thought one half of that number would be more than ſufficient to anſwer all his purpoſes; and immediately gave orders for five thouſand to march directly, and join the Emperor at Terky.

Both the Emperor and Empreſs were highly pleaſed with their gueſts, and, in the evening, diſmiſſed them with ſuitable preſents. The Empreſs gave the Queen a gold repeating-watch, ſet with diamonds, which ſeemed very much to take her fancy, beſides ſome pieces of brocade, and other ſilks of value.

It is well worth remarking, that this treaty between two mighty monarchs was begun, carried on, and concluded, in leſs ſpace of time than is uſually employed, by the plenipotentiaries of our weſtern European monarchs, in taking a dinner.

The 22d, we left Saratoff, and ſailed down the river Volga with a fair wind.

The 23d, in the evening, we came to the town of Kamoſhinka, where we remained till the next morning.

The

The 28th, we came to the town of Zaritzina; and the 30th, to another town called Tzorno-yarr.

July 4th, we arrived at the city of Aſtrachan. Little remarkable occurred during the voyage. We were ſometimes detained by contrary winds; and for the moſt part of the way, were much incommoded by muſkitoes, which plagued us much in the day-time, and interrupted our reſt during the night.

The 5th, the weather being exceſſive hot, the Emperor quitted his houſe in the city, and went to lodge in one of the adjacent vineyards.

The 6th, the dragoons, whom we found encamped on the weſt bank of the Volga, to the number of five thouſand, were ordered to march directly to Terky, there to wait the Emperor's arrival.

The 8th, the Lord High Admiral Apraxin arrived with the fleet and troops on board. The next day the troops encamped on one of the iſlands in the neighbourhood.

During our ſtay at Aſtrachan, nothing of moment occurred.

The 16th, all the neceſſary preparations being completed, the troops re-embarked, and lay on board that night.

The 17th, the Emperor, Empreſs, and all the court, went on board; and the wind being fair, ſailed down the river; drums beating, and muſic playing. The fleet was in ſeveral diviſions, under their reſpective chiefs; and being joined by a number of large tranſports, and other veſſels, made a very grand appearance, ſuch as had never been ſeen before in this part of the world, nor frequently in any other.

The 18th, the wind being contrary, we made but ſlow progreſs. In the evening it fell calm; all the ſhoals being covered with high reeds, contributed to increaſe the innumerable quantity of muſkitoes, with which we were intolerably peſtered.

The 19th, we got out of the river Volga into the Caſpian Sea. The wind being contrary, the heavy tranſports were warped out as far as poſſible, to get out of the reach of thoſe troubleſome inſects. At night we came to an anchor, in eight feet water, near a flat iſland called Tulney-Lapata.

The 20th, we continued warping out the whole day. At night, we came to an anchor, near the four ſandy hillocks called Tzateerey-Buggory.

The 21ſt, at break of day, the Admiral made ſignal for ſailing; the fleet got under ſail, and put out to ſea, with a fair wind.

The Emperor, accompanied with the half-gallies, on board which were the troops, ſteered to the weſt, cloſe under the ſhore. But I being on board one of the large ſhips, we kept the ſea, and ſteered a direct courſe for Terky. It is to be obſerved, that the Emperor and the gallies took their courſe to avoid being ſurpriſed with a gale of wind at ſea, which might have been attended with bad conſequences.

The 22d, we came into ſalt water, four fathoms deep, out of ſight of land, and alſo of the gallies.

The 23d, we had calms, and eaſy breezes at north-weſt.

The 24th, in the evening, we came to an anchor in the road of Terky.

The 25th, the Emperor, and all the gallies arrived ſafe.

The 26th, the Emperor went aſhore; and having viſited the town and fortifications, returned on board in the evening.

The town of Terky is a frontier ſtrongly ſituated by nature, being encompaſſed by a deep marſhy ground, having only one entrance to it, on the land-ſide, which is well defended by batteries. It takes its name from a ſmall rivulet running by it, called Terk. It is governed by a commandant, and hath a garriſon of about one thouſand

men, of regular troops and coſſacks, and is at all times well ſtored with ammunition and proviſions. This place is of ſingular uſe for keeping the Tzercaſſian mountaineers in order, who are well known to be an unruly and reſtleſs people. I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak more of this nation. The ſame day, the Emperor ſent an officer to the Aldiggery, commonly called Shaffkall, to notify his arrival in theſe parts. The Shaffkall is a prince of conſiderable authority among the mountaineers, and a friend to the Ruſſians.

The 27th, the fleet weighed anchor, and ſailed, ſouth by eaſt, to the bay of Agrachan, ſo called from a river of that name. In the evening, we anchored in the bay, as near the ſhore as we judged convenient.

The 28th, the Imperial ſtandard was ſet up on the ſhore; all the troops landed and encamped. The ſame day, a coſſack arrived in the camp with diſpatches from General Veteranie, who commanded a body of dragoons, giving an account that, in his march, he was attacked by a ſtrong party of mountaineers, near the town called Andrea; that, after a ſmart diſpute, in which ſeveral of each ſide had been killed, and ſome wounded, he at laſt diſperſed them, and took poſſeſſion of the town. Theſe people having previouſly ſent all their families and effects to ſome diſtance in the mountains, it ſeems this raſh attempt of theſe mountaineers was premeditated; for the General demanded nothing but a free paſſage through the country, and engaged to leave them unmoleſted. The place itſelf is of no defence, though they had barricaded the ſtreets and avenues leading to it. The poor people felt to their coſt the effects of attacking regular troops, of which they had never ſeen any before. However, this was a certain proof of the boldneſs of theſe people. Several of them were brought priſoners to the camp; they were ſtrong able-bodied men, fit for any ſervice.

The Emperor, before he left Aſtrachan, had ſent manifeſtos to all the petty princes and chiefs of Daggeſtan, declaring, that he did not come to invade or make war againſt them; that he only deſired a free paſſage through their territories, and would pay ready money for what proviſions, or other neceſſaries, they might furniſh, and that to the full value; to which ſome of them agreed, others of them did not. Such is often the caſe with free independent ſtates, as are thoſe of the Daggeſtan.

The 29th and 30th were ſpent in landing the proviſions, artillery, &c.; after which the whole army and baggage were tranſported, on boats and rafts, to the eaſt bank of the river Agrachan. This proved a work of labour, there being no woods at hand to make a bridge, nor water enough, at the mouth of the river, to admit our half-gallies, which were deſigned for the bridge.

The army being tranſported over, and encamped on the other ſide of the river, the Emperor made a plan, and ordered a ſmall fortreſs to be raiſed; he named it Agrachan, from the river on which it was built. This place was intended to keep ſuch ſtores as we could not conveniently carry along with us, and as a place of retreat, in caſe of unforeſeen accidents.

Auguſt 2d, the chief named Aldiggery came to pay his reſpects to the Emperor, who gave him a gracious reception, as he did to ſeveral other chiefs, of leſs note, who came in a friendly manner. The Aldiggery was accompanied by a ſmall troop of his principal officers; moſt of them were handſome young fellows, very well mounted. After this chief had ſtaid ſome hours, and ſettled matters relating to the march, he took his leave.

In the mean time, the ſoldiers were employed in raiſing the works of the fortreſs; and ten thouſand coſſacks arrived from the river Don, all horſemen, under command of Kraſnotzokin and other chiefs; and alſo the five thouſand Kalmucks, ſent by the Ayuka-

Chan, according to agreement, as formerly mentioned. They were all well mounted, and had many ſpare horſes, which were of great uſe. They all encamped in the plain towards the mountains.

The troops being now all aſſembled, we only waited for the carriages which the Aldiggery had engaged to furniſh for the artillery and baggage.

During this interval, our great leader, the Emperor, was not idle, but daily on horſeback, reviewing the army, which was now increaſed to more than thirty thouſand combatants, including the Coſſacks and Kalmucks; a number ſufficient to have conquered all Perſia, had it been intended. Beſides the army which were then aſſembled, the Aldiggery made a tender to the Emperor of a conſiderable body of his troops, which the Emperor declined the acceptance of.

At length, about three hundred waggons arrived at the camp, drawn by two oxen each; but their harneſſing not being ſuch as we were uſed to, we were not a little embarraſſed in ſetting them a-going.

About the middle of Auguſt, the army was put in motion, and marched, in ſeveral columns, from Agrachan; leaving there a force ſufficient to complete the works, and garriſon the place. In the evening, we encamped at a brook of brackiſh and muddy water. This day our road lay about equal diſtance between the ſea and the Tzercaſſian mountains, commonly called Daggeſtan.

Next morning we decamped, marched along the valley towards the mountains, and at night, came to another brook of bad water, where was a little wood of oaks, and plenty of graſs, among which I obſerved great quantities of a certain herb, called Roman wormwood, which the hungry horſes devoured very greedily. Next day, we found about five hundred of our horſes dead in the wood and adjacent fields. In our preſent circumſtances this was no ſmall diſaſter. The cauſe was aſcribed to their eating the wormwood, which, perhaps, might be the caſe. We avoided, for the future, as much as poſſible, the encamping where large quantities of this plant grew.

Yet the dead horſes, having been in good caſe, were not entirely loſt, as our Kalmucks feaſted on them for ſeveral days. It is to be obſerved, that theſe people prefer horſe-fleſh to beef; and in all their expeditions, their baggage is very compendious, carrying no other proviſions than ſuch a number of ſpare horſes as they think they may want. I was often diverted in ſeeing theſe hardy people, round a fire, broiling and eating their horſe-ſteaks, without either bread or ſalt.

The loſs of ſo many horſes detained us ſome hours later than uſual; but, as both the water and graſs were bad, we decamped, and at night, came to a ſpacious plain oppoſite to the town of Tarku, where the Aldiggery reſides. Here we found freſh water and good paſturage.

This place is pleaſantly ſituated in a hollow between two high hills, riſing, like an amphitheatre, to within a ſmall diſtance of the top; having a full view of the Caſpian Sea. The Prince's houſe is the uppermoſt, and overlooks the whole town. It conſiſts of ſeveral apartments, with a ſpacious hall, after the Perſian manner, having a terrace and ſmall garden adjoining.

Next morning, the Aldiggery came and waited on their Majeſties, and invited them to dinner, which was accepted of.

Towards noon, the Princeſs, ſpouſe to the Aldiggery, came and paid her reſpects to the Empreſs, and gave Her Majeſty a formal invitation. This lady came in the equipage of the country, that is, in a covered waggon, drawn by a yoke of oxen, with a few footmen to attend her, and eſcorted by a ſmall party of horſe. The lady, though ſomething advanced in years, had ſtill the remains of an handſome perſon. She had

along with her, in the waggon, a young lady, her daughter, who was ſo pretty that ſhe would have been deemed a beauty in any part of Europe. When they entered the Empreſs's tent, Her Majeſty ſtood up to receive them; they then took off their veils, and behaved with great decency. They were richly dreſſed after the Perſian faſhion. After they had drank a diſh of coffee, they took leave, and returned to the town.

Soon after their departure, the Emperor and Empreſs went to the town to dine. The Emperor went on horſeback, the Empreſs in her coach, attended by ſome of the court ladies, and eſcorted by a battalion of the guards. The ſtreet was ſo narrow, and near the palace ſo ſteep, that the coach and ſix horſes could not proceed quite to the palace, which, when Her Majeſty perceived, ſhe alighted from the coach, and walked the reſt of the way on foot. The Emperor was much pleaſed with the romantic ſituation of the place. In the evening they returned to the camp.

Auguſt 22d, the army marched from Shaffkal. The day being exceeding hot, no water to be found on the road, together with a continued cloud of duſt, to that degree that we could ſcarcely know one another, made this day's march very diſagreeable and fatiguing to all, more eſpecially to the heavy armed troops and the cattle. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, the Emperor kept on horſeback the whole day, and took his ſhare of whatever happened. At night, we came to ſome wells of freſh water, where the army encamped; but there was hardly water enough for the people to drink, which obliged us to ſend the horſes and cattle to a brook at ſome diſtance, and a ſtrong party of Coſſacks to guard them, leſt the enemy ſhould attempt to carry them off.

The next day, we halted at the wells. The Emperor having received intelligence, that a certain chieftain of the mountaineers, named Uſſmey, was aſſembling ſome troops in order to haraſs us in our march, which lay through ſome hollow grounds; accordingly, towards noon, we perceived a number of horſe and foot, on the tops of the neighbouring hills, about three Engliſh miles diſtance from the camp; after they had reconnoitred our diſpoſition for ſome time, about one half of them, compoſed of horſe and foot, came down into the plain, with intent to drive off ſome of our cattle, which brought on a ſkirmiſh between our irregular troops and the mountaineers, wherein ſeveral were wounded, and ſome were killed on each ſide. Our people took many of their foot, and of ſuch as had been diſmounted, priſoners. During the action, our infantry kept cloſe in the camp. The Emperor rode out to the field; he ordered the dragoons to march, and ſupport the irregulars: on their advancing, the enemy ſoon diſperſed themſelves, and fled to the hills, where a conſiderable number had remained firm on the heights. The carrying off ſome cattle is ſuppoſed to have been their principal aim, as it would not have been leſs than downright madneſs in them to have expected to have gained any advantage by attacking ſuch an army of veteran troops, well provided and well conducted.

In the meantime, our dragoons and irregulars were in purſuit of the enemy, on the other ſide of the firſt ridge of hills, and quite out of ſight. The Emperor, being apprehenſive of an ambuſh, and of a large body of mountaineers being lodged on the other ſide of the hills, about three o'clock, afternoon, ordered the army to decamp, and march towards the mountains, which was performed in ſix columns. The Emperor had hourly intelligence of the proceedings of the dragoons and irregulars, who at length entirely diſperſed the enemy, and had taken poſſeſſion of the town where the Prince Uſſmey reſided. However, it being then too late to return to our former camp, the army encamped that night on a plain between the hills on the banks of a ſmall

rivulet, where we had but indifferent quarters, as there was no more time than to ſet up the Emperor's tent, and a few others.

The next day, the army decamped, and marched back to our former camp at the wells, leaving the dragoons and irregulars to manage the reſt of the buſineſs, who made the Daggeſtans, particularly the Uſſmey and his people, pay dear for their raſh attempt of endeavouring to interrupt the march of an army ſo far ſuperior to any force they could muſter. We ſtaid here two days, waiting for the return of our dragoons and irregulars.

The 27th, the troops being all re-aſſembled, the Emperor decamped, and marched again to the ſouth-eaſtward, towards Derbent, through a dry parched plain. At night, we came to a brook, near the foot of the hills, where we encamped, not having ſeen any enemy that day.

The 28th, we marched again, and paſſing a defile, or hollow way, with ſome difficulty and delay to the carriages, at night we came to wells of brackiſh water, where we ſet up our tents, at no great diſtance from the hills, the ſea being about a mile from us to the left hand.

The 29th, being within a ſhort march of the city of Derbent, the Emperor halted to give the troops time to put themſelves in order for an entry into the town, as it is the frontier belonging to the Shach of Perſia.

Near our camp, there are ſeveral pits flowing with that bituminous liquid called naphtha. The naphtha here is of a blackiſh colour, very inflammable; it is uſed by the Perſians to burn in their lamps, and not eaſily extinguiſhed by rain. But, as I have formerly ſpoken of this kind of petroleum, I do not enlarge on that ſubject here.

The 30th, the army ſet forwards, the Emperor being on horſeback at the head of his troops, which made a fine appearance. At the diſtance of about three Engliſh miles from Derbent, the governor of that place, attended by his officers of diſtinction, and the magiſtrates of the town, came in a body to wait on the Emperor, and to preſent him with the golden keys of the town and of the citadel, which they did on a cuſhion covered with very rich Perſian brocade; the governor and all his attendants kneeling during this ſhort ceremony. The Emperor received theſe gentlemen very graciouſly, and gave them ſignal marks of his favour. They accompanied him to the city, where, being arrived, the army halted ſome time; during which, guards were placed at the gates, and a garriſon in the citadel, under the command of Colonel Yunger, with a ſupply of cannon and ammunition, both which were wanting in the place.

The foregoing being completed, the Emperor at the head of his army, marched through the city, and encamped among the vineyards, about an Engliſh mile to the ſouth-eaſtward of the town, and about half a mile from the ſea-ſhore.

Soon after which the Emperor, accompanied by all the general officers, returned again to the city, and examined the condition of the fortifications. On this occaſion, the Perſian governor made His Majeſty an offer of his houſe, and quarters for as many of the troops as the place could accommodate; but to avoid putting the inhabitants to any inconveniency, or perhaps for other reaſons, the Emperor declined accepting the offer of lodging in the city, and at night, returned to his camp.

In this ſituation, we continued ſome days, and were making the needful preparations for advancing farther into the country, as ſoon as the tranſports with proviſions, ſtores, &c. from Aſtrachan, which were daily expected, ſhould arrive.

They did arrive in ſafety; but a moſt unfortunate accident happened; the night following, after their arrival, a violent ſtorm of wind, from the north-eaſt, drove the greateſt

greateſt part of them aſhore, where they were wrecked and daſhed to pieces; but, by good providence, not many lives were loſt.

This misfortune diſconcerted His Majeſty's meaſures, and put a ſtop to the farther progreſs of his arms for the preſent, having nothing before him but a country exhauſted of all neceſſaries; and the ſeaſon of the year being too far ſpent to wait a freſh ſupply from Aſtrachan, the Emperor determined to leave things in the ſame ſtate they then were in, and to return again to Aſtrachan, by the ſame way we came, leaving a garriſon at Derbent ſufficient to ſecure the advantages he had gained.

Before I leave Derbent, I ſhall endeavour to give a ſhort deſcription of the place. It is ſaid to have been firſt built and fortified, according to the ſtyle of the fortifications of that age, by Alexander the Great; though it is not eaſy to aſcertain that tradition, or the æra of its firſt conſtruction; yet, by variety of circumſtances, it appears to be very ancient.

The preſent citadel, walls, and gates, ſeem to be of European architecture, and no mean performance.

The citadel ſtands on the higheſt grounds of the city towards the land-ſide. The walls of the city are built of large blocks of ſquare ſtone; they reach into the ſea, beyond which many huge rocks are tumbled into the ſea, to prevent any approach, or paſſage on that ſide. The haven is now ſo choaked up with ſand, that there is hardly entry for a ſmall boat.

Derbent may be called the key to the Perſian empire on this ſide, and ſerves to keep the mountaineers, and other neighbours on that ſide in awe. The ſituation is very pleaſant, riſing gradually from the ſea to the top of the hill, commanding a very extenſive proſpect, eſpecially towards the ſouth-eaſt. About thirty miles due ſouth ſtands one of the higheſt mountains in Perſia, called Shach-Dagh, which is always covered with ſnow. To the eaſtward of the town are many large vineyards, producing plenty of grapes, of which they make a conſiderable quantity of both white and red wine, of ſtrength ſufficient to preſerve it round the year, and longer if required. The people of ſubſtance there keep their wine in jars, buried under ground, by which method it will keep good for years.

They have alſo fruitful plains in the neighbourhood, and at ſome diſtance, is a large foreſt of walnut trees, oaks, &c. As this place is a frontier of great importance, the Sophy of Perſia always appoints a perſon of diſtinction for its governor.

His Majeſty having placed a ſufficient garriſon in Derbent, which he left there under the command of Colonel Yunger, upon September the 18th, the whole army marched back through the town, keeping the ſame route by which we came. Little of moment occurred on our march, though we were almoſt daily alarmed by ſmall parties of the Daggeſtans, who frequently made their appearance on the tops of the hills, but fled always at the approach of our coſſacks. As we had ſeen no rain ſince our landing on this coaſt, our people ſuffered not a little from the great heats, continual clouds of duſt, and want of water.

On the 29th of September, after a moſt fatiguing march, their Majeſties and all the army arrived in ſafety at the fort of Agrachan, and found the fleet in the bay where we left them.

October the 1ſt, we began to ſhip off the baggage, and what artillery, &c. was not wanted at the fort of Agrachan; in which place the Emperor left a ſufficient garriſon.

I ſhall now endeavour to give the reader a ſhort view of the country commonly called Tzercaſſia, or Daggeſtan, by the inhabitants of country, from *dagh*, which ſignifies a mountain in their language. The country ſo called is ſituated between the

Euxine, or Black Sea, and the Caſpian Sea: theſe two ſeas confine it from N. W. to S. E. Southward it reaches to the province of Gurgiſtan, commonly called Georgia. It ſtretches northward into a part of the Stepp, or deſert, which lies between Aſ ph and Aſtrachan.

The country is divided into ſeveral free independent principalities, as Kaberda, Shaffkall, Uſſiney, and many others, under their reſpective chieftains, who are at firſt elected by the people; and though that office is ſometimes known to continue in the family of the perſon elected for ſeveral generations, yet it hath frequently happened, that, either through mal-adminiſtration, or in conſequence of wars among thoſe different ſtates, a chieftain with his family have been depoſed or baniſhed, and another appointed in his place. It hath alſo been known, that the Sophy of Perſia hath placed and diſplaced ſome of thoſe princes among the Daggeſtans who lie the moſt contiguous to Perſia. Both the Sophy and the Ottoman Porte lay claim to the ſovereignty of Daggeſtan; but of late years, theſe people, truſting to their own valour and the natural ſtrength of the country, pay little regard to either of theſe mighty monarchs, who ſometimes threaten them, at other times court their friendſhip.

The whole extent of the country is hilly, with ſome mountains of great heighth; yet, I am informed, they have fruitful vallies, producing corn, vines, and fruits, natural to the climate. Beſides a breed of excellent ſaddle-horſes, they have great ſtore of cattle, particularly of ſheep, which produce the fineſt wool I have ſeen in any part. Whether the famous golden fleece was the produce of theſe parts or not, I ſhall leave others to determine.

The men are, for the moſt part, well made and ſtout; many of them are employed in the ſervice of the Sophy, and frequently raiſed to high ſtations. The Etmadowlett, or prime miniſter, Aly-Begg, was a native of this country. As to their women, they are eſteemed to be the moſt beautiful of any in Aſia, as well for features and complexion as alſo for fine ſhape; on which account many of theſe poor girls are purchaſed at high rates, or ſtolen away, for the uſe of the ſeraglios at Iſpahan, Conſtantinople, and other eaſtern courts.

The religion of the Daggeſtans is generally Mahometan; ſome following the ſect of Oſman, others that of Haly. Some of thoſe people are Chriſtians of the Eaſtern or Greek Church. Their language, for the moſt part, is Turkiſh, or rather a dialect of the Arabic, though many of them ſpeak alſo the Perſian language.

One article I cannot omit concerning their laws of hoſpitality, which is, if their greateſt enemy comes under their roof for protection, the landlord, of what condition ſoever, is obliged to keep him ſafe from all manner of harm or violence, during his abode with him, and even to conduct him ſafely through his territories to a place of ſecurity. With which I conclude what I have to ſay of the Daggeſtans.

On the 5th of October, His Majeſty and the Empreſs went on board their galley, the fleet being ready, and all the troops embarked.

Before I quit Agrachan, I am deſirous of bringing the reader, in ſome meaſure, acquainted with the character of the magnanimous commander of this expedition, during which I had daily frequent opportunities of ſeeing that great man Peter the Firſt; and during the whole time, was in company, and converſed with thoſe people who had attended his perſon for very many years; ſeveral of whom poſſeſſed, in ſome degree, his favour, and were well regarded by him. Therefore, I hope, what I am about to offer, concerning this great monarch, will not be unacceptable to the candid reader, whoſe taking in good part what I ſhall ſay, I have ſome right to expect; for I ſhall ſay nothing of fact, but what is true, nor any thing of opinion, but what is ſincere.

Several

Several foreign writers have misrepresented and traduced the real character of Peter the Great, by relating mean stories, picked up at ale-houses, and circulated among the lowest class of people, most of them without the least ground of truth, whereby many people of good understanding have been misled, and, even to this present time, look on him to have been a vicious man, and a cruel tyrant, than which nothing can be more the reverse of his true character.

Though he might have had some failings, yet it is well known, to many living at the time of my writing this, which is above thirty-seven years after his demise, that his prudence, justice, and humanity, much overbalanced his failings, which principally, if not solely, arose from his inclination to the fair sex.

I shall here take the liberty to insert a passage or two, which, though trifling, yet as so great a personage is the subject, will not, I trust, be altogether unacceptable or unentertaining to the reader, as they are instances of his assiduity.

About the middle of October 1714, I arrived at Cronstadt in an English ship. The Czar having notice of the ship's arrival, came on board the next morning, from St. Petersburg; being attended only by Dr. Areskine, who was his chief physician at that time, and on that occasion served him as interpreter. After His Majesty had inquired news about the Swedish fleet, &c. he eat a piece of bread and cheese, and drank a glass of ale; then went on shore to visit the works carrying on at Cronstadt; and returned, the same evening, in his boat, to St. Petersburg, distance about twenty English miles.

The first winter after my arrival at St. Petersburg, I lodged at Mr. Noy's, an English ship-builder in the Czar's service. One morning, before day-light, my servant came and told me that the Czar was at the door. I got up, and saw him walking up and down the yard, the weather being severely cold and frosty, without any one to attend him. Mr. Noy soon came, and took him into the parlour, where His Majesty gave him some particular directions about a ship then on the stocks; which having done, he left him.

His Majesty's person was graceful, tall, and well made; clean, and very plain in his apparel. He generally wore an English drab-colour cloth frock, never appearing in a dress suit of clothes, unless on great festivals, and remarkable holidays; on which occasions, he was sometimes dressed in laced clothes, of which sort he was not owner of above three or four suits. When he was dressed, he wore the order of St. Andrew; at other times, he had no badge or mark of any order on his person. His equipage was simple, without attendants. In summer, a four-oared wherry was always attending, to carry him over the river, if he should want to cross it, which he frequently did. When he went about the town by land, he always made use of an open two-wheeled chaise, attended by two soldiers or grooms, who rode before, and a page, who sometimes stood behind the chaise, and often sat in it with His Majesty, and drove him. In winter, he made use of a sledge, drawn by one horse, with the same attendants. He found these to be the most expeditious ways of conveyance, and used no other. He was abroad every day in the year, unless confined at home by illness, which rarely happened; so that seldom a day passed but he was seen in almost every part of the city.

I have more than once seen him stop in the streets to receive petitions from persons who thought themselves wronged by sentences passed in courts of judicature. On taking the petition, the person was told to come next day to the senate; where the affair was immediately examined and determined, if the nature of it would admit of its being done in so short a time. It will naturally follow, that such free access to his person was not only productive of great relief to many poor widows and orphans, but also a strong

a ſtrong check upon judges; and tended very much to prevent any ſort of influence prevailing on them to pronounce unjuſt ſentences, for which they were ſo likely to be called to account.

His Majeſty might truly be called a man of buſineſs, for he could diſpatch more affairs in a morning, than a houſeful of ſenators could do in a month. He roſe almoſt every morning, in the winter time, before four o'clock; was often in his cabinet by three o'clock; where two private ſecretaries, and certain clerks, paid conſtant attendance. He often went ſo early to the ſenate, as to occaſion the ſenators being raiſed out of their beds to attend him there. When aſſembled, after hearing cauſes between ſubject and ſubject, or public affairs, regarding the interior of the empire, read by the ſecretary, and the opinion of the ſenate recited thereupon, he would write upon the proceſs, or upon the affair, under deliberation, with his own hand, in a very laconic ſtyle, "Let it be according to the decree of the ſenate;" and ſometimes would add ſome particular alterations, ſuch as he thought fit to mention, and underwrote, *Peter*.

His Majeſty knew ſo little of relaxation of mind when awake, that he never allowed his time of reſt to be broken in upon, unleſs in caſe of fire. When any accident of that kind happened, in any part of the town, there was a ſtanding order to awake him on its firſt appearance; and His Majeſty was frequently the firſt at the fire, where he always remained, giving the neceſſary orders, till all further danger was over. This example of paternal regard of the Czar for his ſubjects, was of courſe followed by all the great officers, and thoſe of the firſt quality; which was frequently the means of ſaving many thouſands of his ſubjects from utter ruin, whoſe houſes and goods, without ſuch ſingular aſſiſtance, muſt have ſhared the fate of their ruined neighbours.

In acts of religion he appeared devout, but not ſuperſtitious. I have ſeen him at his public devotions at church many times. I have been preſent, when His Majeſty, not liking the clerk's manner of reading the pſalms, hath taken the book from the clerk, and hath read them himſelf; which he did very diſtinctly, and with proper emphaſis. His Majeſty was allowed, by the beſt judges of the Sclavonian and Ruſſian languages, to be as great a maſter of them as any of the moſt learned of his ſubjects, whether churchmen or laics. He wrote a very good hand, very expeditiouſly, yet the characters diſtinct enough. Of this I myſelf am ſome judge, having ſeen many of his letters, all written with his own hand, to Mr. Henry Stiles, and others. As to his ſtyle, ſome of his ſecretaries, and other competent judges of the language, affirmed, that they had never known any man who wrote more correctly, or could compriſe the ſenſe and meaning of what he wrote in ſo few words as His Majeſty.

The following I had from a certain Ruſs gentleman, of very good family, and who was a general officer of unexceptionable character in the army, who had attended His Majeſty, from his very youth, in all his expeditions. This officer being an old friend of mine, I went to pay him a viſit one evening, long after the death of Peter the Great, when he told me, that ſuch and ſuch old officers, naming them, had dined with him that day, and that the principal ſubject of their converſation turned on the actions of their old father, (as he termed him by way of eminence,) Peter the Great. He told me further, that, though His Majeſty ſeemed to be ſevere, on certain occaſions, yet no one of them all could produce or recollect one ſingle inſtance of his having puniſhed an honeſt man, or that he cauſed any perſon to ſuffer any puniſhment who had not well deſerved it.

He hath been repreſented as making too frequent uſe of ſpirituous liquors to exceſs, which is an unmerited aſperſion; for he had an averſion to all ſots, and to thoſe too much given to drink. It is true, he had his times of diverſion, when he would be merry himſelf,

himſelf, and liked to ſee others ſo; this may have been neceſſary and proper, for the unbending his mind from affairs of great weight; but ſuch amuſements occurred generally during holidays, and feſtival times, and was, with him, at no time of long continuance. It has been imputed to him, and not without ſome appearance of reaſon, that he had political views in encouraging drinking at theſe times of merriment; for, on theſe occaſions, he mixed with the company, and converſing with them on the footing of a companion, had better opportunities, at ſuch times, of diſcovering the real ſentiments of thoſe about him, than when they were quite cool.

Thoſe who, by their offices about the perſon of Peter the Great, might be ſuppoſed to be the beſt acquainted with his diſpoſition, always diſavowed his drinking to exceſs, and inſiſted on his being a ſober Prince. I can aver that, during the campaign of the expedition to Derbent in Perſia, he was not once guilty of the leaſt exceſs, but rather lived abſtemiouſly. In this point, I could not be miſtaken, as the tent of Dr. Blumentroſt, His Majeſty's chief phyſician, with whom I lodged, was always the neareſt tent to that of His Majeſty.

I ſhall give one inſtance, in proof of what I have advanced concerning the temperance of this great man, viz. In our third day's march, on our return from Derbent, we were kept in continual alarm by conſiderable bodies of mountaineers, both of horſe and foot, whom we ſaw hovering on the tops of the adjacent hills, though they dared not to come down to the plain, to attack any part of our army, yet it was neceſſary to be watchful of them; which, in ſome meaſure impeded our march. The evening of that day, we had a hollow way to paſs, which took up much time, and obliged the greateſt part of the army to remain there all night; ſo that none reached the camp, except the guards, and ſome light horſe, who attended their Majeſties. On my arrival there, about midnight, I found only His Majeſty's tent ſet up, and another ſmall one for Mr. Felton, the Czar's principal cook, and maſter of his kitchen. I went into Felton's tent, and found him all alone, with a large ſauce-pan of warm grout before him, made of buck-wheat with butter, which he told me was the remains of their Majeſties ſupper, who eat of nothing elſe that evening, and who were juſt gone to bed.

During the whole march, His Majeſty, for the moſt part, rode an Engliſh pad, about fourteen hands high, for which he had a particular liking, as it was very tractable and eaſy to mount. His picture is drawn by Caravac on this horſe. He did not wear boots, as he very often walked on foot. In the heat of the day, when the army halted, he uſed to get into the Empreſs's coach, and ſleep for half an hour. His dreſs, during the march, was a white night-cap, with a plain flapped hat over it, and a ſhort dimity waiſtcoat. When at any time he received meſſengers from the chieftains of the mountaineers, he put on his regimentals, as an officer of the guards, being lieutenant-colonel of the Preobraſhenſky regiment.

During the whole courſe of his life, His Majeſty avoided all ſorts of ceremony, except on public occaſions. His manner of living in his houſe was more like that of a private gentleman than of ſo great a monarch. I was once at court on a holiday, when the Emperor came home from church to dinner, with a large attendance of his miniſters, general officers, and other great men. His table was laid with about fifteen covers. As ſoon as dinner was ſerved up, he and the Empreſs took their places, and His Majeſty, addreſſing himſelf to the company, ſaid, "Gentlemen, pleaſe to take your places as far as the table will hold, the reſt will go home and dine with their wives."

On ſuch occaſions, the princeſſes, his children, dined in another room, to whom he ſent ſuch diſhes, from his own table, as he thought proper for their dinner.

This great monarch took all the pains, and uſed all the means poſſible, in order to be intimately acquainted with every thing proper for a man who ruled a mighty empire to know. He entered into the detail of every branch of the arts uſeful to mankind; into that of all the manufactures which regarded the conſtruction of ſhips, and fitting them for the ſea; into that of the making of arms, artillery, &c. If he had a ruling paſſion for any one part of theſe acquirements, it muſt have been for ſhipbuilding; into which he entered himſelf very early, in the quality of a common workman, with his hatchet, and proceeded regularly through all the degrees, to the rank of maſter-builder, which he attained but a few years before his death. After he got that length in the art, he made the draughts, formed the mouldings, and directed the buildings of ſeveral men of war, of the ſecond and third rates, himſelf; and he duly demanded, and received his ſalary as a maſter-builder. The day of launching the ſhips, which he himſelf built, he celebrated as a holiday, and put on laced clothes; but, before he went to work, to ſtrike away the ſtaunchions, blocks, &c. he always put off his fine coat.

He was very frugal in what regarded his perſonal expences, and thoſe of his houſehold. Notwithſtanding his frugality in what related to himſelf, he ſpared no coſt in whatever concerned the public, in the ſtructure of his men of war, in the artillery, fortifications, arſenals, canals, &c. all which bore marks of very great magnificence. Nor was he ſparing in his buildings, and the decorations of his gardens with ſtatues, grottos, fountains, &c. of which the buildings of the ſummer-palace, and the gardens at St. Peterſburg, at Peterhoff, Strealna, Czarſky Sealo, and many others are ſufficient proofs. I ſhall not detain the reader longer on the ſubject of this very great man's character, or way of living, than to acquaint him, that, as His Majeſty was very early up in the morning, he went abroad generally without breakfaſt; came home to dinner about eleven of the clock; after dinner, went to ſleep for about an hour; after which, if buſineſs did not intervene, he ſometimes diverted himſelf at his turning loom; then went to viſit thoſe he had a regard for, as well foreigners as Ruſſians, with whom he would be very ſociable, and eaſy in converſation. He ſometimes ſupped with them; which, generally in his latter days, was on hare or wild-fowl, roaſted very dry, drank ſmall beer, and ſometimes a few glaſſes of wine; and generally was in bed before ten of the clock at night. He neither played at cards, dice, or any game of chance.

The reader will pleaſe to take along with him the following obſervations, viz. that this monarch was, at no time, even during maſquerades, feaſtings, aſſemblies, and all other diverſions or amuſements, by day or night, without the attendance of ſome or other of his miniſters, and of thoſe who poſſeſſed his confidence; by which means buſineſs, and ſuch affairs as were of the greateſt conſequence, went on regularly; and ſome of them even concerted during thoſe times of relaxation.

I now return to the 5th of October 1722; at which time, the Emperor and Empreſs being embarked on board their galley, and the whole fleet being ready, and the wind fair, we weighed anchor and got under ſail, from the bay of Agrachan, for Aſtrachan, at which place we arrived on the 14th of the ſame month, little material happening in the paſſage, only ſome rough gales of contrary wind.

Having finiſhed what I had to do at Aſtrachan, I joined company with Simon Gregoritz Nariſhkin, one of His Majeſty's general-adjutants, and Commodore Coſslar, who always commanded the ſhip in which His Majeſty hoiſted his flag, when he went to ſea; and with theſe two gentlemen returned to Moſco.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, we ſet out from Aſtrachan in a ſmall ſhallop, and came by water to the town of Zaritzina. The winter approaching, we got ſuch carriages as the place afforded, and continued our journey, along the lines, to the river Don; theſe lines are drawn from the Volga to the Don, being a deep ditch, about thirty feet broad, palliſadoed on the top, with high wooden towers at certain diſtances, in ſight of each other, well guarded. They effectually anſwer the end propoſed by His Majeſty, in erecting them, and making the ditch, which was for the preventing of incurſions from the Cuban Tartars.

The 25th of November we arrived in Moſco; at which place His Majeſty and the Empreſs arrived about the middle of December 1722.

The following are the poſt-ſtages and diſtances between Moſco and Aſtrachan.

From Moſco to the	*Verſts.*
Village of Oſtroffsach -	25
Ulianinin Sealo -	38
Town of Kolumna -	32
Zarayſky -	39
Prudach Sealo -	37
Pod Oſſinka -	35
Bogoyavlenſko	35
Gorlovy -	25
Skopina -	30
Reaſky -	40
Village of Blagoy -	37
Oloviach -	35
Town of Kozloff -	32
Retſky Yaroſlafky	25
Lyſſiach-Gorach Sealo	22
Tamboff -	22
Kuſminoy-Gatty Sealo	21
Retzky-Tziny	27
Panoffskich Kuſtack	24
Retzky-Savally	20
Retzky-Shinkoffy	20
Retzky-Tagaiky	26
Retzky-Tavolſhanky	20
Chaperſkoy Krepoſt	22
Michailofsky Gorodky	27
Yuripinſky Stanu	17
Tepinſky-Yurtu	20

To the	*Verſts.*
Town of Pravotorſkoy Yurtu	20
Kalinoffskoy Kuſtiky	24
Zatoffsky-Yurtu	21
Kulmiſhkom-Yurtu	24
Uſt-Chaperſkoy Koluditz	21
Roſsleeve -	12
Uſt-Medvedeſky	13
Kletzkoy-Tzaganock	18
Klementſky Stantzy	23
Novo Gregorioffsky	20
Siropenſky Stantzy	23
Retzky-Sokary	30
Gratſefsky Stantzy	12
Zaritina -	28
Reka-Actuba -	26
Tzareofa-Puda	31
Urotziſha-Tzareva	30
Tayunley -	26
Kulava -	30
Aſhlagatay -	30
Sakuley -	30
Okoreba -	25
Beſstzara -	26
Kravala -	30
Achſarava -	27
Reka-Bolſhoy Bereketa	20
Aſtrachan -	39

The diſtance from Moſco to Aſtrachan, the poſt-road, by land - 1412

AN ACCOUNT OF MY JOURNEY FROM ST. PETERSBURG TO CONSTANTINOPLE, AND THENCE BACK TO ST. PETERSBURG, IN PART OF THE YEARS 1737 AND 1738, UNDERTAKEN AT THE INSTANCES OF COUNT OSTERMAN, CHANCELLOR OF RUSSIA, AND OF MR. RONDEAU, MINISTER FROM GREAT BRITAIN AT THE COURT OF ST. PETERSBURG.

A WAR having broken out in 1734 between Ruſſia and Turkey, which had been carried on with great ſucceſs on the part of Ruſſia, by their taking from the Turks the ſtrongly fortified cities of Aſoph, Otzakoff, together with the Perecop, and other places of the frontiers of great importance, the Emperor of Germany, through various connections, came, ſome time after its commencement, to be engaged in it.

In the autumn of 1737, a congreſs was appointed to be held at Nemiroff, a town on the frontiers of Poland, in order to accommodate and determine all differences between the belligerent powers, by the mediation of the miniſters of Great Britain, France, and the States of Holland, then reſiding at the Ottoman Porte, who were Sir Everard Fawkner, the Marquis de Ville-Neuve, and Mr. Kalkune. But before theſe miniſters could reach Nemiroff, the plenipotentiaries of the powers at war differed ſo widely in their reſpective demands, that the congreſs broke up without effect.

The court of Ruſſia determining to ſend a perſon to Conſtantinople, with new propoſals of accommodation; and, as no ſubjects of Ruſſia or Germany are admitted into the dominions of the Grand Seignor, while he is at war with thoſe powers, I was prevailed upon to undertake the journey, at the earneſt deſires of Count Oſterman, the chancellor of Ruſſia, and of Mr. Rondeau, at that time His Britannic Majeſty's miniſter at the Court of St. Peterſburg.

On the 6th of December 1737, I ſet out from St. Peterſburg, with only one ſervant, who underſtood the Turkiſh language. Having, in a former journey, taken notice of the places on the road between St. Peterſburg and Moſco, I wave the repeating them.

The 9th, I arrived at the city of Moſco, which had greatly ſuffered the preceding ſummer by a dreadful conflagration. As I purpoſe at the end of my journey, to give an account of the ſtages and diſtances, I ſhall here only mention the time, and chief places through which I paſs.

The 11th, I left Moſco, early in the morning, and proceeded to the ſouth-weſt towards Kioff.

The 12th, in the night, I came to Kalugua, a large and populous town, ſituated on the banks of the river Oeka, inhabited by ſeveral ſubſtantial merchants, very conſiderable dealers in hemp, pot-aſh, wax, &c.

The 15th, I got to Sielky, another town, which is reckoned to be at about equal diſtance from Moſco and from Kioff, and is the laſt town in Great Ruſſia, bordering on the Ruſſian Ukrain. At night I reached Glukova, the firſt town in the Ukrain, a large and populous place, where, having changed horſes, I proceeded thence the ſame night to another town called Korolevitz.

The 16th, I paſſed through Batturin, a large rambling town, formerly the reſidence of the Hetmann Mazeppa; it ſtands on riſing hills upon the river Semm. The country adjacent is very pleaſant, and exceeding fruitful, being moſtly plain, interſperſed with woods of oak and other timber. The place is almoſt encompaſſed with cherry and other fruit trees. What is remarkable, and demonſtrative of the great fertility of the

ſoil

ſoil is, that they have about ſixty water-mills for grinding corn, all built within the diſtance of two Engliſh miles.

At night, I got to Neſhin, another conſiderable town. At this place, for want of ſnow on the ground, I was obliged to leave my convenient ſledge, and ride all the reſt of the way on horſeback. This detained me much longer on the road than I ſhould have been if I could have proceeded in my ſledge.

The 18th, I paſſed the Boryſthenes, in a boat, and in the evening arrived at Kioff, ſituated on the weſt bank of the Boryſthenes, now called Dnieper. This famous river takes it riſe on the borders of Poland, near the city of Smolenſko, and, after a long courſe pointing to the ſouth, diſcharges itſelf into the Black Sea, near Otzakoff.

The city of Kioff ſtands on a high hill, and overlooks the river, and a ſpacious plain to the eaſtward, as far as your eye can reach. To the weſtward the country is hilly; and many of the hills are covered with woods. There are ſeveral vineyards about the town, which produce good grapes for the table.

This place is adorned with many magnificent churches, and is famous for being the repoſitory of ſaints, and holy men of the Greek church, whoſe ſhrines are viſited by devout perſons from diſtant places. Beſides, they have an univerſity at Kioff, of conſiderable repute in theſe parts.

I cannot but obſerve here, that this part of the country, commonly called the Ukrain, (though it is ſometimes called Little Ruſſia,) doth, for fertility of ſoil, and rich paſturage, exceed moſt parts of Europe, producing vaſt quantities of various ſorts of grain, the crops of which are always very great, as well as of hemp and flax, of the moſt excellent quality, and that with little labour; for they plow the ground with one horſe only, and but with one man, who holds the plow, and drives the horſe at the ſame time.

The Ukrain produces good horſes for the ſaddle, and large ſized black cattle, in very great numbers, more than ſufficient for their own uſe, and for ſupplying their neighbours with as good beef as the world affords. The woods are well ſtored with game of divers ſorts, as are the rivers and ponds with fiſh. Aſparagus, which in other parts requires cultivation, grows naturally in ſuch plenty in the Ukrain, as to be termed a weed. The people are very civil and hoſpitable among themſelves, and alſo to all ſtrangers, living very clean and neat in their houſes. I now reſume my journey.

At Kioff I met with my worthy friends General Romanzoff, and the privy counſellor Mr. Neptuof, who gave me all the aſſiſtance and diſpatch I could deſire. They ordered a lieutenant and a troop of coſſacks to eſcort me through Poland, to the confines of Moldavia.

On the 20th, I ſet out from Kioff, and at night, came to the frontier town, called Vaſſilkoff, which ſtands on the declivity of a hill, and is the laſt town belonging to Ruſſia in that part. The place is but ſmall, though well fortified, and provided with a ſtrong garriſon, &c.

The 21ſt, early in the morning, I left Vaſſilkoff, accompanied by my truſty coſſacks; and after riding about an hour, I came to the borders of Poland, where is an out-poſt, and a ſtrong guard of Ruſſian ſoldiers. This place is called the Zaſtave, very neceſſary in time of war. The territory of Poland is divided here from that of Ruſſia by a deep ditch drawn acroſs the middle of a ſpacious plain.

From the Zaſtave I continued my journey, in a ſtrong froſt, which made the road very rough, and keeping to the ſouthward along the ſame plain, I ſaw neither houſe nor tree till I came to Belozerkoff, the firſt town appertaining to Poland in this part. The gates being ſhut before my arrival, it was ſome time before I could be admitted. However, at length, the gates were opened; I took up my quarters at a public-houſe belonging

belonging to a Jew. The ſame evening I waited on Mr. Becherſky, the governor, and deſired he would give me a paſſport. He treated me with great civility, and ordered the paſſport to be ready againſt the next morning.

The 22d, by the exceſs of the governor's hoſpitality, I was detained till the evening, waiting for his Excellency's paſſport, which was abſolutely neceſſary, and proved of great uſe to me on the road.

The town of Belozerkoff, ſo called from a white church there, is a pretty large place, and is fortified. It ſtands in a pleaſant plain. The inhabitants are, for the moſt part, Poles, mixed with not a few Jews, who keep public-houſes, and are generally farmers of the revenues all over Poland. There is ſcarce a village without ſome Jews, who keep inns for lodging and entertaining paſſengers.

In the evening, I took my leave of the kind governor, who, after treating me with great politeneſs, gave me a guide to the next village, called Shamaryafka, about two Poliſh miles diſtant from Belozerkoff, where I lodged that night.

The 23d, early in the morning, I left this village, in a ſtrong froſt, without any ſnow, and, after paſſing a few ſtraggling villages, at night I came to Goloquaſt, where I took up my lodgings at a Jew's houſe. It is to be obſerved, that the country is moſtly plain, with ſome riſing grounds, interſperſed with woods of oak, aſh, and elm, and other ſorts of timber, but chiefly of oak; is very pleaſant and fruitful, but thinly inhabited; which muſt proceed from their being expoſed to the incurſions of the Tartars and Haydamacks, who at times make cruel inroads into theſe parts.

The Haydamacks were, the foregoing winter, at this place, with a body of five or ſix hundred horſe, where they committed many diſorders; after which, and after having tortured all the Jews they could light upon, to oblige them to diſcover their money, they marched off with their booty, before the Poliſh troops could be aſſembled to oppoſe them.

I was well informed, by people who knew ſomething of theſe lawleſs banditti, who are called Haydamacks by the Poles, and Zapouroſky coſſacks by the Ruſſians, that they are a parcel of vagabonds, compoſed of idle fellows of different nations, who, having fled from juſtice, find a ſafe retreat among this crew. They are, for ſeveral reaſons, protected by the Turks, who lay claim to the iſlands, and places adjacent, on the river Dnieper, where they inhabit, and have fortified themſelves ſo ſtrongly as not eaſily to be attacked; nor can they be attacked without danger of breaking peace with the Turks.

They profeſs the Chriſtian religion; but have no wives nor any women among them, having erected themſelves into a wild kind of military order, if it may be ſo called. Every perſon, who is deſirous of entering into this community, is obliged to ſerve a certain number of years, before he is admitted into the brotherhood. The grand maſter is called Caſhavar, which ſignifies chief cook, who is choſen from among the fraternity for his conduct and courage. I think I need not enlarge on the ſubject of ſuch a worthleſs ſociety.

The 24th, I left Goloquaſt, and came, towards noon, to a ſmall town called Pogrebiſha, where I halted. The people, at firſt ſight, taking my coſſacks for Haydamacks, ſhut the gates, and alarmed the place. My paſſport ſoon convinced them of their error. After a ſhort ſtay, I proceeded again on my journey. At night I reached a ſmall village, named Otzeredno, where I lodged.

The 25th, leaving Otzeredno, I got to Vitofftzy, another village, where I lay that night.

The 26th, I arrived at Nemiroff, where the late congreſs was held, as I have mentioned above. This town is pretty large and populous, well fortified and garriſoned.

The governor is General Ruſſotſky, who hath Colonel Wangenheim, and ſeveral other German officers under him.

The country about Nemiroff is very pleaſant and fruitful, having many orchards in the neighbourhood, which produce the largeſt apples and pears that I have ſeen any where. They have alſo plenty of grapes, very good for the table.

The 27th, about noon, I ſet out again on my journey. I got that night to the village Petzory, where I remained that night.

The 28th, I halted at Spikoff, travelled thence to Lefkovitz, a large village, where I paſſed the night.

The 29th, I halted at Tamaz-poly, and lodged at Kleimbofka.

The 30th, I arrived at Tzikanofka, the laſt place belonging to Poland on that frontier. It is a large ſtraggling village, ſituate on the eaſt bank of the river Iſter, now called Dnieſter, and is the boundary between Poland and Moldavia. On the oppoſite ſhore ſtands the town of Soroka, the firſt in the principality of Moldavia, now annexed to the Turkiſh dominions. The ſame evening, I ſent my man to Soroka, to acquaint the commandant or Perkulab, as they are called of my arrival.

Next morning, the 1ſt of January 1738, the commandant of Soroka, whoſe name is Petroky, a Greek, came over upon the ice to viſit me, and told me that he was very ſorry he could not let me paſs without a ſpecial order from the Prince of Moldavia, who reſides at Yaſſy, to whom he would immediately diſpatch an expreſs for that purpoſe; and hoped I would wait patiently for an anſwer. In the evening, Mr. Petroky paid me another viſit; he ſhowed me much civility, and brought me a preſent of wine, fruits, &c. which was very acceptable in a place where little was to be got for money.

January 2d. Mr. Petroky acquainted me, that his expreſs was returned, with orders from the Prince to furniſh me with horſes, and a proper convoy to Yaſſy.

Having no more occaſion for the coſſacks, I ſent them back again to Kioff; but Mr. Noroff, the lieutenant, was permitted to accompany me to Yaſſy. This gentleman is an officer of a marching regiment. The coſſacks had their own officer beſides.

Soroka is but a ſmall town, pleaſantly ſituated on the weſt banks of the river, about thirty leagues ſouth-eaſt from Chotyn, and the ſame diſtance north-weſt from Bender. The place is inhabited chiefly by Moldavians, mixed with a few Greeks, Jews, and Turks. It is defended by an old tower, in which are ſome cannon of little uſe. The channel of the Dnieſter runs deep there, between two high green banks. The country adjacent is fruitful in grain, and abounds in very rich paſturage.

The 2d, early in the morning, I left Tzikanofka, and paſſed the river on the ice to Soroka, where, the horſes being ready, I took leave of the commandant, Mr. Petroky, and proceeded on my journey. Towards noon I halted at a large village called Kaynar. The preceding ſummer many of the inhabitants of this place were carried off by the plague; but it was now, by the rigour of the ſeaſon, much abated. As ſoon as the horſes were changed, we left Kaynar, and, after travelling over a very fine country, came at night to another large village, called Meygura, where we lay.

The 3d, I left Meygura. After paſſing the river Pruth, I arrived in the evening, at Yaſſy, where I found good and warm quarters.

Next morning, being the 4th, I was conducted to the palace, and waited on the Prince, who is alſo ſtyled Hoſpodar of Moldavia. He takes the title of Serene Highneſs, though he is only promoted to that dignity by the Sultan, or rather by the Grand Viſier, and holds it only during pleaſure, being truſted with no other power than the adminiſtration of civil affairs. His name is Gregory Ducas, of a reputable Grecian family;

family; he enjoys a general good character. This gentleman treated me with great civility and politeneſs, regretted that it was not in his power to allow of my going directly to Conſtantinople, and that I muſt go to Bender firſt, where I ſhould find the Seraſkier, who had the chief command in theſe parts. I was not willing to go ſo far out of my road; but as there was no remedy, I complied. The Prince ordered a Boſniac captain, and two Moldavian ſoldiers of his guards, to eſcort me to Bender, which was all he could do for me in the preſent juncture of affairs.

From Soroka to Yaſſy the country is ſomewhat hilly, the ſoil rich, the paſturage excellent. About the river Pruth are fine woods of various ſorts of timber natural to the climate. About Yaſſy, and in other parts, there are large vineyards, producing grapes in great abundance, whereof are made conſiderable quantities of wine, of inferior quality, the greateſt part of which is conſumed in Poland, and others parts adjacent, for which the Moldavians receive conſiderable ſums in ready money.

The city of Yaſſy ſtands in a ſpacious plain, on the rivulet called Bachluy, about thirty-five leagues towards the north-weſt from Bender; it may contain between two and three thouſand houſes, moſtly built of wood. The inhabitants are Chriſtians of the Greek church. The Prince's palace is an ancient pile of Gothic building, of ſtone and brick; it hath the appearance of a venerable old caſtle, for which I ſuppoſe it was intended, as this unhappy country hath been at all times expoſed to the ravages of barbarous nations.

The 5th, having taken leave of my companion, Mr. Noroff, who returned back to Kioff, I ſet out from Yaſſy, accompanied by my Boſniac captain, the two Moldavians, and my own ſervant. We came, at night, to a village called Voltzinitz, about ten leagues ſouth-eaſt from Yaſſy, ſtanding in a fruitful valley, where we took up our quarters.

The 6th, we left this village in the morning, and came at night to Kiſhanoff, another village, where we lodged.

The 7th, we left Kiſhanoff. On the road we met with many troops of Tartars, going to the eaſtward, on an expedition, notwithſtanding the weather was ſeverely cold, with ſtrong froſts. Theſe hardy people accompanied me all the reſt of the way to Bender, where we arrived in the evening.

The country from Yaſſy to Kiſhanoff is very fine; but towards Bender, it grows more dry and barren, and does not appear of ſo good ſoil, nor to have ſo good paſturage, as the countries which I paſſed through.

The Moldavians are all Chriſtians, and the Sultan indulges them with a governor or prince of their own religion. This privilege they have enjoyed for many years, which may be eſteemed no ſmall favour under ſuch an iron government as is that of the Turks. Yet it may be obſerved, that their yoke is much eaſier, and their manners much more humanized, than at their firſt entrance and ſettlement in Europe, though, I am perſuaded, that two-thirds of Moldavia lie waſte at this time. It ſeems to have been an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem in Turkiſh politics to depopulate all the countries bordering on Chriſtendom, reſerving no more than may be ſufficient to furniſh their garriſons and troops with proviſions.

As the plague had raged all the preceding year in the town of Bender, and had almoſt depopulated the place, about a mile ſhort of the town, we turned off the road, to the right hand, towards the Turkiſh camp, where the Seraſkier, or general in chief, lay in the field, with all his army about him. The general's quarters were ſtrongly fortified, with a deep ditch paliſadoed and mounted with cannon; but the troops were lodged in cells under ground, laid over with ſticks and earth, having a hole at the top

to let out the ſmoke, fenced with a dry hedge about it. In this miſerable condition, theſe poor people paſſed the winter. I and my Boſniac captain were conducted to one of theſe holes, which at night was crowded with Turkiſh officers of diſtinction. Such miſeries, and many more, are the frequent attendants on deſtructive war. The Seraſkier's name is Gengy Aly Baſha, or Young Aly Baſha, though he is now about ſeventy years of age, and hath the character of a brave and active general.

The 8th, the Seraſkier ſent his ſecretary to me, who aſked me ſeveral queſtions relating to my journey, and hoped that neceſſity would be admitted as an excuſe for the badneſs of my quarters. In the evening the ſecretary came again, when he told me, that, in two or three days, their feaſt of Bayram would be over, and then I ſhould proceed on my journey to Conſtantinople with a proper convoy. In the mean time, he ordered an officer to furniſh me with ſuch neceſſaries as the place afforded. In this no agreeable ſituation I was obliged to wait till the feaſt was over, being five long nights, all the while confined within the precincts of my hut. One alleviation was, the company of my Boſniac captain, who tarried with me the whole time.

The 12th, in the morning, the ſecretary came and acquainted me, that the Seraſkier had ordered a chivadar, or officer, belonging to the Grand Viſier, and two Tartars, to eſcort me to Conſtantinople; at the ſame time, he told me that I might depart when I pleaſed. This welcome news was very agreeable; for I had been but little better than a priſoner from the time of my arrival at the camp; though, I muſt own, they were very civil, and made me as eaſy as the accommodations and the circumſtances of affairs would admit of.

I could only ſee Bender at a diſtance. But it is well known to be a place of importance, being ſtrongly and regularly fortified, with out-works in proportion. It ſtands in a plain, near the river Dnieſter, and is frequently mentioned in the annals of late times, for being the place of refuge of that intrepid, inconſiderate monarch Charles XII. of Sweden, after the Ruſſians had beat him out of the field at Poltova, in the year 1709.

Notwithſtanding the contagious diſtemper was not entirely ceaſed at Bender, we had our daily proviſions from that place.

As ſoon as the horſes were ready, I mounted, and left this plaguy camp, which is ſo in a literal as well as an allegorical ſenſe. Although our horſes were in exceeding bad caſe, from the fatigues of the laſt campaign, and from the want of due accommodations, of ſhelter, &c. during the ſevere weather that followed, yet we made a ſhift to come, in the evening, to a large rambling town, called Kauſhan, inhabited by Budjack Tartars. It ſtands ſouth-weſt from Bender. Here I had good quarters; the people were friendly and hoſpitable. At ſupper I ſat by an old Tartar, who ſeemed to be a perſon of diſtinction among them. This old gentleman aſked me many queſtions about Europe, through an interpreter, particularly about the illuſtrious family of Lorrain, which ſurpriſed me not a little. The firſt diſh that came before us was pilaw, made of barley; then he told me, in French, that it was not dreſſed after the French faſhion. This brought on a converſation between us in that language, which he ſpoke well, in which he informed me, that, in his youth, being with the Turkiſh army in Hungary, he was taken priſoner by the Duke of Lorrain, who then commanded the Imperial army. His Highneſs took him into his ſervice, in which he lived many years; and, after treating him with great humanity, at laſt gave him his freedom, with liberty to return into his own country; which extraordinary favour he acknowledged with great reſpect and gratitude.

The 13th, having got freſh horſes, I left Kauſhan, and travelled to the weſtward, towards the Danube, leaving the riſing grounds, and came along the plain called the Stepp of Budjack, which is flat, dry, barren, and uncultivated; yet there is ſome good paſture, eſpecially for ſheep, of which the Turkiſh army have left few remaining. At night, we came to Kongly, where are about a dozen ſtraggling cottages, inhabited by Tartars. We made our quarters that night in the corner of a large ſhed, along with our horſes.

The 14th, as there was nothing tempting to detain us at Kongly, we ſet forward very early in the morning, and proceeded along the ſame barren plain, without ſeeing a houſe or tree all that day. In the evening we came to a Tartar village, called Tartar-Kew, where we were tolerably well lodged and entertained.

The 15th, we left Tartar-Kew, and came in the evening to the town of Iſmayl, ſtanding on the north bank of the famous river Danube, called Dunay in theſe parts. The place is very pleaſant, within ſight of the Black Sea. The inhabitants are chiefly Turks. Here I was well lodged, and had good bread and wine. The river here is very broad, and divided into ſeveral branches, by iſlands, conſiderably large; though, when the river falls into the Black Sea, all the branches are united, and form but one mouth at its entrance into that ſea. The north bank conſiſts of riſing grounds; the ſouth is fenced with high hills. I think the Danube, at this place, may be compared with the Volga at Aſtrachan, both for breadth and quantity of water. By what I could obſerve, all the great rivers, from the Volga to this place, have, for the moſt part, high lands for their weſtern banks, and low flat lands to the eaſtward.

The 16th, we paſſed the north branch of the Danube in a boat, to the next iſland; but the other branches being faſt frozen over, we mounted, and rode and walked by turns, the reſt of the way upon the ice; which was, in many places, very rough, and uneven, with great ridges, conſiſting of pieces of ice driven together, and heaped upon one another, by ſtrong eaſterly winds, and the rapidity of the current. Some of the ridges of ice were at leaſt ſeven or eight feet high, which obliged us to walk on foot moſt part of the way. However, in the evening, we arrived ſafely at a town called Tultzin, ſtanding on the ſouth bank of the river, four leagues from Iſmayl, where we had quarters, and other means of refreſhment.

Tultzin is the firſt town in the ancient kingdom of Thrace, now reduced to a Turkiſh province, known by the name of Bulgaria. The Bulgarians, who are Chriſtians of the Greek church, live for the moſt part in villages; the towns, in general, being inhabited by the Turks. This place hath an old abandoned caſtle, ſeemingly of European conſtruction; and, as it ſtands among hills, on the banks of the river, the ſituation is very pleaſant.

The 17th, we left Tultzin in the morning; towards noon we arrived at a large town called Babbadach, ſtanding in a delightful valley environed by hills. At ſome diſtance from the top of the hills to the eaſtward, is a moſt extenſive proſpect; particularly a full view of the Black Sea.

It is ſuppoſed that the poet Ovid was baniſhed and confined to this place; which muſt have been no agreeable ſituation, to a man who had paſſed his young days in the court of Auguſtus, and had entered into all the pleaſures and amuſements of that court, during the time of its politeſt and gayeſt period; in the gallantries of which he was ſuppoſed to act no inconſiderable part. This amorous poet's book, De Triſtibus, exhibits a melancholy picture of the manner of paſſing his latter days at this place, ſo different in climate from the happy temperament of that of Italy.

After changing horſes at this place, we ſet forwards. At night we came to a village called Kaybaly, at a ſmall diſtance from which we were ſo bewildered, in a drift of ſnow,

ſnow, that we loſt the road; and, had it not been that the barking of a dog directed us, we muſt have lain in the fields all night.

The 18th, leaving Kaybaly in deep ſnow, we proceeded, and came to Danna-Kew, another village, where we paſſed the night.

The 19th, we travelled through a very fine country, whereon we found very little ſnow, and came at night to Kabady, where we lodged.

The 20th, we proceeded, and came to a town called Bazar-tzick, and ſpent the night there. The town is inhabited by Turks, Greeks, and Bulgarians.

The 21ſt, we came to Provady, a pretty large town, inhabited as the former. We ſtaid there all night.

The 22d, we left Provady; came that evening to Tzengy, where we lodged.

The 23d, we continued our route; halted at a caravanſera, four leagues from Tzengy, and after that at a town called Aydoſs; where, having changed horſes, we proceeded on our journey, and ſlept that night at Benglyr.

The 24th, we came to Kanara, and lay there. I cannot but take notice of this fine country, adorned with many beautiful woods and coppices, a very rich ſoil, and excellent paſture; but a great deal of it lies waſte; and it is but thinly peopled.

The 25th, we came to the town of Kirkgliſs; from thence to that of Burglaſs, where we remained that night.

The 26th, we went on. We lodged that night at Tzorley.

The 27th, we reached the town of Silivry, which ſtands on the White Sea, or the ſea between the Dardanells and the Porte.

The 28th, we paſſed through a large town, called Buyk-tzeckmidgy; from thence the laſt ſtage to Conſtantinople.

I muſt here take notice, that, at Silivry, I was met by another chevadar, who, inſtead of conducting me directly to the city, as I expected, turned ſhort to the left hand, out of the high road, carried me through by-paths, over ſteep and mooriſh hills, uninhabited, till at laſt we came to a little village; on the top of the hill called Karamackly, where is a neat country-houſe belonging to Muſtapha-caſſa Baſha, the chief butcher to the Sultan, a place of great truſt and honour.

I was lodged in the Baſha's houſe, and met with a friendly reception from his kaya, or ſteward, who furniſhed me with what neceſſaries I had occaſion for. In the mean time, I waited patiently for the return of a meſſenger whom they had diſpatched to the Baſha. This place ſtands very pleaſant and airy, within the view of the city, and is a retreat for the Baſha and his family, in times of the plague.

It will be readily imagined, that I did not much like being carried out of the common road. But, without aſking queſtions, I followed my conductors.

The 29th, the meſſenger returned from the city, with orders that I ſhould proceed, which was very welcome news to me. Accordingly, we ſet out about ten of the clock. Towards noon, we arrived at Conſtantinople. They conducted me directly to the houſe of Muſtapha Baſha, who received me with great civility. And, after aſking a few queſtions relating to my journey, he then deſired that I would wait till ſuch time as he ſhould acquaint the Viſier of my arrival. Muſtapha Baſha did not return till the evening. Upon his return, he ſent an officer with me to Sir Everard Fawkener, the Britiſh ambaſſador, to whom I was addreſſed, and in whoſe houſe I lodged during my abode at Conſtantinople.

I ſhall ſay nothing relating to the effects of my commiſſion, farther, than that I punctually conformed to the terms of my inſtructions.

Here, it may be obſerved, that, although the Ruſſians under Count Lacy, and under Count Munich, were very ſucceſsful every campaign, from the commencement of the war in 1734, and made great acquiſitions on the Turkiſh frontier, on that ſide, by their taking Aſoph and Otzakoff, poſſeſſing themſelves of the Perecop and the Crimea, and carrying their arms, the laſt campaign, into Moldavia, which was ended by a conſiderable advantage gained by the Ruſſians at the battle of Chotim; in conſequence of which victory, the Baſha of Chotim brought the keys of that important fortreſs to the general of the Ruſſian army, who ſent the Baſha, and the principal officers under him, priſoners to St. Peterſburg; yet the Emperor of Germany's arms in Hungary were by no means ſucceſsful; the Turks gaining on the Emperor's frontier there, as much as they loſt of their own frontiers towards Ruſſia. Elated by their ſucceſſes in Hungary, during the laſt campaign, the Ottoman Porte roſe in their demands, and inſiſted on higher terms than Ruſſia thought proper to agree to.

This famous city is ſo well known, that I need not enter into a minute deſcription, ſo ſhall only give a tranſient view of ſuch remarkable things as occurred to me during my ſhort ſtay at this place.

Conſtantinople is ſituated in forty-one and one-half degrees north latitude, twenty-nine degrees eaſt longitude, upon a point of land, on the European ſhore, in the province of Romania, and is eſteemed one of the moſt delightful ſituations in the world; for which reaſon Conſtantine the Great choſe it for the ſeat of empire; by whom it was rebuilt and beautified about the year of our Lord 330.

At a diſtance, the city makes a very fine appearance, having a great number of gilded ſpires and domes, or cupolas, which multiply as you approach; but, when you enter the city, the general irregularity and narrowneſs of the ſtreets do in no degree correſpond with the magnificent appearance it makes at a diſtance; which is, indeed, the caſe of many of the cities and great towns of Europe, ſeeming to be built at random. I have often thought, that, had a Chineſe been conſulted, he could have taught both Greeks and Romans how to lay out towns, and that by the ſimpleſt rules; viz. Let there be ſpace enough, ſufficient breadth of ſtreet, and the houſes on each ſide built in a ſtraight line; which rules are obſerved in all the towns I have obſerved in China, particularly Pekin. This common error, in laying out towns in Europe, muſt be owing to the remiſſneſs of the government of nations; though this great inconvenience, in ſo grand a city as Conſtantinople, hath no relation to the ſituation of the place, yet it is thought by many, I think very juſtly, that, were the ſtreets of this city ſpacious and regular, it would in ſome meaſure prevent the frequent peſtilential diſeaſes with which this place is affected, and which prevail here more than in any other place I know; there ſeldom paſſing a year without its making a dreadful havock among the populace.

This mortal diſtemper being almoſt always, more or leſs, in this city, may in part be attributed to a defect in Turkiſh policy, which ſuffers all ſhips to enter the port, without requiring bills of health, at any time; even the ſhips from infected places are admitted. I do not know but that the belief of predeſtination, prevailing ſo univerſally among the Turks, with whom it is a fundamental article of their creed, may likewiſe contribute to the continuance of the devaſtations made, by this terrible diſeaſe, among the human ſpecies.

A very great nuiſance, attending this place, is its being peſtered with a great number of naſty dogs which belong to nobody; they kennel in every corner of the ſtreets; it is unlawful to kill them; and they are generally fed, which is looked upon, by many of the Turks, as an act of charity.

It

It is without diſpute a populous city; but far ſhort of the numbers reported by common fame, which ſeldom keeps within bounds in things of this nature. It is true, that many ſtrangers reſort hither daily, both from Europe and Aſia, and many of them remain here; but then it muſt be conſidered how many are carried off annually by the peſtilence and other diſeaſes. I do not think the whole number exceeds four hundred thouſand ſouls. In walking the ſtreets, you often meet with people, who, to avoid converſing with you, walk on the other ſide of the ſtreet, for fear of catching the diſtemper; and moſt people endeavour to get to windward of each other; which, with many other inconveniencies, renders the place not very agreeable to ſtrangers.

From Pera, a diſtrict of Conſtantinople inhabited by Europeans, and by the foreign miniſters reſiding at the Porte, there is a fine proſpect of the city, and of the Grand Seignor's ſeraglio; which laſt ſtands on an eminence, with ſloping gardens, down to the edge of the canal, planted with rows of cypreſs, and other evergreens. It hath the appearance of a moſt delightful place; but, though the walks are well ſhaded, it is not thought good manners, or even ſafe, to look at them with a ſpy-glaſs.

Oppoſite to the ſeraglio, on the Aſian ſhore, ſtands the ancient city of Chryſopolis, or the Golden City, now called Skutary, a pretty little place.

Along the ſhore of the Propontis, towards the ſouth-weſt, runs a ridge of very high mountains, called Olympus, which are covered with ſnow ſummer and winter. The mountain of that name, mentioned by the poets, ſtands in Greece.

February the 3d, there was a great fall of ſnow, followed by a ſtrong froſt, which continued for the ſpace of fourteen days. I thought myſelf happy in eſcaping it; but this weather is very acceptable to the people here, as it tends to ſtop the contagious diſtemper.

I ſhall now take a view of ſome of the moſt remarkable ſtructures in and about this ancient city, which are commonly ſhown to travellers. Indeed there are but few remains of antiquity to be ſeen at preſent; for the Turks, according to their principles, deface and ruin every thing that hath an air of idolatry, as they call it, whether Pagan or Chriſtian. What Chriſtian churches they have ſpared are converted into moſques.

March 2d, the weather being fine, I made a party with ſome friends to ride out and ſee the aqueducts, which are curious fabrics erected in order to ſupply the city with freſh water. They are ſaid to be built by the Emperor Valens. They are now kept in repair by the Grand Seignor. They ſtand at unequal diſtances, from four to ſeven or more miles to the northward of the city, according to the reſpective ſupplies of water from ſprings and brooks.

The long aqueduct is about ſeven hundred yards in length, and near thirty in height; it conſiſts of two ſtories or ranges of arches, one above the other, having about fifty arches in a range, all of hewn ſtone, neatly wrought.

The crooked aqueduct, ſo called from its form of zig-zag, runs in this figure VVVV; the intent of which is to divert and leſſen the force of the current, and hath a triple range of beautiful arches.

At ſome diſtance from this ſtands the high aqueduct, the moſt magnificent of all, being near three hundred yards in length, about forty in height, having four ſtately arches with the ſame number over them. Beſides, there are ſeveral others of leſſer note, which I need not mention. They are all built to convey the water, over low vallies and hollows, to the city.

At night we came to Belgrade, a pleaſant village, inhabited by Greeks, where moſt of the foreign miniſters have their country-houſes, to which they retire in time of the plague.

The

The next day we remained at this village, and walked through the woods, to a neighbouring hill, to the eaſtward, from whence there is a full view of the Black Sea. Theſe woods are of fine oak, beech, and other timber, fit for the conſtruction of a royal navy. They are well furniſhed with wild-fowl, and various ſorts of other game.

The 4th, we left Belgrade, when, riding to the ſouthward, through pleaſant woods and fields, we came about noon to a large village, called Buyuckterey, ſtanding on the north ſhore of the canal, or Thracian Boſphorus. This canal is natural, bursting out from the Black Sea, between two high mountains, and runs, in a ſtrong current, about ſixteen Engliſh miles, to the city, where it diſcharges itſelf into the Propontis. The depth is from ten to fifteen fathoms; the breadth from about one mile to half a mile; very well ſtored with moſt ſorts of ſea-fiſh, particularly oyſters, of a ſmall kind, but very delicious. The land on both ſides is very high, with many pleaſant villages along the ſhore. At the mouth of the canal, where it begins from the Black Sea, the Turks have built two forts to defend the paſſage, one on the ſhore of Aſia, the other on that of Europe; they may well ſerve to prevent ſudden incurſions, but of little uſe againſt a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, and an eaſterly wind.

I was informed that, in the reign of Sultan Amurat, a ſtrong party of Coſſacks came, in open boats, before theſe caſtles were built, or when they were neglected, entered the canal, and put all the city in great conſternation. After they had plundered many villages, they returned again to their own country, with little or no loſs.

From the Buyuckterey we ſent our horſes home, and returned to the city by water. Some days after this, I went to ſee the Sultan, as he came from his devotions at the moſque called Jeney-Jamey. He was on horſeback, attended by a ſmall troop of ſpahis on horſeback, and ſome janiſaries on foot. Mahmuth hath a good aſpect, and bears the character of being of a humane peaceable diſpoſition. This Prince ſucceeded Achmet, who was depoſed, about ſeven years before, by one named Ali-Patrone, or Kalyll, a janiſary, and his aſſociates, all people of low degree; the next in command to Ali-Patrone, or Kalyll, as he is commonly called, was Muſs-luch, a dealer in melons and other fruits; the third was Emy-Aly. Theſe three chiefs governed the Turkiſh empire near a month. After they had placed Mahmuth on the throne, they depoſed the Grand Viſier, and diſpoſed of all offices civil and military, at pleaſure. Ali-Patrone, in the mean time, was very ſober, never changing his habit, came every morning to the janiſaries' hall, where he ſat as ſovereign judge, and gave ſentence on all cauſes that were brought before him without delay; was very charitable to the poor, and rectified many abuſes in the ſtate. That magnificent Viſier, Ibrahim-Baſha, who had introduced printing, fell a ſacrifice to the rebels.

One action of the Kalyll's I cannot omit relating, as it evinces, that his high ſtation did not produce forgetfulneſs of his old friends. There was one Janaky, a Greek, a butcher by trade, who had formerly lent Ali-Patrone half a dollar. He ſent for this butcher, and made him Hoſpodar or Prince of Moldavia. Poor Janaky would willingly have been excuſed from accepting ſo high an office; but his patron inſiſted on his taking it.

However, theſe mighty chiefs being intoxicated with power, began to intoxicate themſelves with wine alſo; and they were at length caught in a ſnare, laid for them by Sultan Geray, Chan of the Crim Tartars, who had been ſent for by ſome of the grandees for that end. Sultan Geray ſucceeded ſo well, that the chiefs were cut off, the reſt diſperſed, and the government re-eſtabliſhed on the ſame footing as heretofore, with very

little bloodſhed; the particulars of which being, in general, well known, I ſay no more of that affair.

The next place I was carried to was the mint, where I ſaw them coining money of different ſorts. It ſtands in the outer court of the ſeraglio.

From thence I went to the famous church of Sancta Sophia, now converted into a moſque. There being already many deſcriptions extant of this ancient fabric, I ſhall only obſerve, that it was rebuilt and adorned by the Emperor Juſtinian, about the year of our Lord 500. It is highly eſteemed by architects, for the flatneſs of the dome, or cupola, which, it is ſaid, the moderns cannot imitate.

In time of war, Chriſtians are not permitted to enter the moſque. Nevertheleſs, we were conducted up a pair of back ſtairs to the gallery, from whence we had a full view of the whole. The floor is laid with clean mats and carpets, having no ſeat, only one pulpit for the Mullah. The gallery is laid with marble, ſupported by about one hundred marble pillars, of various colours and ſizes, moſt of them, at leaſt, between five and ſix feet diameter. The whole of the inſide hath a noble and grand appearance. At the entry into the gallery, is an old veſtry, with the door cloſed up, of which a Greek, of my acquaintance, told me the following ſhort ſtory, viz. a certain Mullah being in the veſtry, ſaw, or fancied that he ſaw, a man on horſeback, with a ſword in his hand, who bid him begone out of that holy place, &c. This, like other tales of the ſame nature, was not long a ſecret, and was interpreted to have been no other than Conſtantine the Great. However fabulous the ſtory appears, the door of the veſtry hath been condemned ſince that time.

From Sancta Sophia I was conducted to the Hippodrome, where the Greeks uſed formerly to train their horſes to the menage, now called the Att-Maydan, and is ſtill applied to the ſame uſe by the Turks. It is a ſpacious oblong ſquare, having a pretty marble obeliſk in the middle. On one ſide of it is a pillar of braſs, with ſerpents twining round it; this is ſomewhat defaced, and is about ten feet high.

In the great ſtreet, at ſome diſtance from the Hippodrome, ſtands another venerable monument of antiquity; a large and tall pillar, called the Burnt-pillar, becauſe it hath greatly ſuffered by fire in the neighbourhood, which hath cracked it in divers places; this is a misfortune common to narrow ſtreets, and not to be remedied without a well regulated police. This pillar is of porphyry, about twenty yards high.

We went thence to ſee the grand reſervoir, built with intent of ſupplying the city with water in caſe of a ſiege. This muſt have coſt an immenſe ſum of money; for it is all of it under ground; above it are ſtreets and houſes. It is not far from the Hippodrome. Towards the water-ſide, the covering of it is ſupported by a great number of arches, and many hundreds of ſtone-pillars, of which not a few are fallen down, and the whole of it is going a-pace to decay. There was no water in it.

There is another ancient fabric, known by the name of Edikuly, or ſeven towers, ſtanding on an eminence to the weſtward; which is now a common priſon. Near the middle of the city ſtands a ſmall tower called Belliſarius; whether or not it was the houſe of that great and unfortunate general, I could not learn.

Oppoſite to the ſeraglio, near the middle of the canal, ſtands a ſmall round tower, upon the ſummit of a ſmall rock, called Leander's Tower. This, with the foregoing, are the few remains of antiquity commonly ſhown to ſtrangers.

The haven, which divides the city from that diſtrict of it, called Pera, for its extent and depth of water, may probably equal, perhaps ſurpaſs, the beſt in the known world, well fenced on all ſides by riſing grounds. Near the bottom of the haven is a ſpacious and moſt convenient yard for building ſhips and galleys, with ſuitable magazines and warehouſes

warehouſes for keeping the cordage, guns, ammunition, and for every material requiſite for building and fitting men of war and galleys for the ſea.

Adjoining is a place called the Bagnio, appropriated to the lodging and accommodating galley-ſlaves; where, it may be ſuppoſed, they do not paſs their time very agreeably.

My next walk was to ſee the Derviſes at worſhip; they are a religious order of the Mahometans, who have a moſque in Pera, built in a circular form, with a pulpit for the Mullah, and a gallery built in a niche made in the circle for the muſic. The ſermon being ended, the muſicians began on various inſtruments, which were like the European flutes and hautboys; upon which five of the derviſes ſtood up, and danced round the moſque, in a frantic manner, turning themſelves round, as they advanced, with ſo quick a motion, that their faces were hardly diſtinguiſhable from other parts of their heads. They followed each other at certain diſtances; but an old man of fourſcore years outdid all the reſt in quickneſs of turning round. Yet, when he left off, he did not ſeem to be all diſcompoſed by the violence of the motion. This extravagant ſect make vows of poverty and chaſtity, travel over all the eaſt, where the religion of Mahomet prevails, and are held in great eſteem by the devout of that profeſſion.

The 9th of March, the army intended for Hungary, under the command of Eggeny-Mahomet-Baſha, the Grand Viſier, began to file off to the camp aſſigned for them, about three miles to the northward of the city. The proceſſion continued four days; and, as uſual, when the Sultan himſelf, or the Grand Viſier, takes the field in perſon, the troops are attended by all the different trades and artiſans to the place of encampment, each trade having the proper dreſs and badges of their reſpective profeſſion, with banners, muſic, &c.

The firſt day the janiſaries marched, with their Aga, or chief commander, at their head, followed by a numerous multitude of artiſans. The firſt in proceſſion was a plough drawn by painted oxen, with gilded horns. It would be tedious to mention the reſt particularly; I ſhall only obſerve, that ſome of this ragamuffin crew made frightful figures, being naked to the waiſt, with ſabres run through the fleſhy part of their arms, and beſmeared with blood—A ſhocking ſpectacle!

The ſecond day's proceſſion was the pioneers and miners, with their different tools and utenſils.

The third day, the cannoniers marched.

The fourth day, the Viſier marched out, attended by the general officers of the army, a great many ſpahis and janiſaries, and all the different trades of the town; among which rabble, were many ſuch banditti as above deſcribed, naked for the moſt part of the body, all bloody. The Grand Mufti was in the ſame coach with the Grand Viſier, and had the Alcoran carried by a Mullah, who ſat likewiſe in the ſame coach, oppoſite to the Mufti; which was preceded by a number of ſingers, in their proper habits, ſinging as they went along. Before the coach was carried the ſtandard of Mahomet, which is a horſe's tail, ſaid to be brought from heaven by the Angel Gabriel to Mahomet, and is held in great veneration, ſeldom appearing but on great ſolemnities; after which it is carried back to the ſeraglio, where it remains till the next occaſion.

When war is declared againſt any prince or ſtate, the horſe-tail is ſet up at the gate of the ſeraglio, called Alla-Capy, or the Port of God, from whence the Grand Seignor dates all his diſpatches; and, on that account, the court of the Grand Seignor is commonly called the Ottoman Porte and the Sublime Porte. But when the Sultan is in the field, at the head of his army, he dates all his letters and orders from his ſtirrup. All generals who have three horſe-tails, are called Viſier; but the Grand Viſier, who

is always prime miniſter, governs and directs all affairs relating to the ſtate, both foreign and domeſtic: next to him in power is the Kaymacan, who is his lieutenant; after him Niſangy Baſha, keeper of the ſeals; then Kap-adgee Baſha, chief porter; Kiſlar-agaſſy, the chief eunuch. Theſe are the principal great officers at court. It happens often, that the Kiſlar-agaſſy hath more to ſay than all the reſt put together; for although the ladies live very retired, yet they are not ſo ignorant as is generally imagined. And, if I am not miſinformed, matters of the greateſt conſequence are canvaſſed, and often ſettled in the ſeraglio, before they are preſented to the miniſtry. One thing is certain, that whoever wants a favour at court needs no better recommendation than a friend among the ladies.

Soon after my arrival, I had an invitation from the famous Count Bonneval, who then was ill of the gout; but, in time of war, it was not thought fit that I ſhould viſit that gentleman.

March 15th, Sir Everard Fawkener went to the camp to take leave of the Grand Viſier, as is uſual for all the foreign miniſters to do, on the like occaſions. We diſmounted at ſome diſtance from the tent of this great man, were conducted by an officer to a magnificent tent, near to that of the Viſier, and entertained with coffee, &c. for about a quarter of an hour; after which the ambaſſador, accompanied by the gentlemen of his retinue, went to the Viſier's tent, where a ſtool was prepared for his Excellency. The gentlemen ſtood during the time the ambaſſador remained. The Viſier ſat croſs-legged on a ſopha raiſed about half a foot from the floor, which was all laid with rich carpets. Very near him ſtood a frame, on which were hung ſome muſkets, ſabres, &c. of a very curious workmanſhip, ornamented richly with gold, ſilver, and ſtones of value, as emeralds, rubies, &c. The Turkiſh camps are, in general, very regular and clean.

The ſhort ceremony being over, we returned again to the city. After ſome days the Grand Viſier marched to Adrianople, in his way to Hungary.

Being about to leave this city, I ſhall detain the reader with no more particulars than the following ſhort obſervations.

In Turkey there are few families who have any diſtinguiſhing titles or honours appertaining to them which deſcend to their children. All titles of honour, and places of power and profit in the Sultan's dominions, depend on perſonal merit, or the Sultan's favour, which dies with the poſſeſſor. The only two families who have a juſt claim to nobility, are thoſe of Dgiggal-Oglu and Kuperly, who, for ſignal ſervice done the empire, have peculiar privileges; one in particular, that the Sultan, as it is ſaid, cannot condemn them to death. It ſeems that, on a very critical conjuncture, when affairs were in great diſorder, the Sultan died, Kuperly kept it a ſecret for ſix weeks; in which time, by his prudent conduct, the government was eſtabliſhed on a proper footing. Beſides theſe, there are deſcendants of their prophet Mahomet's family, of which there are great numbers, who are diſtinguiſhed by wearing green, and enjoy ſome privileges.

Having nothing more to do at Conſtantinople, I am now about to return to St. Peterſburg. As I had a commiſſion from Sir Everard Fawkener for the Grand Viſier, who was then at Adrianople, I took that road.

April 8th, after taking leave of my friends, I ſet out from Conſtantinople, accompanied by a tzauſh, or meſſenger, a janiſary, and my own ſervant.

The 13th, in the morning, I came to the city of Adrianople, where I lodged at the houſe of Mr. Damiral, a Greek gentleman, who is agent at this place for our ambaſſador, where I found a friendly reception. The city of Adrianople is about forty

leagues north-weſt from Conſtantinople, in a pleaſant country, inhabited by Turks, Greeks, and ſome Jews. The Capuchins have alſo a convent here. The town is pretty large, and is remarkable for having a very noble grand moſque, with very high minorets, of excellent workmanſhip. The architect was a Greek, of whom it is reported, that the Grand Seignor, being amazed at the extraordinary contrivance and execution which the architect exhibited in thoſe buildings, thought that nothing of mechaniſm was out of his reach, and ordered him to make himſelf wings, and to fly off from the top of one of the minorets, which the poor builder was forced to attempt. After flying a conſiderable diſtance, he fell among ſome tombs, and broke his neck. I do not vouch for the truth of the ſtory; but I was ſhown the tombs in the neighbourhood, among which it is ſaid that he fell.

The 14th, I had a viſit from Monſieur Peiſonell, the French agent, and ſome of the Capuchin fathers.

The 15th, I went to return the viſit at the convent. In coming through the market-place, in the way to my lodgings, I met with a very diſagreeable ſpectacle; which was two men, lying ſtark naked, without their heads, which had been juſt before cut off. They were ſaid to have been ſpies.

After diſcharging my commiſſion to the Grand Viſier, which I effected through Mr. Damiral, and obtaining an order for poſt-horſes, I left Adrianople the 17th, and proceeded on my journey to the northward; in which I need not be particular, having mentioned moſt of the places in the former part of this relation. I took the neareſt way for Yaſſy in Moldavia.

The 26th, we paſſed the Danube in a boat, at a place called Kalaſs, a few leagues above Iſmayl.

The 29th, we arrived at the city of Yaſſy. The next day I waited on the Prince, who received me in a moſt friendly manner. He gave orders for horſes, and two of his guards, to conduct me to the frontiers of Poland. He likewiſe ſent an officer, to accompany me as far as Nemiroffe. I then diſcharged my tzauſh and janiſary, who returned back to Conſtantinople.

May 1ſt, I left Yaſſy, and came the next day to Soroka.

The 3d, I left Soroka, paſſed the Dneiſter, and came to Tamas-Poly, where I lodged.

The 5th, I got to Nemiroffe; and at this place delivered all my diſpatches for Europe to General Ruſſotſky, to be forwarded according to addreſs.

The 10th, I arrived at Kioff, and ſet out again the ſame day.

On the 17th of May I arrived at St. Peterſburg.

It is to be noted, all my dates are old ſtile.

I ſhall ſubjoin a liſt of all the ſtages and diſtances from St. Peterſburg to Conſtantinople. As I have in a former journey, particularized the ſtages to Moſco, I need not repeat them here.

From St. Peterſburg to the	*Verſts.*
City of Moſco - -	734
From Moſco towards Kioff, to	
Sela Packra -	30
Village of Tzeniſkoy -	35
Lykof-Vrague -	40
Dobrichach -	35
Caluga - -	40
Lykvyn - -	30

to the	*Verſts.*
Town of Belof - -	40
Bolſhof - -	40
Selo Glotovo -	35
Kartzof - -	35
Selo Samova -	30
Selo Tzainaka -	30
Village of Lieubuſh - -	30
Town of Seyefſki - -	30

To

to the	*Verſts.*
Town of Tolſto Dubovo -	40
Gluchovo -	30
Korolevitz -	39
Batturin - -	44
Borzna - -	33
Neſhina - -	48
Noſofka - -	28
to the	*Verſts.*
Town of Koſſelitz -	38
Semipologue -	25
Brovary - -	29
City of Kioff - -	18
From St. Peterſburg to Kioff	1586

The verſt in Ruſſia conſiſts of 1166⅔ Engliſh yards; ſo that the diſtance from St. Peterſburg to Kioff, being 1586 verſts, is 1051$\frac{3}{10}$ Engliſh miles.

From Kioff to Soroka.

From Kioff to	*Poliſh miles.*
Vaſſilkoff - -	5
Belozyrkoff - -	6
Shamarayofka - -	2
Squeer - -	1
Samgorod - -	1
Golochuaſt - -	1
Pogrebiſha - -	2
Spitzinitz - -	2
Otzeredno - -	1
Lipovitz - -	1
Vytofsky - -	2
Kavalefka - -	1
to Nemiroff - -	1
Petzery - -	2
Spykoff - -	2
Lefkovitz - -	1
Tamaz-Poly - -	3
Kleynbofka - -	2
Tzikanofka on the Dnieſter, on the bank oppoſite is Soroka - -	3
	39

Computing 6½ Engliſh miles to a Poliſh mile, the diſtance from Kioff to Soroka will be 253½ Engliſh miles.

From Soroka, the frontier, to Yaſſy, the capital of Moldavia, reckoning the Turkiſh ſahat, or hour, to be three Engliſh miles.

From Soroka to	*Engliſh miles.*
Kaynar - -	12
Hetſh - -	12
Meygura - -	24
River Pruth - -	12
to the City of Yaſſy -	12
From Soroka to Yaſſy	72

From Yaſſy to Bender.

From Yaſſy to	*Engliſh miles.*
Roſinar - -	12
Volzinitz - -	15
Koſhuſhna - -	24
Kiſhanoff - -	6
to Bender - - -	24
From Yaſſy to Bender	81

From Bender to the Danube, along the deſert of Budjack.

From Bender to	*Engliſh miles.*
Kauſhan - -	12
Kongley - -	24
Tartarken - -	30
to the Town of Iſmayl -	21
From Bender to Iſmayl	87

From Ismayl to Constantinople.

	English miles.
From Ismayl, crofs the Danube to	
Tultzin - -	12
Babbadach - -	18
Kaybaly - -	18
Kodjalo - -	6
Iftere - -	6
Danna-Kew - -	6
Kara-Su - -	12
Kabady - -	12
Aly-Beg-Kiew -	12
Bazartiek - -	24
Ufheny - -	6
Provady - -	24
Yeny Kiew - -	9
Tzenggy - -	6
to A Caravanfera -	12
Aydofs - -	12
Benglyr - -	9
Kara-Bunar - -	15
Faky - -	12
Kangry - -	12
Kirglifs - -	24
Bourgafs - -	24
Tzorby - -	30
Silivry - -	24
Buyuck Tzeckmiday	18
Conftantinople -	18
From Ismayl to Conftantinople	381

The whole diftance from St. Peterfburg to Conftantinople, I take to be about 1295 Engliſh meafured miles, of 1760 yards each mile.

The feveral diftances as follow, viz.

From St. Peterfburg to Kioff 1051 meafured miles.	
From Kioff to Soroka, the frontier of Moldavia,	253 computed miles.
From Soroka to Yaffy - - -	72
From Yaffy to Bender - - -	81
From Bender to Ismayl - - -	87
From Ismayl to Conftantinople - -	311
	1925

Thus, I have finifhed my fourth eaftern journey, which, in all probability will be my laft to that quarter of the globe. I would not advife any man to undertake this laft, at fuch a feafon of the year as I did, or in time of war.

TRAVELS OF SOME DUTCHMEN IN KOREA;

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY, AND THEIR SHIPWRECK ON THE ISLAND OF QUELPAERT.

By HENRY HAMEL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE following ſhort relation was firſt printed by the author in Holland, where the eight men who returned from Korea were then living: theſe having been examined by ſeveral perſons of reputation, all confirmed what the ſecretary of the ſhip, as he calls himſelf, had written. This ſeems to render the narrative ſufficiently authentic, in the opinion of the Engliſh tranſlator; who obſerves, that, according to the French editor, in his preface, there is nothing aſſerted in the deſcription of Korea, which does not agree with what Palafoix, and others who wrote of the Tartar invaſion, had ſaid before. However true this may prove, with regard to the cuſtoms of the people, (which, as well as the form of government, ſeems to be nearly the ſame with the Chineſe,) there ſeems to lie an objection againſt the geography of the Dutch author, viz. that is does not correſpond with the map of Korea, as to the names of any of the cities in the road, which the Dutchmen took from the ſea-coaſt to the capital of that kingdom, or even that of the capital itſelf. Eſpecially ſince that map was taken from one hung up in the King's palace, and gives the indigenous names to places, unleſs the names be written by the miſſioners, according to the Chineſe, inſtead of the Korean language: for though both nations uſe the ſame characters, their languages are different. As the author reſided thirteen years in Korea, the tranſlator thinks he might have publiſhed a more ample and ſatisfactory account of it. Be that as it will, we may be content, provided it is but genuine, ſince that which the miſſioners have ſent over is much more ſcanty. At the end of the journal, we meet with the names both of thoſe who returned from Korea, and thoſe who were left behind, making in all but ſixteen out of thirty-ſix, who were ſaved from the wreck thirteen years before.

Thoſe who returned from Korea, were

Henry Hamel, of Gorcum, ſecretary to the ſhip, and author of this account.
Godfrey Denis, of Rotterdam.
John Piters, of Uries in Friezland.
Gerard Jans, of Rotterdam.
Matthew Ybocken, of Enchuyſen.
Cornelius Theodorick, of Amſterdam.
Benet Clerc, of Rotterdam.
Denis Godfrey, of Rotterdam.

* From GREEN's, commonly called ASTLEY's Collection, Vol. IV. 329.

The

The names of thoſe who remained in Korea, were

John Lampe, of Amſterdam.
Henry Cornelius, of Ureelandt.
John Nicholas, of Dort.
Jacob Jans, of Norway.
Anthony Ulders, of Embden.
Nicholas Arents, of Oſt-voren.
Alexander Boſquet, a Scotchman.
John, of Utrecht.

SECTION I.—THEIR SHIPWRECK ON QUELPAERT, AND TRAVELS IN KOREA.

1. *Their Voyage to Quelpaert, and Shipwreck there.*

Departure from Holland. —Great Storms. —Their Diſtreſs. — The Ship wrecked. — How treated by the Natives. —The Wreck ſecured for their Uſe: — Sent up to the Governor — are cloſely confined, but kindly uſed. — They meet with a Dutchman, ſent as Interpreter. — Very good Governor. — A very bad one. — Some Attempt to eſcape. — Taken and puniſhed. — Quelpaert deſcribed.

THEY left the Texel in the Sparrowhawk, on the 10th of January 1653, in the evening; and, after many ſtorms and much foul weather, came to an anchor the 1ſt of June, in the road of Batavia. As ſoon as they had refreſhed themſelves, they ſet ſail the 14th of the ſame month, by command of the governor-general, for Tayowan, where they arrived the 16th of July. They carried with them Mynheer Cornelius Leſſen, who went to take poſſeſſion of the government of that city, and Formoſa, in place of Mynheer Nicholas Verburge, who had reſided there three years. The 30th they, by order of the council, departed for Japan: but next day, towards the evening, as they were getting out of the channel of Formoſa, there aroſe a ſtorm, which increaſed all night.

The 1ſt of Auguſt, in the morning early, they perceived themſelves cloſe upon a ſmall iſland, where, with much difficulty, they at length came to an anchor; for in moſt parts of that ſea there is no bottom. The fog clearing up, they found themſelves ſo near the coaſt of China, that they could eaſily diſcern armed men ſcattered along the ſhore, expecting to make their advantage of the ſhip's wreck: but, though the ſtorm increaſed, they there continued all that day and the night following, in ſight of them. The third day they perceived the ſtorm had driven them twenty leagues from their courſe, ſo that they were again in ſight of Formoſa. They plied betwixt that iſland and the continent, the weather ſomewhat cold. What troubled them moſt was, that the uncertain winds and calms kept them in that channel till the 11th of the ſame month, when a ſouth-eaſt wind grew up into a ſtorm, with a heavy rain, and forced them to run north-caſt, and north-eaſt by eaſt. The three following days the weather continued ſtill more tempeſtuous, and the wind ſhifted ſo often, that they were continually hoiſting and lowering their ſails.

By this time the frequent beating of the ſea had much weakened their veſſel, and the continual rain obſtructed their making any obſervation; for which reaſon they were forced to furl all their ſails, ſtrike the yards, and commit themſelves to the mercy of

the waves. On the 15th the ſhip took in ſo much water, that there was no maſtering it. That night their boat, and the greater part of their gallery were carried away, by the continual breaking in of the waves, which ſhook their boltſprit, and endangered their prow: nor was it poſſible to repair the damage ſuſtained, the guſts of wind were ſo violent, and came ſo cloſe one upon another. At length, a wave breaking over their ſtern, had like to have waſhed away all the ſeamen who were upon the deck, and filled the ſhip ſo full of water, that the maſter cried out to cut down the maſt by the board immediately, and go to their prayers, ſaying, if one or two ſuch waves ſhould return, they were inevitably loſt.

This was their condition, when the ſecond watch being juſt run out, he who looked a-head, cried, "Land! land!" adding, that they were not above a muſket-ſhot from ſhore; which they could not deſcry ſooner for the rain and darkneſs of the night. They could not come to an anchor, becauſe they found no bottom; and while they were endeavouring at it, in vain, three ſucceſſive waves ſprung ſuch a leak in the veſſel, that they who were in the hold were drowned before they could get out. Some of thoſe on the deck leaped overboard, and the reſt were carried away by the ſea. Fifteen of them got aſhore, for the moſt part naked, and much hurt. They thought, at firſt, none had eſcaped except themſelves; but, in climbing the rocks, they heard the voices of ſome men complaining, whom next day, by calling and ſeeking about the ſtrand, they met with, ſcattered here and there: ſo that they made up thirty-ſix, no more remaining out of ſixty-four, and moſt of them dangerouſly hurt.

In ſearching the wreck, they found a man wedged betwixt two planks, which had ſo preſſed his body that he lived but three hours: but of all who periſhed, they could find only their captain, Egbertz, of Amſterdam, ſtretched out on the ſand, ten or twelve fathom from the water, with his arm under his head, whom they buried: nor had the ſea caſt any of their proviſions aſhore, except one ſack of meal, a caſk with ſome ſalt-meat, a little bacon, and a hogſhead of claret. Their greateſt trouble was to contrive how to make a fire, concluding they were on ſome deſert iſland. Towards evening, the wind and rain ſomewhat abating, they gathered enough of the timber and ſails of the wreck, to make ſome ſhelter againſt the weather.

The 17th, as they were lamenting their deplorable condition, ſometimes complaining that they ſaw nobody, and ſometimes flattering themſelves with the hopes of being near Japan, they eſpied a man about a cannon-ſhot diſtant, to whom they called, and made ſigns; but as ſoon as he ſaw them, he fled. After noon they ſpied three more; one carried a muſket, and his companions bows. Being come within gun-ſhot, they halted, and perceiving the Dutchmen made towards them, ran away, though they endeavoured to inform them, by ſigns, that they deſired nothing but fire. At laſt, one of the company reſolving to attack them, they delivered up their arms without oppoſition, and thus kindled their fuel. Theſe men were clad after the Chineſe faſhion, excepting only their hats, which were of horſe-hair; and the Dutch were much afraid leſt they ſhould be wild Chineſe, or pirates. Towards evening there came an hundred armed men, clad like the former, who, after counting, kept them incloſed all night.

Next day at noon, there coming down about two thouſand men, horſe and foot, who drew up in order of battle before their hut or tent, their ſecretary, the chief pilot, and his mate, with a boy, went out to meet them. When they were brought to the commander, he ordered a great iron chain to be put about the neck of each of them, with a little bell, in which condition they were obliged to proſtrate themſelves before him. Thoſe in the hut were treated in the ſame manner, all the iſlanders, at the ſame time, raiſing a great ſhout. When they had lain ſome time flat on their faces, ſigns were made

made for them to kneel, and ſome queſtions were put to them, which they did not underſtand; nor could they, on the other hand, make the natives ſenſible, that they intended to have gone to Japan; for they call that country Jeenare, or Jerpon. The commander perceiving he could make nothing of all they ſaid, cauſed a cup of arak to be given to each of them, and ſent them back to their tent, ordering their conductors to let him ſee their proviſions; which having viewed, an hour after they brought them rice boiled in water; but believing they were almoſt ſtarved, gave them not much, for fear it ſhould do them hurt.

After dinner, they came with ropes in their hands, which greatly ſurpriſed the Dutch, imagining they intended to ſtrangle them; but their fear vaniſhed, on ſeeing them run towards the wreck, to draw aſhore what might be of uſe to them. At night they gave them more rice to eat; and their maſter having made an obſervation, found they were in the iſland of Quelpaert, which is in thirty three degrees, thirty-two minutes of latitude.

Theſe people were employed all the 19th in geting aſhore the ſad remains of the wreck, drying the cloaths, and burning the wood to get the iron, being very fond of that metal. Beginning now to grow ſomewhat familiar, they went to the commander of the forces, and admiral of the iſland, who was alſo come down, and preſented each with a proſpective glaſs, and a pot of red wine, beſides the captain's ſilver cup, found among the rocks. They liked the liquor ſo well, that they drank till they were very merry; but returned the ſilver cup, with many tokens of friendſhip.

The 20th they made an end of burning all the wood of the ſhip, and ſaving the iron: during which time, the fire they made coming to two pieces of cannon loaded with ball, they gave ſo great a report, that they all fled, and durſt not go near the veſſel, till the Dutch had aſſured them, by ſigns, that they need not fear the like accident any more. This day they brought them rice twice, to eat. Next morning the commander gave them to underſtand, by ſigns, that they muſt bring before him whatever they had ſaved in their tent, in order to be ſealed; which was done in their preſence. Meanwhile certain perſons being brought to him, who had converted to their own uſe ſome iron, hides, and other things ſaved out of the wreck, were immediately puniſhed before them, to let them ſee, that their deſign was not to wrong them of any of their goods. Each of the thieves had thirty or forty ſtrokes on the ſoles of his feet, with a cudgel ſix feet long, and as thick as a man's arm. This puniſhment was ſo ſevere, that ſome of their toes dropped off.

About noon they were given to underſtand, that they muſt depart. Thoſe who were well had horſes provided for them, and the ſick were carried in hammocks. They ſet forward, attended by a numerous guard of horſe and foot; and travelling four leagues, came at night to a little town called Tadiane; where, after a ſlender repaſt, they were carried into a warehouſe, much like a ſtable. The 22d, at break of day, they departed, in the ſame order as before, and travelled to a little fort, near which there were two galliots. Here they halted to dine, and at night came to the town of Moggan, or Mokſo, where the governor of the iſland reſides. They were all conducted to the ſquare before the town houſe, where about three thouſand men ſtood under arms; ſome of whom coming forwards, gave them water to drink in diſhes; but being armed after a terrible manner, the Dutchmen imagined their deſign was to kill them. Their very habit increaſed their fear, for it had ſomewhat frightful, which is not ſeen in China, or Japan.

Their ſecretary, accompanied with ſome others, was carried to the governor. When they had lain awhile proſtrate, a ſign was made to the reſt to do the ſame, near a ſort of balcony before the houſe, where he ſat like a king. After this, he cauſed them to be

aſked, by ſigns, whence they came, and whither they were bound? They anſwered, that they were Hollanders, and bound for Nangaſaki, in Japan. Thereupon he ſignified, by bowing his head a little, that he underſtood ſomething of what they ſaid. Then he ordered them to paſs in review by four and four at a time; and having put the ſame queſtion to each of them, ordered them to be carried to the ſame houſe, where the King's uncle, who had attempted to uſurp the throne, had been confined, and died.

As ſoon as they were all in, the houſe was beſet with armed men. They had a daily allowance of twelve ounces of rice a man, and the ſame quantity of wheaten meal, but very little beſides, and ſo ill dreſſed, that they could not eat it. Thus, their common meals were for the moſt part only rice, meal, and ſalt, with water to drink. The governor, who was ſeventy years of age, was a very underſtanding man, and in good eſteem at court. When he diſmiſſed them, he made ſigns, that he would write to the King to know his pleaſure concerning them, but that it would be a conſiderable time before he could receive an anſwer, becauſe the diſtance was fourſcore leagues all but ten, by land; they therefore begged him to order, that they might have fleſh ſometimes, and other kinds of victuals. They alſo obtained leave for ſix of them to go abroad every day by turns, to take the air, and waſh their linen. He did them the honour often to ſend for, and make them write ſomething before him, both in his own, and the Dutch language. By this means they began to underſtand ſome words. As he was pleaſed ſometimes to diſcourſe with, and divert them with little amuſements, they began to conceive hopes of getting over one day to Japan. He took ſuch care of their ſick, that, ſays the author, "We may affirm we were better treated by that idolater, than "we ſhould have been among Chriſtians."

The 29th of October, the ſecretary, maſter, and ſurgeon's mate, were carried before the governor, where they found a man ſitting, who had a great red beard. The governor aſked them who they took that man to be? And having told him they ſuppoſed he was a Dutchman, he fell a laughing, and ſaid they were miſtaken, for he was a Koreſian. After ſome further diſcourſe, the man, who, till then had been ſilent, aſked them in Dutch, who they were, and of what country? They returned an anſwer, adding an account of their misfortunes. Then taking the boldneſs to aſk him the ſame queſtions, in their turn, he ſaid his name was John Wettevree; that he was born at Riip in Holland, from whence he came as a volunteer in 1626, aboard the ſhip Hollandia: that, next year, going to Japan in the Ouderkeres frigate, the wind drove them on the coaſt of Korea; that wanting water, and being one of thoſe who were commanded aſhore to get proviſions, he and two more, named Theodorick Gerard and John Pieters, had been taken by the inhabitants, ſeventeen or eighteen years before in the wars, when the Tartars invaded Korea; that he was fifty-eight years of age, and that his abode was in the capital city of Korea, whence the King had ſent him to know who they were, and what had brought them into his dominions? He added, that he had often aſked leave of the King to go over to Japan, without ever obtaining any other anſwer, than that he muſt never expect it, unleſs he had wings, and could fly thither: that the cuſtom of the country was to detain all ſtrangers, but that they wanted for nothing, being provided with diet and clothes as long as they lived.

This was no pleaſing news to the Dutchmen; but the joy of finding ſo good an interpreter diſpelled their melancholy. Yet he had ſo forgotten his mother tongue, that they had much to do at firſt to underſtand him; but he recovered it again in a month's time. The governor having cauſed all their depoſitions to be taken in form, ſent them to court, and bade them be of good cheer, for that they ſhould have

an anſwer in a ſhort time. Meanwhile, he daily beſtowed new favours on them, giving leave to Wettevree, and the officers who came with him, to ſee them at any time, and acquaint him with their wants.

The beginning of December a new governor came, their benefactor's three years being expired. It would be hard to expreſs the kindneſs he ſhewed them at his departure, inſomuch that ſeeing them ill provided againſt winter, he cauſed two pair of ſhoes, a coat well lined, and a pair of ſtockings of ſkins to be made for each of them. He likewiſe treated them nobly, declaring that he was ſorry it had not been in his power to ſend them over to Japan, or carry them with him to the continent. He added, that they ought not to be troubled at his going away, becauſe, being at court, he would uſe all his endeavours to obtain their liberty, or have them carried thither. He reſtored them the books they had ſaved, with ſome other parcels of goods, giving them, at the ſame time, a bottle of precious oil. He likewiſe got the new governor to mend their allowance, which he had reduced to rice, ſalt, and water.

But after that lord's departure, which was in January 1654, they were much worſe uſed than before, for barley was given them inſtead of rice, and barley-meal in place of wheat; the firſt of which they were forced to ſell, to procure other food. This hard uſage tempted them to think of making their eſcape in the approaching ſpring, and the rather, as the King's order did not come for carrying them up to court. After long conſulting how they might ſeize on a boat in a dark night, at length ſix of them reſolved to execute this deſign about the end of April; but one of the gang having gotten a-top of the wall, in order to ſee where the bark lay, was diſcovered by ſome dogs, whoſe barking alarmed the guards.

The beginning of May, the maſter going abroad with five others, as he was walking, obſerved, at a little hamlet near the city, a bark well fitted up, without any body to guard it. He preſently ſent one of his company to get a little boat, and ſome ſhort planks. Then making each man drink a draught of water, he went aboard, without taking care for any more. Whilſt they were labouring to draw the bark over a little ſhoal that was near it, ſome of the inhabitants diſcovered their deſign; and one of them running out with a muſket, went into the water to oblige them to return: yet that did not hinder them from proceeding, except one, who not being able to get up to the reſt, was forced to go back to land. The other five attempting to hoiſt the ſail, both maſt and ſail fell into the water. They ſoon got things to rights again, with much labour; but as they endeavoured a ſecond time to hoiſt ſail, the end of the maſt broke off ſhort, and could not poſſibly be mended. Theſe delays giving the natives time to get into another bark, they ſoon overtook the fugitives; who, notwithſtanding their weapons, nimbly boarded them, hoping to make themſelves maſters of the veſſel: but finding it full of water, and unfit for ſervice, they all ſubmitted.

Being carried before the governor, he cauſed them to be laid flat on the ground, and their hands chained to a great log: then the reſt being brought alſo bound and manacled, the priſoners were aſked, whether they were privy to their flight? This all the ſix poſitively denying, Wettevree was ſet to examine what their deſign was: and they anſwering, it was no other, but to go to Japan; "How durſt you, (ſaid the governor,) "attempt that paſſage without bread and water?" They replied, they had choſen rather to expoſe themſelves, once for all, to the danger of death than to die every moment. Hereupon the unfortunate wretches had each twenty-five ſtrokes given him on the bare buttocks, with a cudgel a fathom long, four fingers broad, and an inch thick, being flat on the ſide that ſtrikes, and round on the other. Theſe ſtrokes were ſo unmercifully laid on, that the ſufferers were forced to keep their beds a month; and

and though the reſt were unbound, yet they were confined, and ſtrictly guarded day and night.

Quelpaert, which the natives call Scheſure, lies twelve or thirteen leagues ſouth of the coaſt of Korea, and is fourteen or fifteen leagues in compaſs. On the north ſide of it is a bay, where ſeveral barks lie, and from whence they ſail for the continent; which is of very dangerous acceſs to thoſe unacquainted with it, on account of the hidden rocks, and that there is but one road where ſhips can anchor and tide under ſhelter; for in all other places they are often driven over to the coaſt of Japan. The iſland is quite ſurrounded with rocks, but abounds in horſes and cattle; yet theſe paying great duties to the King: the natives are very poor, and deſpiſed by the inhabitants of the continent. In this iſland there is a mountain of a vaſt height, covered with woods; beſides ſeveral ſmall hills, which are naked, interſperſed with vales abounding in rice.

2. *Their Journey to the Capital of Korea, and other Adventures.*

Sent for to Court: — The Road thither: — Arrival at the Capital: — Entered in the Guards: — Careſſed by many: — A ſtrong Caſtle. — Severe Cold. — Attempts of two unlucky to the reſt. — Shipwreck on Quelpaert. — The Dutch in Danger. — Baniſhed from Court: — Are hardly uſed by the Governors: — Get leave to beg.

THE latter end of May, orders came to carry them up to court. Six or ſeven days after they put them into four boats, with fetters on their feet, and one hand made faſt to a block, to prevent their leaping into the water, which otherwiſe they might eaſily have done, all the ſoldiers being ſea-ſick. After two days ſtruggling with contrary winds, they were put back, and their irons being taken off, returned to their former priſon at Quelpaert. Four or five days after, being ſhipped again by times in the morning, towards evening they got cloſe up to the continent; and having lain all night in the road, landed next morning, where their chains were taken off, but their guards doubled. Preſently horſes were brought, to carry them to the city Hey-nam, where they all met again, having been ſeparated at ſea, and landed in ſeveral places.

The morning following they came to the town of Jeham; where their gunner, who had never enjoyed health ſince the ſhipwreck, died, and was buried, by the governor's order. Next night they came to the city Nadioo; the day following to Sanſiang; thence to Tongap, after croſſing a high mountain, on the top whereof is the ſpacious fort called Ilpam-Sanſiang. Thence they travelled to the city Teyn, and next day, having baited at the little town of Kuniga, at night came to the great town of Khin-tyo, where formerly the King kept his court, and at preſent the governor of the province of Thillado reſides. It is a city of great trade, and very famous in that country, though a day's journey from the ſea. Going thence, they lay at Jeſan, the laſt town of the ſame province; then at the little town of Gunun, next at Jenſan, and, laſtly, at Konſio, the reſidence of the governor of the province of Tiongſiando. Next day they croſſed a great river, and entered upon the province of Sengado, in which Sior, the capital of Korea, is ſeated.

After lying many days in ſeveral places, they croſſed a river as wide as the Maeſe at Dordrecht, and a league from thence arrived at the city of Sior. They computed the diſtance ſeventy-five leagues, from their landing to this city, all the way northward, only a little inclining to the weſt. Here for two or three days they were lodged all in one houſe, and then removed into little huts, three or four together, to remain with the Chineſe, who were ſettled there. Being carried in a body before the King, he examined them, by means of Wettevree. After which they humbly beſeeched His Majeſty to

ſend them over to Japan, that, with the aſſiſtance of the Dutch there, they might one day return to their own country. The King told them it was not the cuſtom of Korea to ſuffer ſtrangers to depart the kingdom; but promiſed, at the ſame time, to provide them with all neceſſaries. Then he ordered them to do ſuch things before him as they were moſt expert at, as ſinging, dancing, and leaping. After which, cauſing meat to be ſet before them, he gave to each two pieces of cloth, to clothe them after the Korean faſhion.

Next day they were all carried to the general of the forces, who ordered Wettevree to tell them, that the King had admitted them among his life-guards, and, as ſuch, would allow them ſeventy kattis of rice a month. Hereupon each had a paper given him, in which was ſet down his name, his age, and his country; what profeſſion he followed before, and what he now was, all in their character, ſealed with the King's great ſeal, and the general's; which is nothing but the print of an hot iron. Together with this commiſſion, they delivered to each a muſket, powder, and ball, with orders to give a volley before the general's, every firſt and fourth day of the month; to be always ready to march into the field with him, whether the King went, or upon any other account. In ſpring and autumn, that general reviews his troops three times a month; the ſoldiers likewiſe exerciſe as often in private. A Chineſe and Wettevree were appointed to command them, the former as ſerjeant; the other was to have an eye over them, and teach the cuſtoms of the Koreans.

Moſt of the great men, out of curioſity, invited them to dine at their houſes, to ſee them exerciſe, ſhoot, and dance, after the Dutch manner. But, above all, their wives and children were eager to view them, becauſe the common people of Quelpaert had ſpread a report that they were of a monſtrous race, and, when they drank, were obliged to tuck up their noſes behind their ears. Hence the people of faſhion at Sior were amazed to ſee them better ſhaped than their countrymen; above all, they admired the fairneſs of their complexion. They ſo thronged to ſee them, that, at firſt, they could ſcarce walk the ſtreets, or be quiet at home. At length the general put a ſtop to this, forbidding all perſons whomſoever to go near them without his leave; the rather, becauſe the very ſlaves of great men took the liberty to fetch them out of their chambers to make ſport with.

In Auguſt, a Tartar envoy arriving to demand the uſual tribute, the King was forced to ſend them to a great fort, ſix or ſeven leagues from Sior, to be kept there till the ambaſſador departed, which was the beginning of next month. This fort ſtands on a mountain called Numma Sanſiang, which is three hours' work to aſcend. It is ſo ſtrong, that the King himſelf retires thither in time of war; and moſt of the great men of the kingdom live there. It is always furniſhed with three years' proviſion for a great number of people.

About the end of November the cold was ſo vehement, that the river was frozen, and three hundred horſes loaded paſſed over it. The general, concerned to ſee the cold they endured, informed the King, who ordered ſome hides, for the moſt part rotten, which they had ſaved from the ſhipwreck, to be diſtributed among them, that they might ſell them, and buy ſome cloathing. Two or three, with the money they got by theſe hides, purchaſed a little hut for nine or ten crowns; chuſing rather to endure cold, than to be continually tormented by their landlords ſending them to the mountains, two or three leagues diſtant to fetch wood. The reſt having cloathed themſelves the beſt they could, were forced to paſs the remainder of the winter as they had often done before.

The Tartar ambaſſador returning in March 1655, they were forbidden, as before, under ſevere penalties, to ſtir out of doors; but the day he ſet forward, Henry Jans, their

their maſter, and Henry John Bos, a gunner, under pretence of going for wood, reſolved to meet him on the way. As ſoon as he appeared at the head of his troops, they laid hold of his horſe's reins with one hand, and with the other turned aſide their Korean habit, to let him ſee they were clad after the Dutch manner underneath. This, at firſt, cauſed a great confuſion among the multitude, and the ambaſſador aſked them earneſtly, who they were; but they could never make him underſtand them: however, he ordered them to follow him. At night he cauſed enquiry to be made for ſomebody to explain what they ſaid to him; and hearing of Wettevree, ſent for him in haſte. That interpreter having advertiſed the King, a council was held, where it was reſolved to make the ambaſſador a preſent, in order to ſtifle the matter from coming to the Khan's ear.

Theſe two unhappy Dutchmen were brought back to Sior, and put in priſon, where, in a ſhort time, they died; but whether of a violent or natural death was unknown to their countrymen, who were never allowed to ſee them afterwards. As ſoon as this affair was noiſed abroad, they were carried before the council of war to be examined; and, though they declared themſelves no ways privy to their companions deſign, yet each of them was ſentenced to receive fifty baſtinadoes for not giving notice of their going out. But the King remitted this puniſhment; ſaying, they were to be conſidered as poor wretches caſt into his country by ſtorms, rather than as outlaws who came with an intent to plunder. Hereupon they were ſent home again; but with an injunction not to ſtir abroad without His Majeſty's orders.

In June, the general ſent their interpreter to acquaint them, that a veſſel being run aground on the iſland of Quelpaert, and Wettevree too old to perform the journey, three of them, who beſt underſtood the Koreſian language, ſhould prepare to ſet out to bring an account of the wreck. In purſuance of this order, the aſſiſtant, the pilot's mate, and a gunner, were choſen, and ſet forwards two days after.

The Tartar ambaſſador coming again in Auguſt, they were commanded, under pain of ſevere puniſhment, not to ſtir out of their quarters till three days after he was gone. The day before he came, they received letters from their companions, giving an account, that they were cloſely confined on the ſouthermoſt borders of the kingdom, to the end, that if the great Khan had been informed of the two unhappy fellows who were dead, and ſhould demand the reſt, he might be told, they were all three caſt away going to the iſland of Quelpaert.

The ambaſſador came again towards the end of the year; ſo that although the great Khan had ſent twice into Korea, ſince that unfortunate attempt of two of their companions, without making any mention of it, yet moſt of the great men uſed all their endeavours with the King to deſtroy them. The council ſat three days upon this affair; but the King, his brother, the general, and ſome others, were not for taking ſuch meaſures. The general propoſed, that each of them ſhould fight two Koreſians with the ſame weapons; alledging, that the King would thus get rid of them, without putting it in the power of any to ſay, that he had murdered poor ſtrangers. This intelligence was ſecretly conveyed to them by ſome charitable perſons. And ſoon after, the King's brother paſſing by their quarters, as he was going to the council, of which he was preſident, they fell proſtrate at his feet, and implored his favour; which ſo moved him to compaſſion, that he ſolicited ſtrongly in their behalf; inſomuch, that they owed their lives ſolely to the King and him. This giving offence to many perſons, to prevent the deſigns of ſuch who might attempt to deſtroy them, and keep them from being ſeen by the Tartars, it was thought fit to baniſh them into the province of Thillado, with an allowance from the King of fifty pounds of rice a month.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, in March 1657, they departed on horſeback from Sior, in charge of a ſerjeant, accompanied by their acquaintance as far as the river, a league from the city, where they took their leave of Wettevree. They paſſed through the ſame towns they had ſeen in their way to the court; and coming to lie at Jeam, ſet out next morning, and, about noon, arrived at a great town, called Diuſiong, or Thillapening, commanded by a large citadel. The Penigſe, who is chief in the abſence of the governor, reſides there, and has the title of colonel of the province. Being delivered to him with the King's letters, the ſerjeant was diſpatched to fetch their three companions who had been ſent away the year before, and were twelve leagues off, where the vice-admiral commanded. They were lodged together in a public houſe, making in all thirty-three perſons.

In April, they brought them ſome hides that had been left behind at Quelpaert, which was but eighteen leagues diſtant. The only buſineſs they were charged with, was to pull up the graſs that grew in the ſquare before the caſtle, twice a month, and to keep it clean. The governor, who was very good to them, as well as all the citizens, being obliged to go to court to anſwer ſome accuſations, was in danger of his life: but being well-beloved by the people, and favoured by the grandees, on account of his family, he came off with honour. The governor who ſucceeded him was more rigid, obliging them to fetch their wood, which uſed to be brought them, from a mountain three leagues off: but an apoplexy delivered them from him in September following.

Yet they fared no better under the next, who came in November: for when they aſked him for cloaths (which were then worn out with carrying wood) or any thing elſe, he anſwered, that the King had given no orders as to that point; that he was only obliged to furniſh their allowance of rice, and that for other wants it was their buſineſs to provide for themſelves. They therefore preſented him with a petition, for leave to beg, each in his turn, repreſenting, that they could not get their living any longer by carrying wood, becauſe they were naked, and that their labour would yield nothing but a little ſalt and rice. He granted their requeſt; and, in a ſhort time, they were provided againſt the cold.

At the beginning of the year 1658, a new governor coming, afflicted them with new croſſes. He forbid them to go abroad, proffering, if they would work for him, to give each three pieces of cotton cloth. But this they reſpectfully declined, knowing they ſhould wear out more cloaths in his ſervice than what he would furniſh them with. At the ſame time, ſome of them falling ill of a fever, (the very thoughts of which diſeaſe terrified the natives), he conſented, that they ſhould beg in companies; provided they were not abſent above a fortnight or three weeks, and that they neither went towards the court, nor Japan. The other half who remained at home, he ordered, ſhould look to the ſick, and take care to pull up the graſs in the ſquare.

3. *Their hard Uſage, and the eſcape of Eight to Japan.*

King of Korea dies. — A great Famine. — The Dutch parted: Get leave to beg. — A kind Governor. — Three Comets. — Eaſe of the Dutch diſturbed by ſevere Governors. — Some hire a Bark and eſcape: Get out to Sea: — Deſcry Japan. — The iſland Gotto. — Are carried aſhore. — Sail to Nangaſakis. — Received by the Factors. — Return to Holland.

IN April the King died, and his ſon ſucceeded him, with the conſent of the great Khân. They went on in their trade of begging, particularly among the religious men, who were very charitable, being never weary of hearing their adventures, and the cuſtoms of other countries.

The

The governor, who arrived in 1660, was ſo kind to them, that he often declared, if it was in his power, he would ſend them into their own country, or at leaſt to ſome place where the Hollanders frequented. This year there happened ſuch a drought, that all ſorts of proviſions were very ſcarce. The next was yet more miſerable, abundance of people being famiſhed to death, and the roads full of robbers; but the King vigorouſly purſued them. Acorns, pine-apples, and other wild fruit, were all the ſupport of the people. The famine was ſo great, that villages were plundered, and ſome of the King's ſtores broken open: yet thoſe diſorders being committed by the ſlaves of great men, none were puniſhed for them. This calamity laſted all the year 1662, and the following felt ſome ſhare of it. The place where the Dutch were, being no longer able to furniſh them with proviſion, the governor, about the end of February 1663, by order from court, diſtributed them into three towns: twelve he ſent to Saysiano, five to Suinſchien, and as many to Namman, ſixteen leagues beyond; their number at this time, being reduced to twenty-two. This ſeperation, which at firſt afflicted them, proved the means of the eſcape of the author, and his companions.

They ſet forwards on foot, carrying the ſick, and what baggage they had, on the horſes allowed them, and all lay in the ſame towns the firſt and ſecond night. The third day they came to Suinſchien, where the five aſſigned to that place were left. Next day they lay in a country houſe, and ſetting out early in the morning, came about nine to Sayſiano, where their conductors delivered them to the governor, or admiral of the province of Thellado, who reſides there. This ſeemed to be a very worthy lord: but five days after he was ſucceeded by another, who proved their ſcourge. The greateſt favour he granted them, was leave to go cut wood fit to make arrows for his men, who had nothing to do but to learn to ſhoot, the great men ſtriving who ſhall keep the ableſt archers.

Winter drawing on, they petitioned the governor for permiſſion to ſeek for cloathing; and he gave them leave to be abſent half at a time, for three days. This liberty proved very beneficial to them, becauſe the great men, who had compaſſion on them, favoured their ſallies; ſo that they were ſometimes allowed to be a month abroad. Whatever they got was ſhared in common. This continued till the governor was called to court, where the King declared him general of his army, which is the ſecond employment in the kingdom. His ſucceſſor eaſed them of all their burdens, and ordered, that they ſhould be as well treated as their countrymen, who were in the other towns. Thus they were only obliged to paſs muſter twice a month, to keep houſe in their turns, and to aſk leave when they wanted to go abroad; or at leaſt give the ſecretary notice, that they might know where to find them.

This governor, beſides other favours, often treated them, and pitying their misfortune, would aſk, why, being ſo near the ſea, they did not attempt to paſs over to Japan? They ſaid, they durſt not venture to do any thing ſo contrary to the King's will; adding, that they knew not the way, nor had a veſſel. He replied, there were barks enough along the coaſt. The Dutchmen alledged, that they did not belong to them, and if they miſſed their aim, they ſhould be puniſhed as thieves and deſerters. The governor laughed at their ſcruples, not imagining they talked after that manner only to prevent ſuſpicion; and that all their thoughts, day and night, were employed in contriving how to ſeize a bark. The late governor had not enjoyed his new honour above ſix months, when being accuſed to the King of having put to death ſeveral perſons, as well nobles as commoners, on very ſlight occaſions, he was condemned to receive four-ſcore and ten ſtrokes of a cudgel on his ſhin bones, and to be baniſhed for ever.

Towards the end of the year a comet appeared, and after that two at once: the firſt was ſeen in the ſouth-eaſt, for about two months: the other in the ſouth-weſt, but their tails were oppoſite to each other. The court was ſo much alarmed at it, that the King cauſed the guards to be doubled in all his ports, and aboard his ſhips: he alſo cauſed his fortreſſes to be furniſhed with proviſion, and warlike ſtores: he made all his forces, both horſe and foot, exerciſe every day, expecting an invaſion from ſome of his neighbours; inſomuch, that he forbade making any fire at night in thoſe houſes which might be ſeen from ſea. The commonalty ſpent all they had, keeping only as much as would ſerve to ſubſiſt them with rice; becauſe they had ſeen the ſame ſigns when the Tartars over-ran their country. They remembered likewiſe, that ſome ſuch thing had appeared before the Japaneſe declared war againſt them. Wherever they met the Hollanders, they never failed to aſk, what they thought of comets in their country? Their anſwer was, that they preſaged ſome ſignal judgment, generally the plague, war, or famine, and ſometimes all three; which, ſays the author, they believed, having had experience of it themſelves.

As they lived much at eaſe all the year 1664, and the next, their whole endeavours were employed to make themſelves maſters of a bark, but without ſucceſs. Sometimes they rowed along the ſhore in a little boat, which ſerved them to get their living; and ſometimes round the ſmall iſlands, to ſee if any thing would fall out, which might forward their eſcape. Their countrymen, who were in the two other towns, came every now and then to ſee them; and they repaid their viſits, according as it pleaſed their governors. They were patient under the greateſt ſeverities, thinking it a great mercy that they enjoyed their health, and a ſubſiſtence during that long captivity. In the year 1666, they loſt their benefactor, who was promoted to the prime dignities at court, in reward for his good actions. It is incredible how much good he did to all ſorts of people, indifferently, during his two years adminiſtration, which gained him the love of all, as well as the eſteem of his Prince, and the nobility. He repaired public ſtructures, cleared the coaſts, and increaſed the marine forces.

They were without a governor for three days after his departure, ſo many being allowed the ſucceſſor for chooſing a happy minute, by means of ſome diviner, to enter upon his employment. This man, to other ſeverities, would oblige them continually to mould clay. This they refuſed, alledging, that they ought to be allowed what time they had to ſpare from their own affairs, to get ſomething to cloath themſelves, and ſupply their own wants; that the King had not ſent them to work, or if they muſt be ſo uſed, it was better for them to quit his allowance, and deſire to be ſent to Japan, or ſome other place, where their countrymen reſorted.

To this he made no anſwer, but ordered them to be gone, threatening to find a way to make them comply. But he was luckily prevented; for a few days after, being on board a very fine ſhip, ſome fire accidentally fell into the powder, (which is kept in a room before the maſt), and blew up the prow, killing five men. The governor believing he could conceal that accident, gave no account of it to the intendant of the province; but he was miſtaken, for the fire being ſeen by one of the ſpies, whom the King keeps on the coaſts, as well as in the heart of the country, to be informed of all that paſſes, he gave notice thereof to the intendant, who ſent an account of it up to court, whither the governor was immediately ſummoned, and, by ſentence of the judges, received fourſcore and ten ſtrokes on his ſhin bones, and was baniſhed for ever.

Thus, in July they had another governor, who behaving like the laſt, required of them daily an hundred fathom of mat; and when they repreſented it as a thing not to

be done, he told them, he would find ſome other employment for them; which he had done, but that he fell ſick, although, beſides their own affairs, they were obliged to pull up the graſs in the ſquare of Penighe, and then to fetch home wood fit for arrows. Theſe conſiderations made them reſolve to take advantage of their tyrant's indiſpoſition, and to get a bark at any rate. For this purpoſe they employed a Korean, whom they had often relieved in his diſtreſs, to buy them one, under pretence that they wanted to go beg cotton in the neighbouring iſlands, promiſing him a good ſhare when they returned. Accordingly, he bought a bark of a fiſherman. The ſeller perceiving it was for them, would have gone from his bargain, at the inſtigation of ſome who told him, it was to make their eſcape, and that in caſe they did, he would be put to death; but being blinded with an offer of double the value, he conſented.

As ſoon as the two Koreſians were gone, they furniſhed the veſſel with ſails, anchor, rigging, oars, and other requiſites, in order to ſet out the firſt quarter of the moon, that being the fitteſt ſeaſon. They kept two of their countrymen, who came to viſit them, and ſent to Namman for John Peter of Uries, an able ſailor, to ſteer their veſſel. Although their neighbours had conceived ſome jealouſy of them, yet on the fourth of September, as the moon was ſetting (the time fixed for their departure) they crept along the city wall, unperceived by anybody; carrying off their proviſion, which conſiſted of rice, pots of water, and a frying pan.

Having filled a caſk with freſh water, in a little iſland, which was within cannon ſhot, they, without any noiſe, paſſed before the veſſels belonging to the city, and juſt oppoſite to the King's frigates, keeping as far off in the channel as they could. The fifth, in the morning, being almoſt out at ſea, a fiſherman hailed them, but they would not anſwer, fearing it might be ſome advanced guard to the men of war, that lay thereabouts. At ſun riſe, the wind failing, they plied their oars. About noon the weather began to freſhen, ſo that directing their courſe by gueſs, ſouth-eaſt, at night they cleared the point of Korea, and were no longer apprehenſive of being purſued.

The ſixth day, in the morning, they found themſelves very near the firſt iſland of Japan; and the wind ſtill favouring them, came, without knowing it, before the iſland of Firando, where yet they durſt not put in, becauſe unacquainted with the road. Beſides, the Koreſians had often told them, that there were no iſles to coaſt in the way to Nangaſaki; therefore, holding on their courſe, with a cold breeze, the ſeventh, they ran along abundance of iſlands, which ſeemed to be numberleſs. At night, they thought to have anchored at a ſmall iſland, but the ſky appearing ſtormy, and perceiving abundance of fires on every ſide, they reſolved to continue under ſail.

The eighth, in the morning, they found themſelves in the ſame place from whence they ſet forward the night before, which they attributed to the force of ſome current. Hereupon they ſtood out to ſea, but were ſoon obliged, by contrary boiſterous weather, to ſeek the land again. After croſſing a bay, they came to an anchor about noon, without knowing the country. Whilſt they were dreſſing ſome victuals, the natives paſſed backwards and forwards cloſe by them, without ſaying any thing. About evening, the wind being ſomewhat fallen, a bark with ſix men in it, each having two knives at his girdle, rowed cloſe by them, and landed a man oppoſite to the place where they were. This made them weigh, and depart as faſt as they could, making uſe of their oars, as well as ſails, to get out of the bay: but the bark purſuing, ſoon overtook them. By making uſe of their long bambûs, they might eaſily have prevented their coming aboard; but obſerving ſeveral other barks full of Japaneſe ſet out from ſhore, they gave themſelves no farther trouble.

The bark hailed them, and aſking, by ſigns, whither they would go, the Dutch let fly their colours with the arms of Orange, which they had provided for that purpoſe, crying, Holland, Nangaſaki. Hereupon, they made ſigns for them to ſtrike their ſail, which done, they carried two men into their bark, and aſked them ſeveral queſtions, without being underſtood. Their arrival had ſo alarmed all the coaſt, that not a man was to be ſeen, but who was armed with two ſwords. At night, a great bark brought aboard them the third man for dignity in the iſland; who perceiving they were Hollanders, gave them to underſtand, by ſigns, that there were ſix Dutch ſhips at Nangaſaki, and that they were in the iſland of Gotto, ſubject to the Emperor. They continued here three days well guarded, aboard their bark. Meantime, water, wood, and fleſh, was brought them, with a mat to cover them from rain, which fell in great abundance.

The twelfth, being furniſhed with proviſions, to go to Nangaſaki, they ſet forward, accompanied by the officer above mentioned. He carried ſome letters from the Emperor, and ſome goods, being attended by two large barks, and two little ones. Next day, towards evening, they ſaw the bay of that city, and at midnight anchored before it, where they found five Dutch ſhips. Several inhabitants of Gotto, as well as chief men, did them many kindneſſes, without taking any thing in return. On the fourteenth, they were all carried aſhore, where the Company's interpreters received them. Then their anſwers to ſeveral queſtions being taken down in writing, they were carried to the governor's houſe, and about noon brought before him. When they had ſatisfied his curioſity, he much commended their reſolution in encountering ſo many dangers to recover their liberty.

After this, he ordered the interpreters to conduct them to their commandant, Mynheer William Volguers, who received them very kindly; as did his deputy Mynheer Nicholas Le Roy, and in general all their countrymen. The governor of Nangaſaki, who would have kept them a year, cauſed them to be brought before him on the twenty-fifth of October; and after examining them over again, reſtored them to the Company's director, who lodged them in his own houſe. A few days after, they ſailed for Batavia, where they arrived on the twentieth of November. At landing, they delivered their journal to the general, who gave them a very favourable reception, and promiſed to put them aboard the ſhips that were to ſail from thence on the twenty-eighth of December; which veſſels arrived at Amſterdam on the twentieth of July, 1668.

SECTION II. — A DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF KOREA.

1. *Its Situation and Extent, with the Manners of the Inhabitants.*

Situation. — Bounds. — An open Sea. — The Coaſts. — Intenſe Cold. — Soil and Produce. — Animals. — Provinces. — Inhabitants, their Character very puſillanimous. — Diſeaſes. — Phyſicians. — Great Smokers. — Their Houſes ſmall, and low. — Recreations. — Travelling.

THE kingdom known to the Europeans, by the name of Korea, is by the natives called Tiozenkouk, and ſometimes Kaoli. It reaches from thirty-four to forty-four degrees of north latitude, being about one hundred and fifty leagues in length from north to ſouth, and ſeventy-five in breadth, from eaſt to weſt. Hence, the natives repreſent it in form of a long ſquare, like a playing card; nevertheleſs, it has ſeveral points of land which run far out into the ſea.

On

On the weſt, this kingdom is divided from China, by the bay of Nan-king, but it is joined to it on the north by a long and high mountain, which is all that hinders Korea from being an iſland. On the north-eaſt, it is bounded by the vaſt ocean, where every year a great number of whales are taken; ſome by the French and Dutch: abundance of herrings alſo are caught there in December, January, February, and March. Thoſe taken in the two firſt months are as large as what they have in Holland: thoſe they catch afterwards are ſmaller, and like the Dutch frying herrings. Hence, the author and his companions inferred, that there is a paſſage above Korea, Japan, and Tartary, which anſwers to the ſtreights of Weigats: for this reaſon, they often aſked the Koreſian ſeamen, who uſe the north-eaſt ſea, what lands were beyond them; and they all told them, they believed there was nothing that way but a boundleſs ocean.

Thoſe who go from Korea to China, embark in the uttermoſt part of the bay: for the difficulty of paſſing the mountain makes the way by land very troubleſome in ſummer, becauſe of the wild beaſts; and in winter, on account of the exceſſive cold: yet in this ſeaſon the bay may be croſſed over on the north ſide, being generally frozen hard enough to bear.

The coaſts being incloſed with rocks and ſands, makes it difficult of acceſs, and dangerous for ſtrangers to approach it. Towards the ſouth-eaſt, it is very near Japan, there being but twenty-five or twenty-ſix leagues diſtance betwixt the town of Pouſan in Korea, and that of Oſakko in Japan. Betwixt them is the iſland Suiſſima, which the Koreſians call Taymuta. It formerly belonged to them, but they exchanged it for that of Quelpaert, in a treaty of peace concluded with the Japaneſe.

The cold is ſo intenſe in Korea, that in the year 1662, the Dutch being in the monaſteries on the mountains, there fell ſuch a prodigious quantity of ſnow, that they made paſſages under it to go from houſe to houſe: to walk upon it, they wear ſmall boards, like battledores, under their feet, which hinder their ſinking. By reaſon of this exceſſive cold, thoſe who live on the northern coaſt feed only upon barley, and that none of the beſt, for no rice or cotton can grow there. The better ſort of people have their meal brought from the ſouth.

The reſt of the country is fruitful, and produces all the neceſſaries of life, eſpecially rice, and other ſorts of grain. They have hemp, cotton, and ſilk worms; but they know not how to work the ſilk. There is alſo ſilver, lead, tigers ſkins, and the niſi root. They have ſtore of cattle, and make uſe of oxen to till the land. The Dutch met with bears, deer, wild boars, ſwine, dogs, cats, and ſeveral other creatures; but never ſaw any elephants there. The rivers are often peſtered with alligators, or crocodiles, of ſeveral ſizes: ſome are eighteen or twenty ells long: the eye is ſmall, but very ſharp; the teeth placed like thoſe of a comb. When they eat, they only move the upper jaw. Their back bone has ſixty joints. The natives often told them, that three children were once found in a crocodile's belly. Korea breeds abundance of ſerpents, and venomous creatures. As for fowl, they have plenty of ſwans, geeſe, ducks, herons, ſtorks, eagles, falcons, kites, pigeons, woodcocks, magpies, daws, larks, lapwings, pheaſants, hens, beſides other ſorts not known in Europe.

Korea is divided into eight provinces, containing three hundred and ſixty cities and towns, without reckoning the forts and caſtles, which are all on the mountains.

The Koreſians are much addicted to ſtealing, and ſo apt to cheat and lie, that there is no truſting of them. They think over-reaching a good action, and therefore fraud is not infamous among them; yet the law will redreſs a man, who has been cheated in a bargain. They are withall ſilly and credulous. The Dutch might have made them believe any thing they would, becauſe they are great lovers of ſtrangers, but chiefly the

religious men. They are an effeminate people, and diſcover very little courage; at leaſt the Hollanders were informed ſo by ſeveral credible perſons, who beheld the havoc the Emperor of Japan made among them, when he ſlew their King; and how they behaved, when the Tartars coming over the ice, ſeized the kingdom. Wettevree, who was an eye-witneſs to the whole, aſſured them, that more Koreſians died in the woods, whither they fled, than were killed by the enemy.

They are not aſhamed of cowardice, and lament the misfortune of thoſe who are obliged to fight. They have often been repulſed in attempting to plunder European veſſels, caſt on their coaſt. They abhor blood, and fly when they meet with any. They are much afraid of ſick folks, and particularly thoſe who have contagious diſtempers: ſuch they preſently remove, putting them into little ſtraw hovels in the middle of the fields, where they ſee none but thoſe who are to look after them: theſe give notice to paſſengers to keep off; and when the ſick man has no friends to take care of him, others will rather let him die, than come near him. When any town, or village, is infected with the plague, the avenues to it are ſhut up with a hedge of briars, and ſome are laid on the tops of diſtempered houſes, that people may know them. Many medicinal plants grow in the country, but the people are not acquainted with them, and almoſt all the phyſicians are employed by the grandees; ſo that the poor, who cannot be at that charge, make uſe of blind men, and conjurors, whom formerly they followed every where, over rivers and rocks, and into the idol temples: but this cuſtom was aboliſhed, by the King's order, in the year 1662.

Before the Tartars ſubdued Korea, it was full of luxury and debauchery, the natives giving themſelves wholly up to eating, drinking, and lewdneſs: but now the Tartars and Japaneſe tyrannize over them; they have enough to do to live when a year proves bad, becauſe of the heavy tribute they pay to the former. Within theſe fifty or ſixty years, the Japaneſe taught them to plant tobacco, which, till then, was unknown to them; and telling them the ſeed came from Nampankouk, they often called it Nampankoy. They take ſo much at preſent, that there are very few of either ſex but what ſmoke; and the very children practiſe it at four or five years of age. When firſt brought them, they bought it for its weight in ſilver; and for that reaſon they look upon Nampankouk as one of the beſt countries in the world.

The poorer ſort have no cloaths but what are made of hemp, and pitiful ſkins: but, to make amends, the root niſi grows there, in which they drive a great trade to China and Japan.

The houſes of the Koreſians of quality are ſtately, but thoſe of the common ſort very mean; nor are they allowed to build as they pleaſe. No man can cover his houſe with tiles, unleſs he has leave ſo to do; for which reaſon, moſt of them are thatched with ſtraw, or reeds. They are parted from one another by a wall, or elſe a row of ſtakes, or paliſados. They are built by fixing wooden poſts, or pillars, in the ground at certain diſtances, and filling the ſpaces between with ſtone up to the firſt ſtory: the reſt of the ſtructure is of wood, plaiſtered without, and covered on the inſide with white paper glued on. The floors are vaulted, and in winter they make a fire underneath; ſo that they are always as warm as a ſtove. The floor is covered with oiled paper.

Their houſes are ſmall, conſiſting of one ſtory, and a garret over it, where they lay up their proviſions. They have ſeldom more furniture than what may be abſolutely neceſſary. The nobility have always an apartment forwards, where they receive their friends, lodge their acquaintance, and divert themſelves; there being generally, before their houſes, a large ſquare, or baſs court, with a fountain, or fiſh-pond, and a garden with covered walks. Tradeſmen, and the chief citizens, have generally a warehouſe adjoining

adjoining to their manſion-houſe, where they keep their goods, and treat their friends with tobacco and arak. The women's apartment is in the moſt retired part of the houſe, where none muſt approach them: yet ſome wives are allowed the liberty of ſeeing people, and going to feaſts; but they ſit by themſelves; and facing their huſbands.

There are, in the country, abundance of taverns, and pleaſure houſes, to which the Koreſians reſort, to ſee common women dance, ſing, and play upon muſical inſtruments. In ſummer, they take this recreation in cool groves, under cloſe ſhady trees. They have no inns to entertain paſſengers, but he who travels goes and ſits down, at night, near the pales of the firſt houſe he comes at. Preſently, thoſe within bring him boiled rice, and dreſs meat enough for his ſupper. He may ſtop thus at as many houſes as he will: yet, on the great road to Sior, there are inns, where thoſe who travel on public affairs, have lodging and diet, at the public charge.

2. *Their Cuſtoms and Learning.*

Their Marriages. — Condition of Wives. — Duty of Children. — Mourning for Parents. — Their Funerals. — Inheritance. — Education of Children. — Examination for Places. — Language and Writing. — Their Geography. — Printing. — Arithmetic. — Account of Time.

KINDRED are not allowed to marry within the fourth degree. They make no courtſhip, becauſe they are married at eight or ten years of age; and the young maids, (unleſs they be only daughters) from that time, live in their father-in-law's houſe, till they have learnt to get their living, or to govern their family. The day a man marries, he mounts on horſeback, attended by his friends; and having rode about the town, ſtops at the bride's door, where he is received by her relations, who then carry her to his houſe, where the marriage is conſummated, without any other ceremony.

A man may keep as many women abroad as he can maintain, and repair to them, at any time, without ſcandal; yet none lives with him but his wife. Noblemen, indeed, have two or three women beſides in the houſe; but they have nothing to do with the management of the family. To ſay the truth, they make no great account of their wives, whom they uſe little better than ſlaves. Although a woman has borne her huſband a great many children, it is in his power to put her away whenever he pleaſes, on the ſlighteſt pretence, and to take another: but the woman has not the ſame privilege, unleſs ſhe can get it by law. What is ſtill harder, he can compel her to take and maintain their children. However, this unreaſonable cuſtom helps to render the country very populous.

Parents are very indulgent to their children, and, in return, are much reſpected by them. They depend upon one-another's good behaviour, and if one of them withdraws after an ill action, the other does the like. It is not ſo with the ſlaves, who have but little regard for their children, becauſe they know they will be taken from them as ſoon as they are able to work, or do any buſineſs. If a freeman lies with a woman-ſlave, the children born of them are ſlaves; and ſuch whoſe father and mother are both ſlaves, belong to the mother's maſter.

When a freeman dies, his children mourn three years, during which time, they live as auſterely as religious men: they are not capable of any employment, and thoſe who are in poſts muſt quit them. It is not lawful for them even to lie with their wives; and, if they ſhould have any children born during the mourning, they would not be accounted legitimate. It is not permitted them to be in a paſſion, or to fight, much leſs

to

to be drunk. The mourning they wear, is a long hempen robe, without any thing under it, but a ſort of ſackcloth, made of twiſted thread, almoſt as thick as the twine of a cable. On their hats, which are of green reeds woven together, inſtead of an hat-band, they wear a hempen cord. They never go without a great cane, or cudgel in their hand, which ſerves to diſtinguiſh who they are in mourning for, the cane denoting the father, and a ſtick the mother. During all this time, they never waſh, and, conſequently, look like mulattos.

As ſoon as any one dies, his kindred run about the ſtreets ſhrieking and tearing their hair. They take ſpecial care to bury him honourably, in ſome part of a mountain choſen by a fortune-teller. They incloſe every corpſe in two coffins, two or three fingers thick, put one within the other, to keep out the water, painting and adorning them, according to their ability. They generally bury their dead in ſpring and autumn. Such as die in ſummer, they place in a thatched hut, raiſed on four ſtakes, till rice harveſt is over. When they intend to bury them, they bring them back to the houſe, and put their cloaths, with ſome jewels, into the coffin: then, after making merry all night, they ſet out at break of day with the body. The bearers ſing, and keep time as they go, whilſt the kindred and friends of the party make the air ring with their cries. Three days after, theſe latter return to the grave, where they make ſome offerings, and then eating all together, are very merry. The meaner ſort only make a grave five or ſix feet deep; but the great men have ſepulchres of ſtone, on which are placed their ſtatues, with their names, qualifications, and employments, cut underneath. Every full moon they cut down the graſs that grows on the grave, and offer new rice there; that being their greateſt feſtival next to the new year.

When the children have fully performed this duty to their parents, the eldeſt ſon takes poſſeſſion of the houſe, with all the lands depending on it. The reſt is divided among the other ſons; but the Dutch never heard that the daughters had any ſhare, becauſe the women carry nothing to their huſbands but their cloaths. When a father is fourſcore years of age, he declares himſelf incapable of managing his eſtate, and reſigns it up to his children: then the eldeſt taking poſſeſſion, builds a houſe, at the common expence, for his father and mother, where he lodges and maintains them, treating them with the greateſt reſpect.

The nobility, and freemen in general, take great care of the education of their children, putting them very young to learn to read and write. They uſe no manner of rigour in their method of teaching, but manage all by fair means. They give their ſcholars an high idea of learning, and of the worth of their anceſtors, telling them how honourable thoſe are, who, by this means, have raiſed themſelves to great fortunes, which breeds emulation, and makes them ſtudious. It is ſurpriſing how much they improve, by ſuch exhortations, in expounding the writings they give them to read, wherein all their learning conſiſts. Beſides this private ſtudy, there is, in every town, a houſe, where the nobility, according to ancient cuſtom, of which they are very tenacious, aſſemble the youth, to make them read the hiſtory of their country, and the trials of great men, who have been put to death for their crimes.

There are aſſemblies, likewiſe, kept yearly, in two or three towns of each province, where the ſcholars appear to get employments, either by the pen, or the ſword. The governors of towns ſend able deputies thither, to examine them, and chooſe the beſt qualified; and, according to the report made to them, they write to the King, who beſtows employments on thoſe deemed worthy. The old officers, who till then, have only had civil or military commiſſions, at this time uſe all their endeavours to be employed in both profeſſions, to increaſe their revenue. The aſpiring to theſe honours, is

often the ruin of the candidates, becauſe of the preſents they make, and treats they give, to gain reputation, and obtain votes. Some alſo die by the way, and moſt of them are ſatisfied with getting the title of the employment they aim at, thinking it honour enough to have been deſigned for one.

Their way of writing, and their arithmetic, are very hard to learn. They have many words to expreſs the ſame thing. They ſometimes talk faſt, and ſometimes ſlow, eſpecially their learned men, and great lords. They uſe three ſorts of writing; the firſt like that of China and Japan, which they uſe for printing their books, and all public affairs. The ſecond is like the common writing among Europeans: the great men and governors uſe it, to anſwer petitions, and make notes on letters of advice, or the like: the commonalty cannot read this writing. The third is more unpoliſhed, and ſerves women, and the common ſort. It is eaſier to write in this character, than the other two; names and things, never before heard of, being noted down with very curious pencils. They have abundance of old books, both printed and manuſcript, ſo choicely kept, that none but the King's brother is truſted with them. Copies of them, with cuts, are kept in ſeveral towns, that, in caſe of fire, they may not be all deſtroyed.

As to their knowledge of the world, their authors affirm, that there are fourſcore and four thouſand ſeveral countries; but few of them give credit to what they write, ſaying, that then every little iſland, and ſhoal, muſt paſs for a country; and that it would not be poſſible for the ſun to give light to ſo many in one day. When the Dutch named ſome kingdoms to them, they laughed, affirming, that they only talked of towns, or villages; for their knowledge of the coaſts reaches no farther than Siam, which is the limit of their foreign traffic. In effect, they believe there are but twelve kingdoms, or countries, in the whole world, which once were all ſubject, and paid tribute to China; but that they have ſhook off the yoke ſince the conqueſt of the Tartars, who, they ſay, are not able to ſubdue them. They call the Tartar, Tiekſe, and Orankay; and Holland, Nampankouk; which is the name the Japaneſe give to Portugal, and, therefore, not knowing the Dutch, they give them the ſame.

Their almanacks are made in China; they themſelves wanting ſkill to make them. They print with boards, or wooden cuts, and lay one cut to each ſide of the paper, and ſo ſtrike off a leaf. They caſt accounts with little long ſticks, as the Dutch do with counters. They know not how to keep books of accounts, but when they buy any thing, ſet down the price under it, and write on it what they made of it, and ſo find what profit or loſs.

They reckon by moons, and every third year add one moon. They have conjurors, diviners, or ſoothſayers, who aſſure them whether the dead are at reſt, or not; and if the place where they are buried is proper for them: in which point they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that they often remove them two or three times.

3. *The Trade and Religion of Korea.*

Trade of Korea. — The Religion there. — Monaſteries and Temples. — The Superiors. — Married Prieſts. — Nunneries.

THE inhabitants of Korea have ſcarce any trade, but with the Japaneſe, and the people of the iſland of Suſima, who have a ſtorehouſe in the ſouth part of the town of Pouſan. They ſupply Korea with pepper, ſweet wood, alum, buffalo's horns, goats and buck-ſkins, beſides other commodities, which the Chineſe and Dutch ſell in Japan. In exchange, they take the product and manufactures of the country. The Koreſians have alſo ſome commerce in the northern parts of China in linen or cotton cloth; but

but it is very chargeable, becauſe they travel only by land, and on horſeback. None but the rich merchants of Sior trade to Pe-king, and they are always three months, at leaſt, on the road.

There is but one ſort of weight and meaſure throughout the kingdom, but the traders abuſe it very much, notwithſtanding all precautions, and orders of the governors. They know no money but their kaſis, and thoſe paſs only on the frontiers of China. They paſs ſilver by weight, in little ingots, like thoſe brought from Japan.

As for religion, the Koreſians have ſcarce any. The common people make odd grimaces before the idols, but pay them little reſpect; and the great ones honour them much leſs, becauſe they think themſelves to be ſomething more than an idol: for when any of their kindred, or friends die, they all appear to honour the dead man at the offering, which the prieſt makes before the image; and frequently travel thirty or forty leagues to be preſent at this ceremony, in order to expreſs their grateful remembrance, or eſteem, for ſome good commander, or learned religious man. On feſtivals, the people repairing to the temple, every one lights a bit of ſweet wood; then putting it into a veſſel for that purpoſe, they offer it to the idol, and placing it before him, make a low bow, and depart: — this is their worſhip. For their belief, they are of opinion, that good doers ſhall be rewarded, and evil doers puniſhed. They know nothing of preaching, or myſteries, and, therefore, they have no diſputes about religion, all believing and practiſing the ſame thing throughout the kingdom. Their clergy offer perfumes before their idols twice a day; and, on feſtivals, all the religious of a houſe make a noiſe with drums, baſons, and kettles.

The monaſteries and temples, which are very numerous, are built by the contributions of the people, for the moſt part on mountains. Some of them contain five or ſix hundred religious, whereof there are four thouſand within the liberties of ſome towns. They are divided into companies of ten, twenty, and ſometimes thirty: the eldeſt governs, and, if any one neglects his duty, may cauſe the others to puniſh him with twenty or thirty ſtrokes on the buttocks; but if the offence be heinous, they deliver him up to the governor of the town they belong to. As every man is at liberty to become a religious, Korea ſwarms with them, and the rather, becauſe they may quit the profeſſion when they pleaſe: however, generally ſpeaking, theſe monaſtics are not much more reſpected than the ſlaves, becauſe of the great taxes they are obliged to pay, and the work they are forced to do.

Their ſuperiors are in great eſteem, eſpecially when learned, for they are equal with the grandees, and called the King's religious men, wearing (the badge of) their order over their clothes. They have the power of judging as ſubaltern officers, and make their viſits on horſeback, ſhave their heads and beards, muſt eat nothing that had life, and are forbidden converſing with women. Whoever breaks theſe rules, receives ſeventy or eighty ſtrokes on the buttocks, and is baniſhed the monaſtery. When they firſt receive the tonſure, they impreſs a mark on the arm, which never wears off. They work for their living, or follow ſome trade: ſome go a begging, but all have a ſmall allowance from the governor. They bring up children in their houſes, whom they teach to read and write. If theſe children conſent to be ſhaved, they retain them in their ſervice, and receive what they earn. When their maſter dies, they become free, and heirs to all their goods, mourning for them, as if they had been their fathers.

There is another ſort of religious men, who, like the former, abſtain from fleſh, and ſerve idols; but they are not ſhorn, and may marry. They believe, by tradition, that mankind, originally, had only one language; but that the deſign of building a tower to go up to heaven, cauſed the confuſion of tongues. The nobles much frequent the

monaſteries, to divert themſelves, either with common women, which they find there, or others they carry with them, becauſe they are generally deliciouſly ſeated for proſpect, and accommodated with fine gardens, ſo that they might better be called pleaſure houſes than temples; but this is to be underſtood of the common monaſteries, where the religious men love to drink hard.

There were two convents of religious women in the city of Sior; one contains none but maidens of quality, the other thoſe of the inferior ſort. They were all ſhorn, and obſerved the ſame rules and duties as the men. They were maintained by the King and great men: but three or four years before the Dutch left Korea, His Majeſty gave them leave to marry.

4. *Of the King, and Government of Korea.*

The King tributary; yet abſolute: — His chief Officers: — State in going abroad. — Petitions, how preſented. — Military Officers, and Soldiers. — Shipping. — The Revenue. — Puniſhment for Rebels, and Traitors: — Killing a Huſband: — Murder and Theft: — For Adultery: — Not paying Debts: — Beating on the Shins, and Feet, Buttocks, and Calfs of the Legs.

KOREA is tributary to the Eaſtern Tartars, who conquered it before they ſubdued China, from whence an ambaſſador comes three times a year, to receive the tribute, which the people pay in the root Niſi. Upon his arrival, the King goes out of town, with all his court, to receive him, and waits on him to his lodging. He is treated every where with ſuch reſpect, that he ſeems to be honoured more than the King himſelf. He is preceded by muſicians, dancers and vaulters, who ſtrive to divert him. During the time he remains at court, all the ſtreets, from his lodging to the palace, are lined with ſoldiers, who ſtand within ten or twelve feet one of the other. There are two or three men, who have no other employment but to pick up notes thrown out of the ambaſſador's window, in order to be carried to the King, who deſires to know what he is doing at all times. That Prince ſtudies all manner of ways to pleaſe this officer, that he may make a favourable report of him to the Great Khan of China.

But although the King of Korea pays an acknowledgment to the Emperor of China, yet his power is abſolute over his own ſubjects. None of them, not the greateſt lords, have any property in their lands; their revenues ariſing out of thoſe eſtates they hold of His Majeſty during pleaſure, and from the great number of their ſlaves, for the Dutch knew ſome who had two or three hundred.

The chief officers, by ſea and land, who make up the King's council, meet every day at court. They muſt wait till their advice is aſked, before they give it; and till they are appointed to manage any buſineſs, muſt not meddle with it. Theſe people have the firſt places about the King, which they enjoy till fourſcore years of age, provided they behave well. The ſame is practiſed in other inferior employments at court, which no man quits, unleſs it be to riſe. The governors of places, and ſubaltern officers, are removed every three years; but very few of them ſerve out their time, being caſhiered for miſdemeanors on the accuſation of the ſpies, which the King keeps in all places.

When His Majeſty goes abroad, he is attended by all the nobility of the court, wearing their reſpective badges; conſiſting of a piece of embroidery before and behind, on a garment of black ſilk, with a very broad ſcarf, a great body of ſoldiers following in good order. He is preceded by men, both on foot and horſeback, ſome carrying colours and banners, others playing on warlike inſtruments. They are followed by the life-guards, compoſed of the principal citizens. The King is in the middle, carried under a very rich gold canopy, and the whole proceeds with ſuch ſilence, that not the

leaſt noiſe is heard. When he paſſes by the great men, or ſoldiers, they muſt turn their backs to him, without offering to look, or ſo much as cough, on ſuch occaſions. Therefore, moſt ſoldiers put little ſticks in their mouths, that they may not be accuſed of making a noiſe. Juſt before him goes a ſecretary of ſtate, or ſome other great officer, with a little box; into this he puts all the petitions and memorials, which private perſons either preſent on the end of a cane, or hang along the walls, or pales; ſo that they cannot ſee who prefers them. Theſe, which are brought him by men appointed to gather them, are laid before the King, on his return to the palace; and whatever he orders relating thereto, is forthwith put in execution. All the doors and windows of the houſes in the ſtreets, through which His Majeſty paſſes, are ſhut, and nobody dares preſume to open them ever ſo little, much leſs look over the wall or pales.

The King keeps abundance of ſoldiers in his capital city, whoſe ſole buſineſs is to guard his perſon, and attend him when he goes abroad. The provinces are likewiſe obliged, once in ſeven years, to ſend all their freemen, by turns, to guard him for two months. Each province has its general, with four or five colonels under him, and each as many captains depending on them; each of whom is governor of ſome town, or ſtrong hold; inſomuch, that there is not a village, but where, at leaſt, a corporal commands, who has under him tithing men, or officers over ten men. Theſe corporals are obliged, once a year, to deliver to their captains, a liſt of what people are under their juriſdiction.

Their cavalry wear cuiraſſes, head pieces, bows and arrows, ſwords, and whips with ſmall iron points. The foot likewiſe wear a corſlet, a head piece, a ſword, and muſket or half pike. The officers carry nothing but bows and arrows. The ſoldiers are obliged to provide fifty charges of powder and ball, at their own coſt. Every town in its turn, furniſhes alſo a number of religious men, to guard and maintain, at their own expence, the forts and caſtles, which are ſituate in narrow paſſes, or on the ſides of mountains. Theſe are reckoned the beſt ſoldiers, and obey officers choſen out of their own corps, who obſerve the ſame diſcipline as the other troops. Thus, the King knows to a man, how many are fit to ſerve him. Thoſe turned of ſixty, are diſcharged from duty, and their children ſupply their places. The number of freemen, who neither are nor have been in the King's ſervice, together with the ſlaves, makes above half the people in the country.

Korea being almoſt encompaſſed by the ſea, every town is obliged to fit out and maintain a ſhip. Their ſhips have generally two maſts, and thirty, or thirty-two oars; to each of which there are five or ſix men: ſo that each of this ſort of galleys has about three hundred men, for rowing and fight. They carry ſome ſmall pieces of cannon, and abundance of artificial fire-works. Every province has its admiral, who views theſe veſſels once a year, and gives an account of what he finds to the high admiral, who ſometimes is preſent at theſe reviews. If any of the admirals, or officers under them, commits a fault, he is puniſhed with baniſhment, or death; as in the year 1666, their governor, who had the command of ſeventeen veſſels, was puniſhed for the offence already mentioned.

The King's revenue, for maintenance of his houſe and forces, ariſes out of the duties paid for all things the country produces, or that are brought by ſea: to this purpoſe, in all towns and villages there are ſtore-houſes to keep the tithe, which the farmers, who are generally of the common ſort, take upon the ſpot in harveſt time, before any thing is carried away. Thoſe who have employments, receive their ſalaries out of the revenues of the places where they reſide, what is raiſed in the country being aſſigned to pay the ſea and land forces. Beſides this tithe, thoſe men, who are not liſted in the

army, are to work three days in the year, at whatever buſineſs the country ſhall put them upon. Every ſoldier, whether horſe or foot, has yearly three pieces of cloth, worth eighteen ſhillings, given to cloath him; which is part of the pay of the troops that are in the capital. This is what is raiſed on the people, who know no other duties, or taxes.

Juſtice is ſeverely executed among the Koreſians. He who rebels againſt the King, is deſtroyed, with all his race: his houſes are thrown down, and no man dares ever rebuild them; all his goods forfeited, and ſometimes given to ſome private perſons. Nothing can ſave the man from puniſhment, who makes any objection to his decree: this the Dutch were often witneſſes of. Among the reſt, the author remembers, that the King having deſired his brother's wife, who was excellent at her needle, to embroider him a veſt; that princeſs bearing him a mortal hatred, ſtitched in, betwixt the lining and the outſide, ſome charms and characters, of ſuch a nature, that His Majeſty could enjoy no pleaſure, nor take any reſt, whilſt he had it on.

At length, ſuſpecting the matter, he had the veſt ripped, and found out the cauſe. Hereupon, the King condemned her to be ſhut up in a room, the floor whereof was of braſs, and ordered a great fire to be lighted underneath, the heat whereof tormented her till ſhe died. The news of this ſentence ſoon ſpreading through the provinces, a near kinſman of the unhappy lady, who was governor of a town, and in good eſteem at court, ventured to write to the King; repreſenting, that a woman, who had been ſo highly honoured as to marry His Majeſty's brother, ought not to die ſo cruel a death, and that more favour ſhould be ſhown to the ſex. The King, incenſed at this courtier's boldneſs, ſent for him immediately, and, after cauſing twenty ſtrokes to be given him on his ſhin bones, ordered his head to be cut off.

This crime, and thoſe following, are only perſonal, and do not involve the whole family. If a woman kills her huſband, ſhe is buried alive up to the ſhoulders, in a highway, and an axe laid by her, with which all paſſengers, who are not noblemen, are obliged to give her a ſtroke on the head till ſhe is dead. The judges of the town, where this happens, are ſuſpended for awhile: it is deprived of a governor, and made ſubordinate to another place; or, at beſt, only a private genleman is left to command in it. The ſame penalty is inflicted on ſuch towns as mutiny againſt their governor, or ſend falſe complaints againſt them to court.

It is lawful for a man to kill his wife for adultery, or any other heinous fault, on proving the fact. If the woman ſo killed was a ſlave, the penalty is, to pay three times her value to the owner. Slaves, who kill their maſters are cruelly tormented to death; but they reckon it no crime for a maſter to kill his ſlave, though upon a ſlight account. Thus they puniſh murder. After they have long trampled on the criminal, they pour vinegar, (in which they waſh the putrified carcaſe), through a funnel down his throat, and when he is full, beat him on the belly with cudgels till he burſts. Thieves are trampled to death: and though this be a dreadful puniſhment, yet the Koreſians are much addicted to ſtealing.

If a ſingle man is found a-bed with a married woman, he is ſtripped naked to a little pair of drawers; then daubing his face with lime, they run an arrow through each ear, and faſten a little drum on his back, which they beat at all the croſs ſtreets, to expoſe him: this puniſhment ends in forty or fifty ſtrokes of a cudgel on the man's bare buttocks; but the woman receives them with drawers on. The men are naturally very amorous, and ſo jealous, that they ſeldom allow their beſt friends to ſee their wives. If a married man be taken lying with another man's wife, he is to ſuffer death: this happens chiefly among perſons of rank; and the criminal's father, if living, or elſe his

neareſt relation, muſt be the executioner. The offender is to chooſe his death; but generally the men deſire to be run through the back, and the women to have their throat cut.

They, who by a time appointed, do not pay what they owe to the King, or private perſons, are beaten twice or thrice a month on the ſhin bones, which is done till they can find means to diſcharge the debt: if they die before they have ſatisfied the creditor, their neareſt relations muſt pay it for them, or ſuffer the ſame puniſhment; ſo that nobody ever loſes what is due to him. The ſlighteſt puniſhment in this country is, to be baſtinadoed on the buttocks, or calfs of the legs; and they look upon it as no diſgrace, becauſe it is very common, being often liable to it for only ſpeaking one word amiſs. Inferior governors, and ſubordinate judges, cannot condemn any man to death, without acquainting the governor of the province; nor can any try priſoners of ſtate, without the King be firſt informed.

The manner how they baſtinado on the ſhin bones is this: they tie the criminal's feet together, on a little bench four fingers broad, and laying ſuch another under his hams, which are faſt bound to it, they ſtrike on the ſhins with a ſort of lath of oak or alder, as long as a man's arm, ſomewhat round on one ſide, and flat on the other, two inches broad, and about the thickneſs of a crown piece. They muſt not give above thirty ſtrokes at one time, and then two or three hours after they repeat them, till the whole number be compleat, according to the ſentence.

When the offender is to be drubbed on the ſoles of the feet, he is made to ſit down on the ground, then having bound his feet together by the great toes, they reſt them on a piece of wood they have betwixt their legs, and beat them with a cudgel as thick as a man's arm, and three or four feet long, gaving as many ſtrokes as the judge has ordered. The baſtinado on the buttocks is thus: the men being ſtripped, they make them lie on the ground with their faces down, and bind them to the bench. The women have a pair of wet drawers left on, and in this poſture they beat them with a larger and longer lath than thoſe before mentioned. An hundred ſtrokes are equivalent to death, and many of them die, ſome even before they have received fifty.

When they are adjudged to be beaten on the calfs of the legs, it is done with rods or wands, as thick as a man's thumb. This puniſhment is common to women and apprentices. Whilſt theſe ſeverities are inflicting, the criminals cry ſo lamentably, that the ſpectators ſeem to ſuffer no leſs than the offenders.

A DESCRIPTION OF TIBET, OR TIBBET.*

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH Tibet is a country of very large extent, yet it ſcarce appeared in our maps before thoſe publiſhed by De l'Iſle. It was there repreſented as a narrow kind of deſart, lying between India and China, without either towns, rivers, or mountains, although no part of Aſia abounds more with the two latter. Europeans had, indeed, received ſome confuſed accounts of it from the miſſioners ſent into the Indies; but none particular enough to form any right judgment of its qualities, form, or dimenſions. The Jeſuits Grueber and Dorville, were the firſt who (having travelled through great part of it, in their way home from China in 1661,) gave us any tolerable ideas of its large extent, or the cuſtoms of its inhabitants.

The letters relating to their travels are publiſhed in Thevenot's French collection. Kircher alſo, in his *China Illuſtrata*, has given an account of their journey through that country, with cuts of the moſt remarkable things that occurred, as delivered to him by themſelves †. But, as they travelled only one road, they have gone but a little way towards furniſhing out the geography of thoſe unfrequented regions. In ſhort, the map-makers had almoſt nothing to work upon for Tibet, but the ſcanty materials of thoſe friars (for Deſideri ‡ ſays but little of the country or road he took,) before the late miſſioners in China procured a map of it; which, though far from being complete, or exact in every particular, affords, on the whole, a very ſatisfactory view of the country.

With reſpect to the inhabitants, animals, and other productions, we are not perhaps ſo well provided; there being very few materials for the hiſtory to be met with, but what come from the above-mentioned miſſioners. As thoſe who tranſmitted the map were not in Tibet themſelves, they have communicated only a few ſcattered remarks, which they had from the Lama mathematicians, who ſurveyed the country §. Of this kind are thoſe to be found in Avril's Travels, and Gerbillon's Hiſtorical Obſervations on Tartary, who had his informations from a Chineſe envoy. Others, as Tavernier and Thevenot, have occaſionally ſpoken from report, concerning Butan, or Tibet. The moſt complete and expreſs piece yet extant upon the ſubject, ſeems to be, a Deſcription of the Kingdom of Butan, written by an anonymous author ‖; but as it does not appear from what authority he has taken his memoirs, they are to be made uſe of with caution.

* From Green's Collection, vol. iv. p. 449.

† A tranſlation is inſerted in Ogilby's China. Thevenot has omitted the cuts.

‡ Deſideri, the Jeſuit, travelled, in 1714, from Kaſhmir in India to Lapas; but gives little or no account of the road, or the country.

§ Theſe are publiſhed by Du Halde, in the fourth volume of his deſcription of China, under the title of "Geographical and Hiſtorical Obſervations on the Map of Tibet, containing the Dominions of the Grand Lama, and the adjacent Countries ſubject to him, reaching to the Source of the Ganges, extracted from the Memoirs of Pere Regis."

‖ An account of this is given in the Nieuv. Mercur. Paris, for July 1718.

SECTION

SECTION I.— *The Name, Extent, Mountains, and Rivers of Tibet.*

The Name, Situation, Extent, Bounds.— Tibet ſurveyed: — Account of the Map: — Its Imperfections. — Mountain Kantes terrible to paſs. — Elevation of Tibet. — River Yarû, or Tſan-pu, Ny-kyang, Lan-tſan, Kin-cha-Ky-ang. — Source of the Whang-ho. — River of Gold. — Lake of Stars.— Lakes of Tibet.

THE country, which Europeans call Tibet, or Thibet, is named by the Orientals, Tibt, or Tobt. It is alſo pronounced by ſome nations Topet, or Tupet. The Tartars call it Barantola, under which name they comprehend all that vaſt tract lying between the great river Ya-long, and the ſource of the Ganges, extending above twenty degrees from eaſt to weſt, and more than eight from north to ſouth. The people of Kaſhmîr and others on this ſide the Ganges call it Bûton or Bûtan; and the Chineſe, Tſan, or Tſan-li, from the great river Tſan-pû, which runs through it. But Laſſa, or Laſa, being the richeſt and pleaſanteſt province, and dignified with the reſidence of the Grand Lama, thoſe borderers frequently give that name to the whole country *.

We are likewiſe told, that among the Tartars, the name of Tanguth, or Tangût, is common to all the countries from Koko-Nor to the ſouth of the Ganges †; but others aſſure us, that it is unknown to the inhabitants, who call themſelves Vojid ‡. The like may be ſaid of Tufan, which Gaubil ſays is the name of Tibet, or rather one of its names §: that is, ſuch as may be given to it by the Tu-fan, or Si-fan themſelves, who were formerly maſters of it, or ſome particular bordering people; for it is certain neither of thoſe two names belong to Tibet at preſent.

This country, taken at large, is ſituate between the eighty-ſeventh and hundred and twenty-firſt degrees of longitude, and between the twenty-ſixth and thirty-ninth of latitude; being in length, from weſt to eaſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-five miles; and its breadth, from north to ſouth, where broadeſt, ſeven hundred and eighty: but as its figure is ſomewhat triangular, growing narrower gradually as it extends from eaſt to weſt, in ſome places it is not above half that breadth, in ſome a fourth part, and in others ſtill leſs. It is bounded on the north by the country of Koko-Nor, and a great ſandy deſart, which ſeparates it from Little Bûkharia; on the eaſt by China; on the weſt by the Mogul's empire, or Hindûſtân, and Great Bûkharia; and on the ſouth by the ſame empire, the kingdom of Ava, and other countries belonging to the peninſula of India without the Ganges.

As Tibet was but little known to the Chineſe themſelves, though their next neighbours, an ambaſſador, whom the late Emperor Kang-hi ſent thither the beginning of the preſent century, to reconcile the two Lama factions of the red and yellow hat, mentioned hereafter, employed certain perſons, whom he had brought for the purpoſe, during the two years he ſtaid in the country, in making a map of all the territories immediately ſubject to the Grand Lama. In 1711, this map was put into the hands of Regis, to be connected with the maps of the Chineſe provinces: but as no ſituation had been fixed by celeſtial obſervation, and the diſtances were laid down only from common computation, he could not execute his orders.

The Emperor hereupon reſolving to procure one more accurate, ſent two Lamas, who had ſtudied arithmetic and geometry (in a mathematical academy, eſtabliſhed under the protection of his third ſon), with orders to compriſe in their map all the

* See Souciet's Obſ. Math. p. 161.; and Du Halde's China, vol. ii p. 360, 363, and 384.
† Du Halde, as before, p. 363. ‡ Bibl. German. vol. iii. p. 25. It is there ſpelled Vodjid.
§ Hiſt. de Gentch. p. 190.

country

country from Si-ning in the province of Shen-ſi to Laſa, the Grand Lama's reſidence, and from thence, to the ſource of the Ganges; and likewiſe to bring ſome of the water of that river back with them. This performance was, in 1717, laid before the miſſioners, who found it vaſtly preferable to that of 1711; but not without faults. However, by help of the meaſures uſed in this map, by comparing it with ſome itineraries in the ſouth-weſt, weſt, and north-weſt roads, and by the informations they received from ſome perſons of note, who had travelled in that country, they found themſelves in a capacity to draw a map of all Tibet, much more correct than any before publiſhed.

As the two Lamas were about their work at a time when the Eluths were ravaging Tibet, they were obliged to hurry away, for fear of falling into the hands of the enemy, they being of the yellow hat, or Chineſe party. They therefore contented themſelves in many circumſtances relating to the countries round the ſource of the Ganges, with ſuch information as the Lamas, in the neighbouring temples, could afford them *, and with what they could learn from the hiſtorical account found at the Grand Lama's at Laſa. If the latitude of the mountain, called Kentais (or Kante-ſhan, according to the Chineſe), from whoſe weſt-ſide the Ganges iſſues, had been taken by obſervation, the courſe of that river might have been more eaſily determined: for although the Lama geographers traced the courſe of the Tſan-pu, which flows from the eaſt of the ſame mountain, yet their meaſures alone cannot be ſufficient for accurately fixing the latitude of Kentais †.

Weſt of this mountain is another called Kantel, in the map, Kenti; which, according to Deſideri, is frightful to look at, and always covered with ſnow: it divides Kaſhmîr, in Hindûſtân, from Great Tibet, which begins from the top of it. From the entrance on that ſide as far as Leh, or Ladak, the road lies between the mountains, which are a true image of ſadneſs, horror, and death itſelf. They are heaped upon one another, and ſo contiguous that they are ſcarcely ſeparated by the torrents, which fall impetuouſly down, and daſh with ſuch a noiſe againſt the rocks as ſtuns and terrifies the moſt intrepid travellers. The top and bottom of theſe mountains are equally impracticable.

The road over them is ordinarily ſo narrow, that there is ſcarce room to ſet one's feet; and the leaſt falſe ſtep tumbles you down the precipices, in great danger of loſing your life, or breaking your limbs, as happened to ſome of the karawân which the author went with. Shrubs or buſhes would be of great uſe on this occaſion; but there is not a plant, or ſo much as a blade of graſs to be found on them. In paſſing the impetuous torrents that ſeparated one mountain from another, they found no other bridge than ſome narrow tottering plank, or ſome ropes ſtretched acroſs, and twiſted with green boughs: they were often obliged to put off their ſhoes in order to tread ſure: for the author's part, he ſtill trembled at the very thoughts of thoſe dreadful paſſages ‡.

The land of Tibet, in general, is very high. Gerbillon obſerves, that a mandarin, who had been there as envoy, informed him that, in paſſing from China to Tibet, he found a ſenſible aſcent; and that in general the mountains, which are very numerous, are much more elevated on the eaſt ſide towards China, than on the weſt-ſide facing

* It is obſerved by Regis, p. 388. of Du Halde's China, that in this part of the map the miſſioners retained the names of places given by theſe informing Lamas (becauſe more to be depended on than thoſe found in travellers), as if they did not obſerve the ſame rule in other parts of the map: and, indeed, in the country of Ko ko Nor, Manchew names are often inſerted inſtead of Mongul.

† Du Halde's China, p. 384, et ſeqq. ‡ Lettres Edifiantes, p. 190, et ſeqq.

Tibet *. Certainly, continues that author, thoſe little hills, whence the ſmall river Altan-kol † (or Golden River) takes its riſe, muſt be vaſtly higher than the ſea; ſince this river, which is rapid enough, diſcharges itſelf into the lakes of Tſing-ſû-hay, and the Whangho has a very ſwift current from thoſe lakes, for about two hundred leagues, to its fall into the Eaſtern Ocean. This elevation of the land makes the country, on this ſide, very cold for the latitude; but when you deſcend the mountains, and enter Tibet, the air is much more temperate ‡. In the weſtern part, where Deſideri travelled, the climate was very ſevere; the winter being, he ſays, almoſt the only ſeaſon which rules the year round, and the tops of the mountains continually covered with ſnow §.

The miſſioners have tranſmitted very little concerning the geography of Tibet, except the map ‖ which affords many materials for making a deſcription of the country. The great river, which runs quite through Tibet, from weſt to eaſt, according to Regis, is called Yarûtſan-pu, or Dſan-pu, that is, the River Yarû; or ſimply, Tſan-pu ¶, the river, by way of eminence, in the ſame manner as Kyang in China is almoſt become a particular name of the Yangtſe-kyang, which divides that extenſive empire. It is yet hard to determine where the Tſan-pû diſcharges itſelf: but as it runs from Tibet ſouth-weſt towards the ſea, it probably falls into the Bay of Bengal, about Arakan, or near the mouth of the Ganges, in the Mogul's empire; called by the Tibetians, Anonkek, or Anonjen. The rivers to the weſt of the Tſan-pû run into countries very little known. It is no leſs uncertain where many others empty themſelves.

The Nu-kyang enters Yun-nan, and after a courſe of ſome hundred li, changes its name to Lû-kyang, and paſſes into the kingdom of Ava. The Lan-tſan-kyang likewiſe enters Yunnan, and after receiving ſeveral ſmall rivers, becomes the great Kyu-long-kyang, that is, the River of the nine Dragons, and flows into the kingdom of Tong-king. On the north of the ſame province of Yun-nan, runs the Kin-cha-kyang, or River with Golden Sand; which, after a long winding courſe, falls into the Yang-tſe-kyang. The Chineſe maps, which the miſſioners found in the tribunals of the province of Yun-nan, as well as the inhabitants of the country, give the name of Nu-i to the people beyond the river Nu-kyang; and to their neighbours on the north of the kingdom of Ava, that of Ti-tſe: but probably theſe are not the names of thoſe half-ſavage nations, inhabiting the mountains, through whoſe country, it is likely, ſome of the rivers of Tibet muſt run **.

With regard to the Whang-ho, the Chineſe envoy told Gerbillon that it has its ſource †† in the north-eaſt part of Tibet ‡‡, from a lake, or rather three lakes, called Tſing-ſû-hay, ſo near to each other that they ſeem but one. From thence it haſtens towards the ſouth, between mountains; and being enlarged with all the ſmall rivers of Ko-ko Nor, it enters China near Ho-chew, (a city of Shenſi, on the borders of Se-chwen, ten days journey in a ſtraight line from the ſource,) by a very narrow paſſage, between two vaſt ſteep rocks, cut for the purpoſe, as the Chineſe tell us, by their famous Emperor Yu.

The envoy farther informed him, that he had croſſed a river of Ko-ko Nor, called, in the Mogol tongue, Altân Kol, or Golden River: that it is about three feet deep, and

* The ſame is obſerved on the ſide of Tartary, to the north of the Great Wall; ſo that China lies in a ſort of hollow, incloſed by the mountains of Tibet and Tartary.
† Near the country of Ko-ko Nor.
‡ Du Halde, as before, p. 258.
§ Lettr. Edif. vol. xv. p. 200.
‖ It is inſerted in Du Halde's China, divided into nine ſheets.
¶ So it is named in the map.
** Du Halde, as before, p. 388.
†† The courſe of this river has been deſcribed before, p. 73.
‡‡ In the borders of the country of Ko-ko Nor, deſcribed before, p. 402.

runs into the lakes of Tſing-ſû-hay; has abundance of gold mixed with its ſands, which employs the inhabitants all the ſummer in gathering it, and makes a principal revenue of the Princeſs of Koko Nor: that a perſon they employ will take ſix, eight, or ten ounces, ſometimes more: they take the ſand from the bottom of the river, then waſh it a little, and retaining what looks like gold, melt it in crucibles. This gold, which ſeems to come from the neighbouring mountains, is eſteemed very good, and ſold for ſix times its weight of ſilver. There is alſo gold in other rivers belonging to the Grand Lama, and much of it is carried to China *. Regis agrees with Gerbillon in this, and particularly inſtances the Kin-cha-kyang † before mentioned: but ſays, the miſſioners are ignorant what river has ſupplied China with that gold, which is preferred to all others.

Gaubil is more particular and exact than Gerbillon. He ſays, that in the place where the Whang-ho riſes, there are more than an hundred ſprings, which ſparkle like ſtars; whence it is called Hotun Nor ‡ that is, the ſea of ſtars, in the country. The Chineſe, Sing § ſû ‖ hay, ſignifies, the Sea of Stars and Conſtellation. Theſe ſources form two great lakes, called Hala Nor, or Karo Nor, that is, the Black Sea, or Black Lake, about two miles from Hotun Nor. Afterwards there appear three or four little rivers, which joined, form the Whang-ho, which has eight or nine branches. In 1704, the Emperor Kang-hi cauſed the ſource of this river to be ſearched after. In the memoirs preſented to that monarch, the ſources of the Whang-ho are named Otan-tala ¶ conſiſting of many little lakes; the waters of which are received by two great lakes to the eaſtward; and all together produce the Whang-ho **.

Beſides the lake of Koko Nor, which (according to Grueber) ſignifies the Great Sea, and is called by the Chineſe, Si-hay, or, the Weſtern Sea, there are ſeveral other large ones in Tibet, as, the Charing Nor, and Oring Nor not far from the Hotun Nor, or Oton-tala; the Tenkiri, above ſeventy miles long, and forty broad, in latitude thirty-two degrees, and longitude weſt of Peking twenty-four; the Lonkeri, and Map-ama, where the Ganges begins. This is all that can be gathered from authors, with regard to the natural geography of Tibet: as to the natural hiſtory, they afford very few remarks.

SECTION II. — *Of the Kingdoms into which Tibet is divided, particularly Great and Little Tibet.*

THE country, generally comprized under the name of Tibet, is variouſly divided by authors. Bernier ††, within its limits, places three kingdoms, Little Tibet, Great Tibet, and Laſſa; Deſideri does the ſame, calling the firſt Baltiſtan, and the ſecond Butan; under which laſt name, Tavernier ‡‡, and others, ſeem to include both Great Tibet, and Laſſa. However that be, theſe three diviſions or provinces of Tibet, are ſubject to ſo many diſtinct ſovereigns; excluſive of the countries of Koko Nor, and the Tu-fan, or Si-fan, which properly fall within the limits of Tibet, and have ſovereigns alſo of their own. Of theſe we ſhall give, ſeparately, what account authors furniſh us with.

* Du Halde's China, p. 258. † This river, whoſe name has the ſame ſignification with that of the Altûn Kol, runs not far from the ſaid lakes, which ſhews the country abounds with gold. ‡ Nor, or Naor, is great lake, or ſea. § Sing, not Tſing, ſignifies ſtars. ‖ Or, Lyew, ſignifies conſtellations ¶ This is the Manchew word, and, indeed, moſt of the names of places in Koko Nor, and the borders of China, are given in that language, inſtead of the Mongul, which is ſpoken by the inhabitants. ** Gaubil, Hiſt. de Gentch. p. 190, et ſeq. †† Memoirs of the Mogul Empire, tom. iv. p. 122, et ſeq. ‡‡ Travels in India, p. 182, et ſeq.

1. LITTLE TIBET, OR BELADISTAN.

Little Tibet Bounds, Extent, and Produce. — Eſkerdû the Capital.

LITTLE TIBET, according to Deſideri, is called alſo Baltiſtan *, and lies to the north-weſt of Kaſhmir, the northern province of Hindûſtan, but a few ſtages diſtant. This author informs us little farther than that the country is fertile, its inhabitants are Mohammedans, and the princes who govern them, ſubject to the Great Mogul †.

In the year 1664 they were tributary to that monarch. Bernier acquaints us, that a diſſenſion having ariſen a few years before in the King's family about the ſucceſſion, one of the pretenders to the crown applied ſecretly for aſſiſtance to the Governor of Kaſhmîr, who, by Shâh-Jehân's order, gave him powerful ſuccours; and having put to death or flight all his competitors, left him in poſſeſſion of the country, on condition of paying tribute yearly in cryſtal, muſk, and wool.

This petty King came to ſee Aureng-Zebe, when he was in Kaſhmîr, bringing with him a preſent of the ſame kind; but he had ſo pitiful a train, that Bernier ſhould never have taken him for what he was. The lord, in whoſe ſervice the author was, having entertained him at dinner, the better to get information concerning thoſe mountains ‡, Bernier heard him ſay, that his country, which borders on Kaſhmîr to the ſouth, was bounded on the eaſt by Great Tibet; that it was about thirty or forty leagues broad §; that it afforded a little cryſtal, muſk, and wool, but for the reſt was very poor; that there were no gold mines, as was reported; that in ſome places there was very good fruit, eſpecially melons; that they had very hard and troubleſome winters, becauſe of the deep ſnows which fell; and that the inhabitants, who formerly had been Pagans, were almoſt all become Mohammedans, of the Shiyah ſect, which is that of the Perſians, as himſelf was ‖.

The ſame curious author gives an account of the road to Kaſhgar, from whence we learn that Eſkerdû, the capital of Little Tibet, lies eight days journey from Gûrche, a town on the borders of the kingdom of Kaſhmîr, which is four ſtages from the city of that name; that two ſtages beyond Eſkerdû lies Sheker, another town, ſituate upon a very famous medicinal river; and fifteen farther a foreſt, on the frontiers of the kingdom; from whence, in fifteen days more, you reach the city of Kaſhgar, which lies eaſt of Little Tibet, inclining ſomewhat to the north ¶.

2. GREAT TIBET, OR BUTAN.

The Name, Extent, chief Cities, Air and Soil. — The Inhabitants. — Its Commerce, Commodities, Religion, Lamas, or Prieſts. — Government. — Bûtan invaded by the Great Mogul. — The King's Artifice.

THE names of Great Tibet and Bûtan, which by ſome authors are extended over the whole country, from the frontiers of Hindûſtan to the borders of China, are, by others reſtrained to the weſtern part of that region; but what its dimenſions are none

* Rather, we preſume, Belâdiſtân, that is, the Mountain Country. † See Lettr. Edif. tom xv. p. 188. ‡ Meaning his country, which by this appears to have been very mountainous. § De l'Iſle makes it about two hundred and eighty miles long, and an hundred and ſixty broad. ‖ Bernier, as before, p. 122, et ſeq. ¶ The ſame, p. 128.

have

have undertaken to define: even the Lamas, who made the map of Tibet, have not divided it into provinces or diſtricts, contenting themſelves with ſetting down the names of ſuch parts as occurred to their knowledge.

Great Tibet, according to Deſideri the Jeſuit, lies to the north-eaſt of Kaſhmîr, and ſomewhat farther from it than Little Tibet. The road thither, though extremely difficult, is pretty much frequented. This kingdom begins at the top of a frightful mountain, covered with ſnow, named Kantel, which Deſideri arrived at with the caravan, thirteen days after he had left Kaſhmîr. In ſeventeen more, travelling all the way on foot, through frightful mountains, they arrived at Leh, or Ladak *, a fortreſs ſituate amongſt them, where the king reſides. They found no great towns in thoſe mountainous provinces †. Ladak, or Latak, is placed in the map about ſeven miles north of the river Lachû, which ninety miles lower falls into the Ganga, or Ganges. Fifty miles to the north-north-weſt of it, in the mountain bordering on Hindûſtan, ſtands another fortreſs, called Timur-keng ‡. An hundred and ninety miles eaſt of Latak, and on the ſame river, lies Chaſir-tong, another city, or fortreſs; and eighty miles ſouth-eaſt of this, Dſaprong, or Chaprong §. But that map does not give the name of Great Tibet, or Bûtân, or indeed, any general name, to the part where theſe places are ſituate.

Deſideri obſerves, that the weather in Great Tibet is very ſevere, and that winter reigns almoſt all the year round ‖. Agreeably to this a merchant of Laſſa told Bernier, that the whole kingdom of Great Tibet was, in compariſon to his, a miſerable country, full of ſnow for more than five months of the year ¶. According to Deſideri, the earth produces nothing but corn and barley; ſcarce any trees, fruit, or roots, are to be ſeen.

The ſame author writes, that the inhabitants of Bûtan are naturally gentle and teachable, but unpolite, and ignorant; having neither ſciences, nor arts (though they do not want genius), nor any communication with foreign nations: that they wear nothing but woollen: that their houſes are ſmall, narrow, made of ſtones piled rudely one upon another: that traffic is ordinarily carried on among them, by exchanging proviſions: that the merchants repair thither to look for wool: and that they have no money of their own, but make uſe of the Mogul's coin, each piece being worth five Roman Julias **.

Great Tibet carries on a trade with the neighbouring kingdoms, and formerly the caravans of India, as Bernier informs us, paſſed through it from Kaſhmir to China; till the Great Mogul, Shâh Jehân, having made an attempt upon that country, the King ſuffered none to enter his dominions, on that ſide, for a conſiderable time. In the interim, they went by way of Patna in Bengal; but at preſent, the old road ſeems to be open again, Deſideri, the Jeſuit, having gone thither with a caravan from Kaſhmîr.

The commodities of Tibet, which the merchants brought back in their return from China, according to Bernier, were muſk, cryſtal, and jaſhen; but chiefly very fine wool, of two ſorts, one of ſheep, the other called tour, which is rather a kind of hair, like the caſtor's, than wool. The jaſhen is found here; it is a bluiſh ſtone, with white veins, ſo hard, that it muſt be cut with diamond duſt. It is highly eſteemed in the

* Latak, in the maps. † Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 189, et ſeq. ‡ Signifying, perhaps, the Iron Caſtle D'Anville calls it Timur-kand. § Probably the Chaparanga, which Antony Andrada repreſents as a very great city. ‖ Lettr. Edif. p. 200. ¶ Bernier's Memoirs of India, tom. iv. p. 128. ** Lettr Edif. p. 194, et ſeq.

court of the Mogul. They make cups of it and other veſſels, of which the author had ſome very rich ones, curiouſly inlaid with threads of gold *.

As to the religion of Great Tibet, Deſideri takes notice, that the firſt plantations one meets with in Bûtan are Mohammedans; but that the reſt are inhabited by Gentiles, who are leſs ſuperſtitious than thoſe in other idolatrous countries. They call God, Konchok †, and ſeem to have a notion of the Trinity. They adore another deity alſo, named Urghien ‡ who they ſay was both God and man without father or mother, but born of a flower about ſeven hundred years ago §; yet they have the ſtatue of a woman, with a flower in her hand ‖, who, they ſay, is Urghien's mother.

They adore ſaints likewiſe, and uſe a kind of beads. No ſort of meats is forbidden them. They reject the tranſmigration of ſouls, and polygamy; in which three points they differ from the Indians.

Their religious perſons, called Lamas, wear a habit different from ſecular folks. They do not braid their hair, nor wear bobs in their ears like others; but have the tonſure, like Romiſh monks, and are obliged to perpetual celibacy. Their employment is to ſtudy the books of the law, written in a language and character different from the vulgar. They recite certain prayers, chanting them in the ſame manner as is done in popiſh churches. They are the perſons who perform the ceremonies, preſent the offerings in the temples, and keep the lamps lighted. They offer to God corn, barley, dough, and water, in very neat little veſſels; which offerings are eaten as a holy thing by them. They are held in great veneration, and live ordinarily in communities, ſeparate from all profane converſation. They have local ſuperiors, and over them a ſuperior general, whom the King himſelf treats with great reſpect. One of that Prince's relations, and the ſon of the Lompo, or prime miniſter, were Lamas. The King, and ſeveral of his courtiers, conſidered Deſideri, and his companion, as Lamas of the law of Jeſus Chriſt come from Europe. They ſaid, their book was like that of the miſſioner; which however, he would not believe. He adds, that many of them know how to read their myſterious books, but none underſtand them ¶.

There is only one Ghiampo, or abſolute Prince in Bûtan. He who reigned in 1715 was named Nima-Nanjal **, and had under him a tributary King. After viſiting the Lompo, or prime miniſter before mentioned, called the King's right arm, the miſſioners had an audience of His Majeſty himſelf, who received them ſitting on his throne. Next day they had a ſecond, and four days after a third, wherein they were treated more familiarly than at firſt ††.

This country has been ſo lately diſcovered, and little frequented, that ſcarce any thing is to be met with relating to its hiſtory, excepting a particular or two mentioned by Bernier. This author informs us, that ſeventeen or eighteen years before he was in Kaſhmîr ‡‡, Shâh Jehân, the Great Mogul, had attempted to conquer Great Tibet, as formerly the Kings of Kaſhmîr had endeavoured. His army, after ſixteen days difficult march among mountains, beſieged a caſtle; which having taken, there

* Bernier, as before, p. 125 and 129. † In the Italian, Konciok. Grueber writes Konjû. ‡ This, probably, is the ſame worſhipped in Laſſa under the name of La, and called in China, Fo. § That is, about the year 1005: it ſhould rather be 2746 years ago, if Fo, or La, be meant. ‖ The Mohammedans of Little Bukharia believe, that the mother of Iſa, or Jeſus, conceived by ſmelling a flower. ¶ How ſhould he know that? ** In the original, Nangial. †† Lettr. Edif. p. 194, et ſeq. ‡‡ He was there in 1664.

remained no more to do than to paſs a river, which is famous and very rapid *, and ſo march directly to the capital town, which might have been eaſily carried, the whole kingdom being ſtruck with a panic; but the ſeaſon being far ſpent, the Governor of Kaſhmîr, who was the general, apprehending he ſhould be ſurpriſed by the ſnow, returned. After he was gone, the garriſon left in the caſtle, either for fear of the enemy, or want of proviſion, ſoon abandoned it; which fruſtrated his deſign of returning thither the next ſpring.

In 1664, the King of Great Tibet, knowing that Aureng-Zebe was at Kaſhmîr, and threatened him with war, ſent an ambaſſador with preſents of muſk, cryſtal, and thoſe precious white cow-tails, which, by way of ornament, are faſtened to the ears of elephants; alſo a jaſhen of great price, on account of its extraordinary bigneſs.

This ambaſſador's train conſiſted of fifteen or ſixteen perſons, all tall men. Excepting three or four of the better ſort, all the reſt were dry meagre fellows, with only three or four hairs on each ſide for a beard, like the Chineſe, and plain red bonnets on their heads, like ſeamen; the reſt of their garments ſuitable. Four or five of them had ſwords, but the reſt marched behind the ambaſſador without any thing in their hands. He promiſed the Great Mogul, in his maſter's name, to ſuffer a moſk to be built in the capital city; that his coin thenceforward ſhould, on one ſide, bear the impreſs of Aureng-Zebe, and himſelf become tributary. But it was thought, when the Mogul's back was turned, he would laugh at that treaty, as he did at one he made formerly with Shâh Jehân †. However that be, all we know farther of the affairs of Great Tibet ſince that time is, that it hath at preſent a king of its own, as hath been before related.

SECTION III. — A DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF LASSA, OR BARANTOLA.

1. *Its Name, Extent, Cities, and Inhabitants.*

Its different Names, to what owing: — Its Bounds, and Extent: — Cities and Towns. — Tonker, or Laſſa. — Mountains; Putala. — Inhabitants; their Shape: — their Dreſs: — a ſlovenly People. — Female Polygamy: — Language and Characters: — Soil and Produce: — Rhubarb; Worm-Seed; Martens. — Road of the Caravans. — Courſe of Trade. — Commodities. — Women Artizans. — Silver Coin.

THE third part, or dominion, into which Tibet is divided, according to Bernier, and Deſideri, is called Laſſa, apparently from the territory of Laſſa, wherein the capital city is ſituate, whoſe names are inſerted in the map. This kingdom, Grueber tells us, is called by the Tartars ‡, Barantola; and Tavernier deſcribes it under the name of Bûtan: for this laſt being the general appellation uſed by the bordering nations towards India, that author might have taken the name from the Indian merchants at Patna, and not from the Laſſa merchants, who came there to ſell their muſk §. It might be owing to the ſame cauſe, that Deſideri could never hear at Kaſhmîr of more than two Tibets, the Great, or Bûtan, and the Little: but at Ladak ‖, the capital of the firſt, he was told of a third called Laſſa ¶; the name Bûtan, if uſed in the country, being probably peculiar there to Great Tibet.

* This muſt have been the Ganges, if the capital was Latak in Great Tibet; and the Tſan-pû, if it was Tonker in Laſſa. † Bernier's Memoirs of India, p. 123, et ſeq. ‡ Meaning, we preſume, the Eluth Mongous. § See Tavernier, part ii. p. 182. ‖ In all probability, this part of Tibet, which Deſideri calls Bûtan, after the Indians, goes only by the name of Ladak in the country itſelf. ¶ See Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 188.

On

On the contrary, Bernier became apprized of three Tibets at Kaſhmîr, becauſe he had his information immediately from a merchant of Laſſa; and this might be the reaſon why he does not give any of them the name of Bûtan, which, perhaps, is not uſed in Laſſa. However that be, this may account how one author comes to apply the appellation of Bûtan to Tibet in general; while another reſtrains it to Great Tibet only. Grueber calls this whole country Tangut, and ſays, it is divided into ſeveral parts, of which Laſſa, or Barantola, is the chief *: yet others aſſert, that the name of Tangut is at preſent unknown to the people of Tibet †. This may be true, and yet it may be uſed by the Tû-fan, or by the Tartars of Koko Nor, (called by him Kalmak) through whoſe territories that miſſioner travelled in his way from China.

The kingdom of Laſſa, or Barantola, is bounded on the ſouth by vaſt chains of mountains, covered with ſnow, and no leſs difficult to paſs than thoſe which ſecure Great Tibet on the weſt; the torrents that ſeparate them being to be paſſed on planks, laid on ropes ſtretched acroſs them. On the weſt lies Great Tibet; on the north a great ſandy deſart, which ſeparates it from Kaſhgar and Little Bukharia; and, on the eaſt, the countries of Koko Nor, and the Tu-fan, bordering on China. According to the report made to Tavernier, to the northward nothing was to be found but vaſt foreſts and ſnow; to the eaſt and weſt, nothing but bitter water ‡.

There is no determining, by the map, how far this country extends weſtward, or by what bounds it is ſeparated from Great Tibet. Deſideri ſays, this third Tibet is ſix or ſeven months journey from Ladak, through deſart and uninhabited places §: if ſo much, Laſſa muſt be ſmall in compariſon of Great Tibet; but, properly, that is the time the author ſpent on the road between the two capitals of thoſe countries; nor does he mention when he paſſed out of one dominion into the other.

According to the map, the country of Laſſa, or Laſa, is fuller of towns than Great Tibet, eſpecially the territory of Laſſa, where ſtands the capital of the kingdom. The chief of theſe towns are Tonker, Changaprang, Shamnamrin, Chuſor, Sankri, Dſan-larken, all to the north of the Yarû, or Tſanpû, and on or near that river; Sûrman, and the ruins of Tſitſirhana, near Koko Nor. To the ſouth of the Tſanpû, cities are more numerous; the principal are Aridſong, Changlas, Jikſea, Rinkpû, Oytong, Laſoy, Tonk-chong, near the river: Chiron, Niamala, Paridſong, Tudſong, Tarengdſong, &c. near the ſouth borders of the country: but the miſſioners have tranſmitted no account of any of theſe places except the capital. They only obſerve in general, that the towns in Tibet are, for the moſt part, but ſmall ‖, and none of them in a ſtate of defence: nor is there, according to Regis, much occaſion for fortifications; becauſe the Tartars (whom they only have to fear) in their wars, ſeldom undertake ſieges, chooſing to fight in the open field ¶.

The capital is, in the map, called Tonker, and ſituate at the foot of the mountain Putala, near the confluence of a ſmall river with the Kaltyû, which falls into the Tſanpû, about thirty miles to the ſouth-ſouth-weſt. The miſſioners, who call this place Laſſa, or Laſa, ſay ſcarce any thing of it, only Regis obſerves, that it is rather a ſpacious temple than a city.

According to Grueber, the mountain Putala (or Butala **, as he writes it) is very high, and ſtands at the end of the city, and on it the caſtle ††, where the Great Lama,

* On which depends Retink, a very populous province on the eaſt ſide. See his Letters, p. 1, in Thevenot's Collection, tom. iv. † See the authors before cited. ‡ Tavernier, p. 185. § Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 205. ‖ Gerbillon ſays, the people dwell in ſmall towns and villages, living by agriculture. ¶ Du Halde's China, vol. ii p. 388. ** Not Bietala, as in Kircher's Account of his Voyage, tranſlated by Ogilby. †† See the print in Green's Collection.

and Teva, King of Tangut, reſided *. Gerbillon reports, from the information of a Chineſe ambaſſador, that the Kalty\u{00fb}-m\u{00fb}ren †, a pretty large river, runs at the bottom of Putala, in the middle of which ſtands the Grand Lama's palace, or temple, ſeven ſtories high, in the uppermoſt of which he lodges; and that by the ſide are the ruins of King Tſanpa's royal city, deſtroyed by Kuſh Hiân, King of the Eluths, towards the middle of the laſt century. The author was aſſured, by the ſame perſon, that it was but four hundred leagues from Si-ning in Shen-ſi, to Putala, which he had travelled in forty-ſix days in winter ‡, and that the country was pretty well inhabited §. Deſideri obſerves, that at Laſſa they reckoned it but four months journey to Pe-king ‖. Grueber ſays, the King reſides at P\u{00fb}tala, a caſtle built on the mountain like the houſes of Europe, conſiſting of four ſtories, and very good architecture ¶.

The inhabitants **, according to Tavernier, are ſtrong and well-proportioned, but their noſes and faces ſomewhat flat. Their women are ſaid to be bigger and more vigorous than the men ††, but much more troubled with ſwellings in the throat; few eſcaping that diſeaſe.

Both ſexes are clad in ſummer with a large piece of fuſtian, or hempen cloth: in the winter with a thick cloth, almoſt like felt, and wear on their heads a kind of bonnet, much like our drinking-cans, which they adorn with boars teeth and pieces of tortoiſe-ſhells, round or ſquare. The richer ſort intermix coral, and amber-beads, of which their women make necklaces. All wear bracelets upon their left arms only, from the wriſt to the elbow. The women wear them tight, the men looſe. About their necks they wear a ſilken twiſt, at the end whereof hangs a bead of yellow amber or coral, or a boar's tooth, which dangles upon their breaſts. On their left ſides their girdles are buttoned with beads of the ſame ‡‡.

Grueber obſerves, that the courtiers were exceeding expenſive in their dreſs; which conſiſted of cloth of gold, and brocade. Some of them wore a habit reſembling, in all reſpects, that of women §§, excepting that they made uſe of a red coat, after the manner of the Lama. For the reſt, this author ſays, the people of Barantola are very ſlovenly, for that neither men nor women, wear ſhirts, or lie in beds, but ſleep on the ground: that they eat their meat raw, and never waſh their hands or faces: but that as to their manners, they are very affable, and friendly to ſtrangers. Women are ſeen in their ſtreets, as among the other Tartars, contrary to the cuſtom of the Chineſe ‖‖.

With regard to their diet Tavernier reports, that they feed on all ſorts of fleſh, except that of cows, which they adore as the common nurſes of mankind; and that they are great lovers of ſpirituous liquors ¶¶.

Although the men, according to Friar Horace, are reſtrained to one wife, and cannot marry within certain degrees, without the biſhop's diſpenſation ***; yet Regis obſerves, that a woman there is allowed ſeveral huſbands, who are generally related, and even

* Grueber's Voyage, p. 1, and 20, in Thevenot's Collection, part iv. † This muſt be the Mogul name, as Muren, in their language, ſignifies a river. ‡ By the way of Tſing-fu-hay, where the Whang-ho riſes, twenty days from Si-ning. § Du Halde, as before, p. 258. ‖ Lettr. Edif. p. 208. ¶ Grueber, as before, p. 1. ** Horace, a late Capuchin miſſioner to Tibet, pretends, that country contains no fewer that thirty-three millions of people: though Deſideri, but a few years before, in his journey from Great Tibet to Laſſa, found nothing but wild uninhabited places. The King's letter to Horace, in 1742, is dated at Laſſa, from his palace Khadeu Khagu San (miſprinted elſewhere Khadeno Khagſer) and the Grand Lama, from his great palace of Putala. †† That may be the reaſon why they are allowed ſo many huſbands. ‡‡ Tavernier's Travels, part ii. p. 184, et ſeq. §§ See the figures in Green's Coll. ‖‖ Grueber's Voyages, p. 1, and 21. ¶¶ Tavernier, as before, p. 184. *** Nouv. Bibl. tom. xiv. p. 57.

ſometimes

ſometimes brothers. The firſt child belongs to the eldeſt huſband, and thoſe born afterwards to the others, according to their ſeniority. When the Lamas are reproached with this cuſtom, they apologize for it by the ſcarcity of women, which prevails both in Tibet and Tartary, where the males are more numerous: but this excuſe, ſays the miſſioner, is trifling; for the Tartars admit of no ſuch irregularity *.

The ſame author informs us, that the language of Tibet differs entirely from the Mongol and Manchew, but nearly agrees with that ſpoken by the Tû-fan, or Si-fan; and that the Tartars call the characters in uſe with the people of Tibet, the characters of Tangut †. La Croze has publiſhed the alphabet, which was given to Bayer by a Mogul interpreter. He ſays, they are the ſame with the Wigûr, Oygûr, or Jugur characters ‡, as they uſed formerly to be called; which are in uſe through all the eaſt, from the Caſpian Sea, to the Gulf of Bengal. Beſides the Mogul letters, which are derived from them, and but little varying, our author obſerves, that the manner of writing of all the Indians, is very like it, and almoſt ſuſpects it to be derived from thence. He adds, that the ſpecimen of the Bûtan characters, given by Hide §, is the running hand letters; thoſe of his alphabet the capitals: and that the anonymous author of the deſcription of Bûtan ‖, ſpeaks in brief, but fully of both kinds ¶.

The above mentioned alphabet conſiſts of four vowels, the *y* being wanting, and very rightly, for it is properly a conſonant; twenty ſimple letters, ten double letters, and ninety-ſix compound characters, or ſuch as are animated with their vowels.

Regis tells us, that the miſſioners could procure no account of the plants produced in this country, nor of the nature of its trade, only that it is chiefly carried on by the way of Bengal **: but Tavernier gives us ſome account of both. According to him, the ſoil is good, abounding in rice, corn, pulſe, and wine. The chief commodities, in which the inhabitants trade with other nations are muſk, rhubarb, worm-ſeed, and furs. The moſt excellent rhubarb comes from hence: it is a root which they cut in pieces, and ſtringing them ten or twelve together, hang them up to dry: as the wet ſpoils it, the merchants run great hazards in bringing it; both roads, eſpecially the northern, being ſubject to rain.

Worm-ſeed grows in the fields, and muſt die before it can be gathered: But the miſchief is, that before the ſeed is ripe, the wind ſcatters the greater part, which makes it ſo ſcarce. When they gather it, they take two little hampers, and as they go along move them from the right to the left, and back again, as if they were moving the herb, which they bow at the top; and thus all the ſeed falls into the baſkets.

Had the natives as much art in killing the marten as the Ruſſians, they might vend great ſtore of thoſe rich furs, conſidering the animals are very numerous there.

The ſame author informs us, that there are two roads to Bûtan (as he calls this country for the reaſon before mentioned;) the northern by Kabul ††, the other, ſouthern, through Patna in Bengal, and the territories of the Rajah of Nupal ‡‡; being a journey of three months over the mountains of Naugrokot, which are nineteen ſtages of the caravan from Patna, moſtly through foreſts full of elephants. They travel in palekis,

* Du Halde's China, p. 385. † They are called by the Chineſe, Si-fan Wha, "the language of the Si-ſan;" and Si-fan He, "writing of the Si-fan:" by the Tartars, Tangut Jerjen, that is, "the characters of Tangût;" which laſt term is common among them. See Du Halde, Paris edit. vol. iv. p. 463; and the Engliſh, vol. ii. p. 388. ‡ Something has been already ſpoken concerning the Oygûr characters and thoſe of Tibet. See Green, vol. iv. p. 398, and 399. § In his Hiſt. Relig. vetr. Perſar. tab. 17. ‖ Mentioned before. ¶ See Act. Erudit. tom. xlvi. p. 415. ** Du Halde, as before, vol. ii. p. 388. †† Or rather Kaſhmir, before mentioned. ‡‡ This ſeems to be the Nekpal of Grueber, who went the ſouthern road.

but

but generally on oxen, camels, and horſes of the country, which are exceeding ſmall, but very hardy. They are eight days croſſing the mountains. They can make uſe of no other carriage for their goods but thoſe ſmall horſes, the road is ſo narrow and rugged: but the merchants are commonly carried on the ſhoulders of women, who attend for the purpoſe. From the mountains they make uſe of the ſame kinds of voiture, as at ſetting out.

When the merchants, trading to Bûtan for muſk and rhubarb, get to Gorroſhepûr, the laſt town belonging to the Mogul, and eight ſtages from Patna, they apply to the cuſtom houſe officer to reduce the twenty-five per cent. duty on thoſe commodities, to ſeven or eight; and if he refuſes, go the northern road round about, through Cabul. When they come there, the karawâns part, ſome for Tartary, others for Balk. Here the merchants, coming from Bûtan, barter their goods with the Tartars, for horſes, mules, and camels, money being ſcarce in that country. Thoſe goods are afterwards tranſported by the purchaſers into Perſia, as far as Ardevil and Tauris; whence ſome Europeans have imagined, that rhubarb and wormſeed came out of Tartary, as, indeed, ſome of the former does; but not ſo good as the other ſort, being liable to corrupt ſooner. Some of the merchants go to Kandahâr, and thence to Iſpahân, whither they carry coral, yellow amber, and lapis lazuli, all in beads, if they can meet with them.

Thoſe who paſs through Gorroſhepûr, carry from Patna, and Daka, coral, yellow amber, bracelets of ſhells, particularly tortoiſe, with great thick pieces of the laſt, ſome, round, others ſquare. As the people of Bûtan burn amber at the end of their feaſts, like the Chineſe (ſome of whoſe ceremonies they obſerve), it is in great requeſt among them. The merchants of this country will give, at Patna above mentioned, for a ſerre (or nine ounces *) of large pieces of yellow amber, as big as a nut, bright and clean, thirty-five or forty rûpis; which will yield, in Bûtan, from two hundred and fifty to three hundred, according to its colour and beauty. Coral, wrought into beads, is profitable enough; but they chuſe to have it rough, to ſhape it as they pleaſe themſelves.

The women and maids are generally the artiſts among them, as to thoſe toys. They alſo make beads of cryſtal and agate. As for the men, they make bracelets of tortoiſe, and other ſhells. They alſo poliſh thoſe little pieces of ſhells which the northern people wear in their ears; and adorn their hair with. In Patna, and Daka, there are above two thouſand perſons thus employed, to furniſh the kingdoms of Bûtan, Aſem, Siam, and other northern and eaſtern parts of the Mogul's dominions.

The King of Bûtân coins much ſilver, in pieces of the value of a rûpi, whence the author concludes, there muſt be ſome ſilver mine in the country: however, the merchants could not tell where it lay. As for the gold they have, which is but little, it is brought them by the merchants of the more eaſtern regions †.

2. *The Religion of Tibet, and its ſurpriſing Conformity with the Romiſh.*

Religion of Tibet like the Romiſh. — Jeſuitical Apology. — The Parallel drawn by other Miſſioners. — Chriſtianity in Tibet. — A Neſtorian Forgery. — Late groſs Impoſture of Romiſh Miſſioners. — Report concerning Chriſtian Tartars accounted for.

THE religion of Tibet is the ſame with that profeſſed in China by the ſect of Fo, whereof already ſome account ‡ has been given: nor have we much to add here, the

* The ſerre of yellow amber, muſk, coral, ambergriſe, rhubarb, and other drugs, containing nine ounces to the pound. † Tavernier's Voyages, part ii. p. 182, et ſeq. ‡ See Green, vol. iv. p. 206, et ſeq.

miſſioners, who have been in the country, ſuch as Grueber the Jeſuit, Deſideri, and Horace de la Penna, prefect of the Capuchin miſſion, lately eſtabliſhed there *, having done little more than pointed out the reſemblance that they found between the religion of Tibet, and their own.

Several miſſionaries have imagined, that in the ancient books of the Lamas, ſome traces remain of the Chriſtian religion; which as they think, was preached there in the time of the Apoſtles. Their conjectures are founded upon, 1. The dreſs of the Lamas, which is not unlike that of the apoſtles in ancient paintings. 2. Their ſubordination, which has ſome affinity to the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy. 3. A reſemblance between ſome of their ceremonies and the Romiſh. 4. Their notion of an incarnation: and, 5. Their maxims of morality. But no certainty can be had in this matter, without being well acquainted with their ancient books; which according to the Lamas of greateſt learning, relate only to the tranſmigration of the ſoul.

Nothing can be inferred from the reſemblance of ſome of their ceremonies to ours, ſays the ſame Jeſuit; but that, like all other nations, they have ſome notion of religion. The apoſtles dreſſed according to the faſhions of the countries wherein they reſided, or to which they belonged; and a ſubordination is found amongſt prieſts of other religions, Mohammedans, as well as idolatrous †. From hence, one would be apt to think, the reſemblance between the religion of Tibet and Rome is very trifling: but if any credit is to be given to other miſſioners, it is very glaring, and runs through almoſt all the doctrines of the Romiſh church, as well as the ceremonies. Gerbillon mentions ſome of theſe ceremonies. 1. Holy-water. 2. Singing-ſervice. 3. Praying for the dead. 4. Their dreſs is like that in which the apoſtles are painted, and they wear the mitre and cap, like the biſhops. 5. Their Great Lama nearly the ſame among them, as the Sovereign Pontiff among Romaniſts ‡.

Grueber goes much farther: he affirms, that although no European or Chriſtian was ever there before, yet their religion agrees with the Romiſh in all eſſential points. Thus, they celebrate the ſacrifice of the maſs with bread and wine; give extreme unction; bleſs married folks; ſay prayers over the ſick; make proceſſions; honour the reliques of idols (he ſhould have ſaid ſaints); have monaſteries and nunneries; ſing in the ſervice of the choir, like the Romiſh monks; obſerve divers faſts during the year, undergo moſt ſevere penances, and among the reſt, whippings; conſecrate biſhops; and ſend out miſſioners, who live in extreme poverty, and travel bare-foot through the deſarts, as far as China. Theſe things, adds Grueber, I was an eye witneſs of §.

Friar Horace ſays, that in the main the religion of Tibet is the counterpart ‖ of the Romiſh. They believe in one God, and a trinity, but full of errors; a paradiſe, hell, and purgatory, but full of errors alſo. They make ſuffrages, alms, prayers, and ſacrifices for the dead; have a vaſt number of convents filled with monks and friars ¶, amounting to thirty thouſand; who, beſides the three vows of poverty, obedience, and charity, make ſeveral others. They have their confeſſors **, who are choſen by their ſuperiors, and receive their licences from their Lama, as a biſhop, without which they cannot hear confeſſions, or impoſe penances. They have the ſame form of hierarchy

* An account of their proceedings was publiſhed at Rome, in 1742, entitled, "Relazione del principio, e ſtato preſenti del vaſto Regno del Tibet, ed altri due Regni confinanti." A French tranſlation is inſerted in the Nouv. Biblioth. ou Hiſtoire Litteraire, tom. xiv. from p. 46 to p. 82; with a Critique of fifteen pages at the end, by the Journaliſt. † Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 387, et ſeq. ‡ The ſame, p. 263. § Grueber's Letters, p. 18, et ſeq. Thevenot's Collect. tom. iv. ‖ "Une image." ¶ Deſideri ſays, they have the monaſtic life and tonſure. ** Andrada ſays, they uſe a ſort of confeſſion among themſelves.

as in the Romiſh Church; for they have their inferior Lamas, choſen by the Grand Lama, who act as biſhops in their reſpective dioceſes, having under them ſimple Lamas, who are the religious *. To theſe may be added the uſe of holy water, croſſes, beads, and other matters.

Some, as we have obſerved, like Regis, would conceal this reſemblance, wiſely conſidering, that it would be no credit to their religion to be ſo nearly related to one confeſſed to be groſsly idolatrous, but would help to confirm the Proteſtant charge of idolatry upon it. Others would pretend, that the people of Tibet were once Chriſtians, but now degenerated into Pagans †; and Andrada ſays, they have ſtill an idea of the Chriſtian myſteries, though confuſed and corrupted. Grueber having ſuggeſted, that he was the firſt Chriſtian who had been in Barantola, or Tibet, Thevenot, his collector, takes care to acquaint the reader, that the Jeſuit was miſtaken; for that he finds Chriſtianity had ſpread farther through the eaſt, than the eccleſiaſtical writers were aware of; and that there had been Princes, and even whole nations, Chriſtians on the frontiers of China. He adds, that he could even point out the time when Chriſtianity was carried thither by the Neſtorian miſſioners, and how it came to be loſt: but that it was neceſſary to wait till the proofs could be printed in the languages in which they were written, and ſome other pieces added; which would contribute much, he ſays, to clear up the geography and hiſtory of thoſe countries.

We are ſorry thoſe tracts never were printed, but fear his Chriſtian Princes and nations were only ſuch as the famous Preſter John, and his people; who, as Chriſtians, doubtleſs, had no other exiſtence than in the writings of the Neſtorian miſſioners ‡; a ſet of men, it may be preſumed no leſs addicted to deceiving, than the Romiſh or Grecian. Hayton, not content with having Ung, or Vang Khan, and his tribe Chriſtians, affirms, that both Kublay, the conqueror of China, and his brother Hûlakû, who reigned under him in Perſia, were converts to the faith. But we find nothing like this in hiſtory, unleſs the Bonzas were Chriſtians, to whom the Chineſe hiſtorians ſay the former was too much addicted.

To omit others, we have a flagrant inſtance of this impoſing ſpirit in the miſſioners, juſt come to hand from Tibet itſelf. Friar Horace de la Penna, before-mentioned, who is at the head of that miſſion, pretends, that he, and his brother Capuchins, not only converted the city of Laſſa, but almoſt brought over the King and the Great Lama himſelf, who gave them leave to build a church, and licence to preach; recommended theirs as the true law, and allowed their ſubjects to embrace it §. Thus, theſe men did, with the greateſt eaſe imaginable, what the miſſioners in China deemed impoſſible to be effected. Gerbillon and Regis ſay, the people are ſo infatuated with their Lamas, that there is no hope of converting them ||; much leſs can it be ſuppoſed the Great Lama, who aſſumes the title of a deity, would turn a proſelyte to the Capuchins, and acknowledge a man for his ſuperior. This would be to own himſelf an impoſtor; to renounce his infallibility (which one may as well ſuppoſe the Pope would do); ſubject himſelf to the laws of a mortal, and, in ſhort, ungod himſelf at once. Yet this groſs forgery of Friar Horace is ſupported by the Pope, and the congregation *de propaganda fide*, by whoſe orders the memoir was cooked up, and publiſhed. It is obſervable, that Horace does not once mention the pretenſions of the Grand Lama to the God-head; either through ignorance, or knowing that a circumſtance of that nature would confute his falſe aſſertions.

* Nouv. Bibl. tom. 14. p. 55. et ſeq. † See Avril's Travels, p. 163. ‡ See Green, vol. iv. p. 220 and 448. a. § Nouv. Bibl. tom. xv. p. 51, et ſeq. || Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 363, and 388.

Hence, it plainly appears, how little regard ought to be had to the teſtimony of the miſſioners, Romiſh or Neſtorian, in caſes of this nature. Gaubil cannot conceive how ſuch a notion ſhould prevail, of there being Chriſtian nations in the eaſt, unleſs the thing was fact: but he himſelf, at the ſame time, helps us to account for it in a very natural way. He ſays, the Chineſe call the Lamas of Tibet, the Bonzas of the Weſt; and have often conſidered the Chriſtians among them as weſtern Bonzas, or Lamas, and as Mohammedans *. Might not then the notion have ariſen, and been propagated from the report of other nations, who miſtook the Lamas, and thoſe of their perſuaſion, for Chriſtians, on account of the great reſemblance which they found between the religion of the Lamas, and that of the Greek or Roman miſſionaries? Of this the following authorities amount almoſt to a demonſtration.

Kircher tells us, that Andrada, the Jeſuit, undertook the voyage into Tibet, on hearing that the inhabitants were profeſſed Chriſtians †. In the relation of the journey of the Ruſſian ambaſſadors, who went to China about the year 1623, ſpeaking of the Mongul Lamas, or friars, as they are called, there is this expreſſion: they ſay, that their religion is the ſame with ours, only the Ruſſian monks are black, and theirs white ‡. The Lamas (ſays Deſideri) told us, that their book of the law, or religion, was like ours: the King alſo, and ſeveral of his courtiers, conſidered us as Lamas of the law of Jeſus Chriſt §. Hence it may be well preſumed, that Marco Polo, and the friars who went into Tartary in the thirteenth century, miſtook the followers of the Lamas for Chriſtians, if they have not deſignedly repreſented them as ſuch.

3. *Of the Dalay Lama, adored as God incarnated.*

His Origin and Name. — Frequent Incarnations. — Image Worſhip. — A licenſed Man-ſlayer: — The Impoſtor's Titles, and divine Attributes: — Cheat, how kept up, and propagated: — The idol, how adored: — Attended by Prieſts: — Their Number at Putala. — Great Lama's State, in giving Audience: — His Excrements worn as precious Relics. — The Donation of Tibet.

THE chief object of worſhip in this country, is the ſame which in China is called Fo ‖, but by the Lamas in Tibet, La ¶. This Prince, who was born one thouſand and twenty-ſix years before Chriſt **, and reigned in a part of India, called Chang-tyen-cho ††, or, as others ſay, Si-tyen ‡‡, gave himſelf out to be God, aſſuming human fleſh; and when he died, it was pretended, that he only withdrew for a while, and would appear again in a determinate time; as he actually did, if the teſtimony of his devout diſciples, the writings of the primitive fathers amongſt them, and, in ſhort, the tradition and authority of the whole church, from age to age, down to the preſent, are at all to be regarded in proof. And this impoſture has been practiced ſince as often as there has been occaſion for it: So that the god La, ſtill lives, and is corporally preſent in the perſon of the Dalay Lama. In which reſpect, the church of Tibet has infinitely the advantage of the Romiſh, inaſmuch as the viſible head of it is conſidered to be God himſelf, not his vicar, or deputy; and the incarnate deity, who is the object of divine worſhip, appears alive in human ſhape to receive the people's adorations: not in the form of a ſenſeleſs bit of bread, or playing at bo-peep in a diminutive wafer,

* Hiſt. de Gentch. p 107. † See Ogil. China, vol. ii. p. 344. ‡ Purchas. Pilgr. vol. 3. p. 799 § Lettr. Ediff. tom. xv. p. 198. ‖ Couplet ſays, Fo ſignifies 'non homo,' or, no man. Sin. Phil. Procem. p. 28. ¶ Gaubil. Hiſt. de Gentch. p. 142. note 13. ** Grueber ſays, they believe him to be the brother of the firſt King of Tangût, and ſtill uſually call him the brother of all the Kings. See his Letters, p. 1, in Thevenot's Collectio, tom. iv. †† Couplet. Sinic. Philoſ. Procem. p. 27, et ſeq. ‡‡ Gaubil, as before, p. 190, in the notes.

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which would be too groſs a cheat to impoſe on the underſtandings of the Tibetians, however ignorant * and ſuperſtitious the miſſioners, to their own ſhame repreſent them.

The prieſts account for the ſeveral incarnations of their deity, from the doctrine of the ſoul's tranſmigration or paſſing from one body to another †; of which La was the firſt inventor. They ſolve, after the ſame manner, every thing that concerns their principal images; ſuch as Menippe, which has ſeveral heads of different forms ‡. Grueber (who calls it Manipe) ſays, thoſe heads are nine in number, and ſo placed, as to terminate in a cone of monſtrous height. This is the chief of all the images, before which the people perform their ſacred rites, with many odd geſticulations and dances, often repeating, O Manipe Mi-hum, O Manipe Mi-hum! that is, O Manipe, ſave us! They frequently ſet divers ſorts of meats before this image, in order to appeaſe the deity.

The ſame author mentions a moſt deteſtable cuſtom, which has been introduced into the kingdoms of Tangut, and Barantola. They chuſe § a luſty youth, to whom they grant liberty, on ſet days of the year, to kill, without diſtinction, whomſoever he meeteth with; ſuppoſing, that they who are thus ſlain, as if conſecrated by Menipe, immediately obtain eternal happineſs. This youth, whom they call Fût, that is, the ſlayer, dreſſed in a very gay habit, decked with little banners, and armed with a ſword, quiver, and arrows ‖, at the times appointed, ſallies furiouſly out of the houſe (being, ſays the author, poſſeſſed with the demon to whom he is conſecrated,) and wandering through the ways and ſtreets, killeth people at his pleaſure, none making any reſiſtance ¶.

The Great Lama who, as we ſaid before, is La, or Fo incarnate, is, according to Grueber, called in the country, Lama Konjû, or the Eternal Father **. He is alſo ſtiled Dalay Lama ††. The ſame author ſays, in another letter, that Great Lama ſignifies the Great High Prieſt, and Lama of Lamas; as he is alſo ſtiled, the High Prieſt of High Prieſts ‡‡. Theſe laſt titles regard only his office, or degree, in his eccleſiaſtical or religious capacity; but with reſpect to his divine nature, or quality, which intitles him to be adored as God, they term him likewiſe the heavenly Father §§, aſcribing to him all the attributes of the true deity; as, that he is omniſcient, and that all things are open to his view, even the ſecrets of the heart. If at any time he aſks queſtions, it is not, ſay they, for ſake of information, but to remove the ſcruples of the incredulous and diſaffected. They believe that Fo (or La) lives in him: hence thoſe of his religion in China call him Ho-fo, or the living Fo. In conſequence of this perſuaſion, he is held to be immortal, and that when in appearance he dies, he only changes his abode: that he is born again in an entire body, and the happy place of his reſidence is revealed by certain pretended tokens, which the Tartarian princes themſelves are obliged to learn of the other Lamas; who only know the child appointed by the preceding Grand Lama to ſucceed him ‖‖.

* This has been ſhewn to be an invidious miſrepreſentation. See Green, vol. iv. p. 123. note (a). † Bernier ſays, they are wedded to this doctrine, and that his Lama phyſician was full of ſurpriſing ſtories about it. ‡ Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 387. § Doubtleſs the prieſts, by the chief prieſt's orders ‖ See the cut drawn by Grueber, who ſaw this fatal youth, who had a licence to kill people, for the good of their ſouls. ¶ Grueber's Letters, p. 22, in Thevenot's Collect. part 4. ** The ſame, p. 1. Deſideri writes, Konchok. See Green, vol. iv. p. 454 note (d). †† On this occaſion, Bentinck obſerves, that as the word Lama, in the Mogul languages ſignifies a prieſt, and Dalay, a vaſt extent, or the ocean, Dalay Lama is as much as to ſay, the univerſal prieſt. See Hiſtory of the Turks, Moguls, &c. p. 486. By this author's leave, Lama ſeems to be a word in the language of Tibet. ‡‡ Grueber's Letters, as before, p. 22; and Ogilb. p. 36. §§ The ſame. ‖‖ Du Halde, as before, p. 385.

To keep up this opinion of his immortality, the Lamas after his death, ſeek, throughout the whole kingdom, for another perſon, as like unto him, in all reſpects, as may be, to ſupply his place: and thus he has undergone a new reſurrection, or incarnation, ſeven times ſince his firſt appearance *. Bernier relates the matter thus, as he had it from a Lama phyſician. When the Great Lama is old, and ready to die, he aſſembles his council, and declares to them, that now he was paſſing into the body of a little child, lately born: that when this child, who was bred up with great care, was ſix or ſeven years of age, they (by way of trial) laid before him a parcel of houſhold-goods mixed with his own, which yet he could diſtinguiſh from the reſt: and this, he ſaid, was a manifeſt proof of the tranſmigration †.

Grueber ſays, that this belief is propagated by the policy of their kings, and thoſe who are in the ſecret of this cheat, in conjunction with the Lama Konjû ‡. The miſſioners rail heavily at this impoſture, calling it wicked and diabolical, as if beſides tranſubſtantiation, which is worſe, they had not other impoſtures in their own religion §. But it is done, doubtleſs, out of envy; becauſe they have none which redounds ſo much to the honour and wealth of themſelves.

Grueber ſays, the Great Lama ſitteth in a remote apartment of his palace, adorned with gold and ſilver, and illuminated with lamps, in a lofty place like a couch, covered with coſtly tapeſtry. In approaching him, his votaries fall proſtrate with their heads to the ground, and kiſs him with incredible veneration. Thus, adds the Jeſuit, hath the devil, through his innate malignity, transferred to the worſhip of this people that veneration which is due only to the Pope of Rome, Chriſt's vicar, in the ſame manner as he hath done all the other myſteries of the Chriſtian religion ‖.

The ſame author farther obſerves, that he always appears with his face covered; letting none ſee it but thoſe who are in the ſecret: that he acts his part extremely well, while the Lamas, or prieſts, who are perpetually about him, attend him with great aſſiduity, and expound the oracles that are taken from his mouth ¶. Here it muſt be noted, that Grueber learns all he writes concerning the Great Lama from the citizens of Barantola; for the miſſioners could not ſee him, no Chriſtian being admitted into his preſence **, nor, indeed, any body of a different religion, without adoring the pretended deity: however, they took an exact copy of his picture, as it was expoſed to view in the entrance of the palace; to which they paid the ſame veneration as to himſelf in perſon ††.

Bentink tells us, that at the foot of the high mountain near Putala, whereon the Dalay Lama reſides, above twenty thouſand Lamas dwell in ſeveral circles round it,

* Grueber's Letters, as before, p. 1; but p. 23, and in Ogilby, p. 361, it is ſaid by ſome miſtake, ſeven times in an hundred years. † Bentink obſerves, that although the Lamas are great ſticklers for the metempſychoſis; yet thoſe among them who pretend to know more than the reſt, do not believe that the ſoul paſſes really out of one body to enter into another; but only its faculties. See Hiſtory of the Turks, Moguls, &c. p. 487. ‡ Grueber's Letters, p. 2. § Neret, the Jeſuit, in his Voyage to the Holy Land, publiſhed in the New Memoirs of Miſſions into the Levant, tom. v. calls the Greek and Armenian patriarchs, ravenous wolves, and the worſt of names, for deceiving the people with the pretended deſcent of the miraculous fire into the holy ſepulchre on Eaſter-day, although he himſelf would impoſe the more palpable fable of the houſe of the Lady of Loretto traveling from Nazareth to Italy, upon the belief of his readers: and Vertot, in his Hiſtory of the Knights of Malta, would perſuade us, that the Romiſh church, when in poſſeſſion of the ſaid ſepulchre, was actually inveſted with the power of bringing down the fire from heaven: and were the Latins reſtored, no doubt they would go on with the impoſture no leſs boldly than thoſe who at preſent have the management of it. ‖ Grueber's Letters, p. 22; and Ogilby, p. 360. ¶ The ſame, p. 2, and 23; and Ogilby, p. 361. ** Yet Friar Horace, it ſeems, was admitted without any difficulty. †† Ogilby's China, p. 361.

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according as the rank and dignities which they poſſeſs, render them more worthy to approach the perſon of their ſovereign pontiff *.

According to the account tranſmitted by Regis, the Grand Lama ſits croſs-legged on a kind of altar, with a large and magnificent cuſhion under him; where he receives the compliments, or rather adorations, not only of his own ſubjects, but of prodigious multitudes of ſtrangers; who make long journies to offer him their homage †, and obtain his bleſſing. Some even travel there from India, who never fail to enlarge before him upon their own merit, and magnify the ſufferings they have undergone in their painful pilgrimage. But next to the people of Tibet, the Tartars are moſt devoted to the Grand Lama, ſome of whom reſort to Laſa from the moſt diſtant corners. When the Eluths-Dſongari invaded Tibet, the ſiſter of Ayuki, Khân of the Eluths-Torgauti ‡, with her ſon, was at Laſſa upon the like errand.

Princes are no more excuſed from this ſervile adoration than the meaneſt of their ſubjects; nor do they meet with more reſpect from the Grand Lama, who never moves from his cuſhion, nor any other way returns the ſalute. He only lays his hand upon the head of the worſhippers, who then think all their ſins pardoned. The Lamas who drew the map obſerved, that in receiving the Emperor's ambaſſador, he did not kneel like the Tartar princes; but when he enquired after Kang-ki's health, reſting upon one hand, he only made a ſmall motion, as if he intended to riſe from his ſeat §. He was at that ſame time dreſſed in a red habit of woollen frize, ſuch as the common Lamas wear, with a yellow hat gilt ‖.

Grueber aſſures us, that the grandees of the kingdom are very eager to procure the excrements of this divinity, which they uſually wear about their necks as relicks. In another place, he ſays that the Lamas make a great advantage by the large preſents they receive for helping the grandees to ſome of his excrements, or urine; for by wearing the firſt about their necks, and mixing the latter with their victuals ¶, they imagine themſelves to be ſecure againſt all bodily infirmities **. In confirmation of this Gerbillon informs us, that the Mongols wear his excrements pulverized in little bags about their necks, as precious reliques, capable of preſerving them from all miſfortunes, and curing them of all ſorts of diſtempers. When this Jeſuit was on his ſecond journey into Weſtern Tartary, a deputy from one of the principal lamas, offered the Emperor's uncle a certain powder, contained in a little packet of very white paper, neatly wrapped up in a ſcarf of very white taffety: but that prince told him, that as it was not the cuſtom of the Manchews to make uſe of ſuch things, he durſt not receive it. The author took this powder to be either ſome of the Great Lama's excrements, or the aſhes of ſomething that had been uſed by him ††.

Trophies are erected on the tops of the mountains ‡‡ in honour of the Great Lama, for the preſervation of men and cattle §§. All the Kings, who profeſs the religion of the Great Lama, before they are inaugurated, ſend ambaſſadors, with very rich preſents, to crave his benediction, as a means to render their reigns happy ‖‖.

Till of late, the Dalay Lama was a mere ſpiritual prince; but he is now become a temporal one alſo, with a large patrimony; the Chân of the Eluths, who conquered

* Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 486. † Grueber ſays, they offer a multitude of preſents and oblations. Letters, p. 22. Ogilby, p. 360. ‡ See Green, vol. iv. p. 401. They arrived there in 1703, and returned in 1712. § Du Halde's China, p. 395. ‖ The ſame, p. 387. ¶ The Butan merchants told Tavernier, that they ſtrew his ordure, powdered, over their victuals. Trav. vol. ii. p. 185. ** Grueber's Letters, p. 2, and 23. Ogilby's China, p. 361. †† Du Halde's China, p. 318. ‡‡ See the print in Green's Coll. §§ Ogilby, as before, p. 358. ‖‖ The ſame, p. 362.

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it in the laſt century, having made him a preſent of it *, which is a much larger patrimony than that called St. Peter's, uſurped by the Popes. Yet for all this, Bentink informs us, that he does not meddle, in any ſort, with the temporality of his dominions, or ſuffer any of his Lamas to meddle with it; but puts all ſecular matters under the government of two Khâns of the Kalmûks, who are to furniſh him with all things neceſſary for the maintenance of his family. When he has any political affairs to tranſact, it is the Deva (or Tipa, a ſort of plenipotentiary,) who acts under his orders †.

4. *Of the Hûtûktûs, or Apoſtolical Vicars, and the inferior Lamas.*

The Religion far extended. — Apoſtolic Vicars. — Lama Hierarchy: — Their Habit accounted honourable: — Numbers and Rules: — Their Character miſrepreſented: — Their Religion unknown to the European Miſſioners. — Lamas conceal their Religion. — Reaſons aſſigned, and refuted. — Mongſan Lamas. — Lamas in China encouraged, and why. — The red and yellow Hats.

THE religion of the Great Lama ſeems to be more extended than any other in the world: for beſides Tibet, which is its native-ſeat, it has ſpread itſelf over all the Indies, China, and Weſtern Tartary, from one end to the other. It is true, the provinces of the Indies and China, have many ages ago thrown off his juriſdiction, and ſet up chief prieſts of their own, who have modelled the religion of their reſpective countries, according to their different fancies, or intereſt. But Tibet, and the greater part of Tartary, are ſtill ſubject to him in ſpirituals. The better to govern this vaſt dominion he conſtitutes deputies, or vicars, to officiate in his ſtead. Theſe are called Hûtûktûs, or Khûtûktûs; which, according to Regis, are choſen from among the diſciples of the Great Lama. It is eſteemed a real happineſs to be admitted into the number of theſe laſt, which never exceeds two hundred; and they on whom the honour of Hûtûktû is conferred, are conſidered as ſo many leſſer Fos ‡; they are neither confined to the pagods, nor limited to Tibet, but ſettle where they pleaſe; and ſoon acquire great riches, by the offerings of their numerous worſhippers §. One of them who reſided among the Kalka Mongols, about the beginning of this century, ſet up for himſelf ‖, in oppoſition to his maſter, aſſuming all the privileges and powers which the Grand Lama pretends to; and, in all likelihood, others from time to time will follow his example.

For keeping up diſcipline and order in eccleſiaſtical matters there is a kind of hierarchy in Tibet, conſiſting of church officers, anſwering to archbiſhops, biſhops, and prieſts. They have alſo their priors, abbots, and abbeſſes, ſuperiors, provincials, or ſuch like degrees, for ordering what concerns the regular clergy. The Lamas, or prieſts, who preſide over the temples throughout the country ¶, are ſent from the college of the Lama's diſciples before mentioned. The other Lamas officiate as aſſiſtants at divine ſervice in the churches and monaſteries; or go abroad on the miſſion into foreign countries.

* Du Halde, as before, p. 258. † Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 486; and L'Eſtat de la Boucharia. ‡ Or, living Fos. See Green, vol. iv. p. 371, and 377; and ſo Regis ſeems to tranſlate the word in one place, when ſpeaking of the Hûtûktû, he adds, or living Fo. Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 252. It may be the Tibetian, or rather Mongul word, anſwering to the Chineſe Ho-fo, ſignifying the ſame thing. However that be, we find here, in the perſons of the Hûtûktûs, the appearance of the Deity in ſeveral different bodies: but they have more ſenſe, or modeſty, than to aſſert that the ſame body is multiplied, or exiſting in ſeveral different places at once, as the Romiſh prieſts do, in conſequence of their abſurd and blaſphemous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. § Du Halde, as before, p. 385. ‖ See Green, vol. iv. p. 377. ¶ Theſe are marked in the maps of Tibet.

Regis

Regis fays, the Lamas generally wear a woollen frize like ours, but narrower, and not fo clofe; yet is lafting, and retains its colour. They ufe, befides the hat, different kinds of bonnets, according to their feveral dignities; one of which is fomewhat remarkable, as it refembles our bifhops' mitres; but they wear the flit before *.

The Great Lama's colour is red; but as the Emperor of China has of late gained fome footing in Tibet, thofe of his party, as well as all the Mongol and Kalka Lamas, wear yellow. Bentink, fpeaking of thefe latter, obferves, that they go habited in long yellow robes, with great fleeves, which they bind about their waift with a girdle of the fame colour, two fingers broad. They have the head and beard fhaved very clofe, and wear yellow hats. They always carry a great pair of beads of coral, or yellow amber, in their hands, which they turn inceffantly between their fingers, faying prayers to themfelves after their manner. The nuns wear very nearly the fame drefs, excepting that they wear bonnets edged with fur, inftead of hats, which the Lamas wear †.

There are feveral princes in Tibet who affume the Lama habit, and under the titles of the Grand Lama's principal officers, act almoft independently of him. The dignity of Lama is not limited to the natives of Tibet alone. The Tartars and Chinefe, who are equally ambitious of this honour, go to Laffa to obtain it ‡.

The multitude of Lamas in Tibet is incredible, hardly a family being without one, either out of their devotion, or expectations of preferment in the Grand Lama's fervice. The rules of the Lamas are too many and burdenfome, to be all obferved by one Lama; wherefore they divide the load among them, one confining himfelf to this particular duty, and another to that; but they are all obliged to conform to celibacy §, as well as to renounce worldly grandeur and employments ‖.

As to their character, if you will take it from their great adverfaries, the miffioners, moft of them are debauched; yet they govern Princes ¶, who give them the chief place in affemblies, and are blindly followed by their votaries, who give them the beft of what they have. Some of them are tolerably fkilled in medicine; others have fome notion of aftronomy, and can calculate eclipfes **. Bernier met with one of thefe Lama phyficians at Kafhmir, who came in the train of an ambaffador from Great Tibet ††. He had with him a book of recipes, which he would by no means part with ‡‡.

Regis repreſents them as very ignorant §§, affirming that few of them can read or underſtand their ancient books, or even fay their prayers, which are in an ancient tongue and character, no longer fpoken or known |||. But this charge muſt be unjuſt, if other writers may be credited ¶¶. Befides Friar Horace declares, that there are in Tibet univerſities and colleges for teaching the things relating to their law *** or religion.

Bentink gives a different account of the Lamas in Tartary. He fays, they both teach and practife the three great fundamental duties of honouring God, offending nobody, and giving to every one what belongs to him: that the lives which both they and the Kalmûks, or Eluths lead, inconteſtably prove the two laſt points; and that he was informed by ſome travellers of credit, that they ſtrenuouſly proteſt againſt adoring more than one God: that the Dalay Lama, and Khûtûktûs, are his ſervants, with whom he communicates for the inſtruction and good of men: that the images which

* Du Halde's China, p. 387, et ſeq. † Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 487. ‡ Du Halde, as before, p. 385. § Bentink ſays, both the monks and nuns take the vows. ‖ Du Halde, as before, p. 388, and 395. ¶ Is this more than what they do on this ſide of the globe? ** Du Halde, as before, p. 253. 256. 263. 387. †† See Green's Coll. vol. iv. p. 455, c. ‡‡ Bernier's Memoirs of India, p. 126, et ſeq. §§ See before, p. 371. ||| See Du Halde, p. 253. ¶¶ Green, vol. iv. p. 123, note 2. *** Nouv. Bibl. tom. xiv. p. 57.

they honour are no more than repreſentations of the Deity, or ſome holy men; and that they expoſe them to the view of people, only to put them in mind of their duty.

This, excepting what relates to their external diſcipline, is all the author could pick up after all his pains, not having been able to find perſons capable of thoroughly informing him: for as all the ſacred books of their religion are written in the language of Tangût *, which both Mongols and Eluths are entirely ignorant of, they depend, like the papiſts, wholly upon what their prieſts are willing to tell them; and theſe make ſo many myſteries of what regards their worſhip †, that one has much ado to get any thing out of them. For all this, it ſeems ſtrange to Bentink, that Europeans ſhould be ſo little acquainted with a religion which is ſpread over all the middle part of Aſia, and might be ſo eaſily known to the Ruſſians, who border on the countries where it is profeſſed: but then he obſerves, that the Ruſſians, like other nations, ſearch after nothing but what concerns their profit ‡.

If the Ruſſians in Siberia, moſtly merchants and ſoldiers by profeſſion, are to blame in this article, the Romiſh miſſioners muſt be much more culpable: becauſe they were obliged, in point of duty, to be thoroughly acquainted with the religion of the people whom they were ſent to convert; and by their reſidence for above an hundred and fifty years in China, had the fulleſt opportunity of conſulting both their prieſts and books: yet how little have they done that way; nay, the latter miſſioners, even thoſe who were in Tibet itſelf, appear more ignorant of the religion of that country than the early ones. Friar Horace, the Capuchin, who, if you will believe him, had ſuch eaſy acceſs to the Grand Lama, and was ſo highly careſſed by him, was yet, as hath been before obſerved, a ſtranger to his divine character §. On the other hand, Deſideri, the Jeſuit, though he ſays he was at Laſſa, never once mentions the Dalay Lama, as if no ſuch perſon had reſided there; he only ſpeaks of ſome great Lama, who had audience of, or made a viſit to the King.

For having thus failed ſo egregiouſly in this particular, various excuſes are made by them: ſome allege the ignorance of their prieſts, as not able to give an account of the doctrines of their religion: others, their reſervedneſs in communicating either what they know themſelves, or their ſacred books: others pretend, theſe volumes are written in an obſolete language and character, not underſtood by the prieſts themſelves; and ſome ſhuffle it off by ſaying, if they were to ſearch their books, they do not believe they ſhould meet with any thing worth knowing, more than what they are already acquainted with. Laſtly, they give up the converſion of the Tibetians, declaring, that ſo long as the Great Lama continues maſter of Tibet, Chriſtianity can make little or no progreſs there ‖.

As to this laſt apology (not to mention its being expreſsly contradicted by the teſtimony of honeſt Friar Horace, as before mentioned,) it ſeems ſtrange, that the Neſtorian miſſioners ſhould find it ſo eaſy, and the Romiſh ſo difficult to convert this nation; or that the inhabitants of Tibet ſhould be more obſtinate now than they were nine hundred years ago; and more averſe to embracing Chriſtianity at preſent, that their religion bears ſo great a likeneſs to it, than before, when it had ſcarce any reſemblance of it at all; unleſs it was on account of that conformity.

But not to ſtay to examine the weight or conſiſtency of ſuch arguments any further, we may juſtly impute the omiſſion either to their own negligence, ignorance, or unwil-

* Or Tibet. † Rather articles of their faith. ‡ Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 488, et ſeq. § A whimſical thing indeed, that he ſhould make a convert of a god without knowing it. ‖ Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 388.

lingneſs,

lingneſs, fully to lay open the agreement of the religion of Tibet with that of Rome, as hath been already ſuggeſted *.

The moſt powerful among the Lamas are thoſe called by the Chineſe, Mong-fan, who poſſeſs a wide territory in Tibet, north of Li-kyang-tû-fû in Yun-nan, between the rivers Kincha-kyang and Vu-lyang-ho. This country was ceded to them by U-ſan-ghey, (whom the Manchews made King of Yun-nan), to engage them in his intereſt †.

Although the religion of the Great Lama is ſpread though China, yet he ſeems to have no juriſdiction there; at leaſt the miſſioners are ſilent as to this article of his ſupremacy, reckoned ſo important in their own church. The Lamas, however, have from time to time attempted to get footing in the empire, perhaps with a view to eſtabliſh their maſter's authority there; but have never been able to compaſs their deſign, owing, in great meaſure, doubtleſs, to the oppoſition of the Ho-ſhang, or Bonzas, who probably, aſſert the freedom, or independence of their church, as the Gallican formerly did in France.

Gaubil tells us, that the Chineſe hiſtory firſt ſpeaks of Lamas being employed by the Mongols, and erecting monaſteries among them, in the reign of Keyuk Khân, grandſon of Jenghîz Khân ‡. But as they came in great numbers, and were very chargeable to the people, going among them from houſe to houſe, Tayting §, ſixth Emperor of the Ywen, forbad them to enter China ‖. However, their authority continued there while that family poſſeſſed the throne, whoſe ruin is attributed to the encouragement given them by Shun-ti, the laſt of it: but Hong-vû having reſtored the dominion of the Chineſe, expelled the Lamas along with the Mongols.

They recovered their credit in China when the Manchews got poſſeſſion: for although they were formerly no friends to the Lamas, yet when they began to invade their neighbours, they politically favoured them: and when Shun-chi became maſter of the empire, the Grand Lama omitted no meaſure that might ſecure his intereſt in that Prince, not diſdaining even to leave Laſſa, and travel to Pe-king, to congratulate the Emperor, and bleſs his family. After this, the Empreſs erected a magnificent temple for the Lamas, whoſe example was imitated by the Princes, Princeſſes, and others; which encouragement ſoon multiplied their number in China. They are very wealthy, and dreſs in fine yellow, or red ſatin, and the choiceſt furs; they appear well mounted, and attended with retinues, more or leſs numerous, according to their degree of Mandarinſhip; which honour the Emperor frequently confers upon them ¶. Thus, on his ſide, he endeavours politically to ingratiate himſelf with the Grand Lama, whoſe power, he knows, is very great among the Tartars, carrying on his intrigues even in Tibet itſelf.

Hence it came to paſs, that in the beginning of this century, a diviſion happened in Tibet itſelf, amongſt the Lamas. One party adhered to the red hat, the colour uſed by the Grand Lama; the other aſſumed the yellow hat, to denote their attachment to the preſent imperial family of China **, whoſe intereſt has increaſed ſince the Tſe-vang-raptans troops, which had ravaged the country, were defeated there in 1720, by the Chineſe army ††.

* Green, vol. iv p. 212, note f, and 220. † Du Halde, as before, vol. ii. p. 385. ‡ Gaubil, Hiſt. de Gentch. p. 142, note 13. § His Mongol name was Yeſuntimur. See the table, Green, vol. iv. p. 449. ‖ Du Halde, as before, vol. i. p. 501. ¶ Du Halde's China, p. 387. ** The ſame, p. 384. †† See Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. pref. p. 22.

5. *The Government of Tibet.*

Tibet conquered: — Its Donation to the Lama. — Another Revolution in the Kingdom: — Governed by a Tpa: — Awed by China. — Emperor impoſed on by the Lamas. — Envoys, how treated. — The King's State, and large Cannon: — How reverenced.

TOWARDS the beginning of the laſt century, Tibet was governed by a King of its own, called Tſanpa Han * ; in the Chineſe hiſtory, Tſan-pû ; and the dominions of the Grand Lama were confined to a ſmall province †. But about the year 1630, the Grand Lama being exaſperated to find Tſanpa deficient in the reſpect which he uſed to pay him, called to his aſſiſtance the Eluths of Koko Nor ‡, a nation moſt blindly devoted to him. They, under the conduct of Kuſhi Han, aided by Paturu-hum Tayki §, invaded Tibet with a powerful army ; and having obtained a compleat victory, took the King priſoner, and put him to death. After which he gave his kingdom to the Grand Lama, being ſatisfied with becoming his vaſſal ; and having the title of Han conferred upon him, ſettled, with all his people, in the neighbourhood of Laſſa, to ſecure the Grand Lama in the poſſeſſion of his new dominion : but the auxiliary Princes returned home to the country of Koko Nor ‖.

Andrada, the Jeſuit, who in 1624 travelled from Agra in the Mogul's empire, to the ſource of the Ganges, pretends, that the Grand Lama's reſentment to the King aroſe from his beginning to have ſome thoughts of embracing Chriſtianity, upon the preaching of that miſſioner ; and that while he was in India, whither he had returned to procure aſſiſtance in his miniſtry, the revolution above happened. Regis has adopted this fiction of that lying Jeſuit ¶, who in all probability, never was in Tibet, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter **.

The poſterity of Kûſhi Han continued to protect the Grand Lama, in the manner above related ; yet, according to Bentink, the Khân of the Eluths-Dſongari, who poſſeſs Great Tartary, kept a kind of ſuperiority over the country, and took care, that the two Khâns ††, who had the adminiſtration in temporals within the Grand Lama's dominions, did not abuſe that power ; and whenever they endeavoured to become independent, which happened pretty often, they were always ſure to find him in their road ‡‡, who knew how to bring them to their duty §§. About the year 1710, this Prince, called Tſe-vang-raptan ‖‖, being then in war with the Emperor of China, arrived at the lake of Lop, and croſſing the ſands with only fourteen perſons, came to the

* Gerbillon, on this occaſion, ſays, that this Prince was formerly very powerful, and is ſuppoſed to be the famous Preſter John ; but with as little reaſon as others affirm him to be the Chriſtian King of the Abiſſins in Africa : for M. Polo, and the monks who firſt brought the account of him declare, that Ung Khân, chief of a horde of Tartars, was the Preſter John ; and then this latter muſt have concerned himſelf with temporal as well as ſpiritual affairs, which the Dalay Lama never did. Thus are writers led aſtray by this ignis fatuus, and beſotted with a regard for authority or tradition, though ever ſo much exploded, or abſurd in itſelf. † Perhaps that of Laſſa, where the capital is ſituate. ‡ Or, Eluths-Koſhoti, ſee Green, vol. iv. p. 402. § Ibid. p. 401, e. ‖ Du Halde, as before, vol. ii. p. 258, and 386. ¶ See the ſame, p. 385. ** See alſo Hiſt. of the Turks, &c. p. 490. †† Meaning him at Laſſa, and the other of Koko Nor. ‡‡ Deſideri obſerves, that this third Tibet, or Laſſa, is more expoſed to the incurſions of the Tartars, than the other two. Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 204. A Laſſa merchant told Bernier, that his King was often at war with the Tartars ; but could never explain what Tartars they were. Bernier's Memoirs of India, tom. iv. p. 128. Tavernier, on the other hand, ſays, vol. ii. p. 185, that the inhabitants of Bûtan know not what war is, having no enemy to fear but the Great Mogul. This circumſtance agrees better with Great Tibet than Laſſa. §§ Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 485. ‖‖ Pronounced by the Chineſe, Lapûtan.

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river Hotomni * in Kaſhgar. There being joined by ſome troops, he ſent a detachment to Laſſa, commanded by an experienced general, with ſix thouſand men, to conquer Tibet; under pretence that the Grand Lama was an impoſtor, and that he was reſolved to reduce the Lamas to their ancient dependence on the ſovereigns of the country.

Talay Hân †, the grandſon of Kûſhi. who then reigned in Tibet, marched againſt them with an army of twenty thouſand men; but notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of his troops, was defeated and ſlain. After this, the country of Laſſa was ravaged, the towns taken as ſoon as beſieged, and the temples entirely plundered, even that of the Grand Lama not excepted, where the booty was immenſely rich, and all the Lamas that could be found were tranſported into Tartary ‡. This happened at the time when the Lama geographers were making the map of Tibet. But Raptan, it ſeems, did not long keep poſſeſſion of this country; for Kanghi ſending an army againſt him, his troops were defeated in ſeveral battles, and himſelf obliged to retire to his own country § in 1720, all Tibet remaining in poſſeſſion of the Chineſe forces ‖. However, it may be preſumed, they did not keep it as a conqueſt, but reſtored it to its former maſters; for in 1742, Friar Horace found a King at Laſſa, whom he names Mivagn ¶, as well as the Dalay Lama.

As the Great Lama renounces all concern with temporal affairs ever ſince the donation that was made to him of Tibet, he chuſes a viceroy, who governs in his name, and by his authority, under the title of Tipa (or Deva, as ſome write it). For though the Hâns, who ſucceeded Kuſhi, reſide at Laſſa, in the heart of the country, they meddle not with the government **, but are content with reigning over the wandering hordes of Eluths. The Tipa, though married, wears the Lama habit, but without ſubjecting himſelf to the rules of that order. The late Emperor Kang-hi, during the war with Kaldan, predeceſſor to Raptan, created the viceroy of Tibet, Vang, or Regulo, to attach him to his intereſt. He knew, that both the Tipa and Grand Lama ſecretly favoured Kaldan, and were capable of croſſing his deſigns: beſides, had they joined the Mongols, and intereſted religion in the war, it would have been difficult to withſtand ſo many enemies. Wherefore, after the defeat of that daring Prince in 1697, the Emperor obſerved no meaſures either with the Tipa, or Grand Lama himſelf, but ſpoke like their maſter ††.

On this occaſion our author Gerbillon, in his ſeventh journey into Tartary, with the Emperor of China, relates a curious paſſage concerning the Dalay Lama's regeneration. The Emperor had for a long time ſuſpected the death of the Dalay Lama, becauſe his ambaſſadors could never obtain an audience, under pretence that the divinity was in his retirement: but being reſolved to diſcover the truth, he ſent an envoy in 1696 to the Tipa (or Deva) with poſitive orders either to ſee him, or know if he was dead; at the ſame time commanding that officer to deliver up to him the daughter of Kaldan (married to a Tayki of Koko Nor, ſubject to the Talay Lama,) and two Hûtûktûs, who had eſpouſed the intereſt of that Prince, threatening to make war upon him if he refuſed to comply.

* In the great deſart to the ſouth-weſt of Hami. † Or Dalay Khân. ‡ Du Halde's China, p. 385; and Souciet's Obſ. Math. p. 179. § Du Halde, as before, p. 388. ‖ Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. pref. p. 22. ¶ So his letter is ſigned, but without the title of Hân at the end, which looks ſuſpicious. ** Grueber ſays, there are two Kings in Barantola, one called the Deva, who governs in temporals, the other the Grand Lama. See his Letters, p. 22, in Thevenot's fourth tom. and Ogilby's vol. i. p. 360. But if matters be as Gerbillon repreſents them (for Regis is not ſo particular), Grueber muſt have miſtaken the viceroy for the Hân, or King. He likewiſe, p. 20, makes the latitude of Laſſa, by obſervation, twenty-nine degrees ſix minutes: the Jeſuits' map, twenty-nine degrees thirty-ſix minutes. †† Du Halde, as before, p. 258, 259, and 385.

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The Tipa, terrified at this meſſage, immediately diſpatched Nimata Hûtûktû, one of the principal Lamas of Pûtala, with a reſpectful letter to the Emperor, offering to ſend the parties demanded, if His Majeſty inſiſted on it, only interceding in their favour. Kang-hi received this envoy with extraordinary honours, and accepted his preſents of paſtils, coral, beads, &c. Having been aſked concerning the Talay Lama, he told the Emperor, that he had been dead ſixteen years: that before his death he aſſured them he would riſe again at a place appointed; which accordingly happened: that he deſired them to educate him till he was fifteen years of age, and, in the mean time to keep his death ſecret: laſtly, that he left a letter, with an image of Fo, directing it to be ſent to the Emperor, the tenth moon of the ſixteenth year after his deceaſe; till which time the Lama begged His Majeſty would conceal it.

The Emperor promiſed to do ſo, and ſent two inferior Mandarins along with him, to obtain immediate ſatisfaction to his other demands. Two days after their departure, an envoy, whom His Majeſty had ſent to the nephew of Kaldan, returned and informed him, that in the ſecond moon of the ſame year the Talay Lama's ambaſſador told him of his death, and pretended regeneration, and that in the ſixth moon the young Talay Lama came out of his retirement. The Emperor hereupon thinking himſelf abuſed by the Lamas, ſent an expreſs to call back Nimata Hûtûktû, and the two envoys. The Lama ſaid he knew nothing of what had been publiſhed in another place, but that he had executed his orders. Upon this, His Majeſty thought it no breach of promiſe to open the above-mentioned letter before all the Mogul Princes of his retinue, on the twenty-ſecond of March 1697; and thus the death of the Talay Lama, which happened ſo long before, was publiſhed *.

On this occaſion it may be obſerved, that the Emperor's envoy to Laſſa is ſupplied with horſes for himſelf and attendants, by the country people where ever he comes; beſides camels to carry his baggage, and all neceſſaries, being allowed ſix ſheep and an ox for five days. In like manner, the Emperor maintains the envoys of the Grand Lama, and the Princeſs of Koko-Nor, when they come to Pe-king †.

We find little more in travellers concerning Laſſa, excepting what Tavernier mentions from the report of merchants, relating to the King of Bûtan; by which for the reaſons already given, is to be underſtood Barantola, or Laſſa. This Prince, according to that author, hath conſtantly ſeven or eight thouſand men for his guard, armed with bows and arrows: but ſome carry battle-axes and bucklers. There are always fifty elephants kept about the palace, and twenty-five camels, with each a piece of artillery on his back, that carries a half-pound ball, and a gunner, who ſits behind to manage it.

The merchants aſſured Tavernier, that ſome of their cannons had letters and figures upon them of above five hundred years ſtanding: that no perſon dare ſtir out of the kingdom without the governor's leave, or carry a muſket along with him, unleſs his kindred will be bound that he ſhall bring it back. One of them had a piece, which, by the characters on the barrel, appeared to have been made above an hundred and eighty years. It was very thick, and poliſhed within as bright as a looking-glaſs. Two thirds of the barrel were garniſhed with emboſſed wires; certain flowers of gold and ſilver being inlaid between. The mouth was ſhaped like a tulip, and it carried a bullet that weighed an ounce. But the author could neither prevail with the merchant to ſell it, nor give him any of his powder, which was long, but of an extraordinary force.

* Du Halde's China, p. 366. † The ſame, p. 258, et ſeq.

There is no King in the world more feared and reſpected by his ſubjects than the King of Bûtan; being in a manner adored by them. When he ſits to do juſtice, or give audience, all that appear in his preſence hold their hands cloſe together above their foreheads; and at a diſtance from the throne proſtrate themſelves upon the ground, not daring to lift up their heads. In this humble poſture they make their petitions to him; and, when they retire, go backwards till they are out of his ſight. The merchants aſſured Tavernier, that thoſe about the King preſerve his ordure, dry it, and reduce it to powder like ſnuff *: that then putting it into boxes, they go every market-day and preſent it to the chief traders and farmers, who, recompenſing them for their kindneſs, carry it home as a great rarity; and when they feaſt their friends ſtrew it upon their meat. The author adds, that two of them ſhewed him their boxes with the powder in them †.

SECTION IV. — AN ACCOUNT OF THE SI-FAN, OR TU-FAN; AND THE COUNTRY INHABITED BY THEM.

1. *Of the Si-fan's Country, and Manners of that People.*

The Si-fan's Country: — Different Accounts of: — Its true Situation. — The Remains of a large Dominion. — The Black Si-fan: — The Yellow Si-fan: — Their Government, Language, and Cuſtoms: — Almoſt independent. — The Rhubarb Country.

THE country of the Si-fan (who are a people quite unknown, at leaſt in name, to the weſtern hiſtorians, whether Aſiatic or European) is differently repreſented as to its ſituation and dimenſions, in the accounts ſent from China by the miſſionary geographers. According to Regis, it borders on the provinces of Shen-ſi, Se-chwen, and Yun-nan, reaching from the thirtieth to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude; and weſtward to the river, called by the Chineſe, Ya-long-kyang ‡.

By another account, it extends but a little way along the weſtern borders of Shen-ſi. For better underſtanding the ſituation of it, the author obſerves, that the little town of Chwang-lan § (or Chwang-lang-ing) ſtands, as it were at the meeting of two valleys; whereof one goes towards the north as far as the gate of the great wall, called Hya-yu-quan ‖, the ſpace of above an hundred leagues, and contains three great cities, Lan-chew, Kan-chew, and Sû-chew, with ſeveral forts belonging to them. The other valley extends weſtward above twenty leagues to Si-ning, and is full alſo of little forts, which are ſubject to that city, and render the Chineſe abſolute maſters of the plain country: but they are not ſo of the mountains, which are inhabited by a nation different from the Chineſe, who lie to the ſouth of them, as well as from the Tartars, who lie to the north ¶.

This vague account only helps to puzzle the reader; for the Chineſe lie to the eaſt and north, rather than to the ſouth of theſe people; and the Tartars more to the weſt than to the north, where the Chineſe territories interpoſe. In ſhort, ſuppoſing them to be ſituated as before deſcribed, according to the map, their territories muſt be

* As from hence it appears, that by the King, the Dalay Lama, who was then ſovereign, is to be underſtood; ſo that by Bûtan muſt be underſtood Laſſa. As for the ſmall miſtake, in ſaying he ſits to do juſtice, whereas the Great Lama meddles not with temporals, it is very excuſable in the author, who might well imagine that was a part of his regal office. † Tavernier's Travels, vol. ii. p. 184, et ſeq. ‡ Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 305. § It lies in about twenty-ſix degrees forty-eight minutes, by the map of Shen-ſi. ‖ Or Khya-yu-quan, and Kya-yu-quan. ¶ Du Halde, as before, vol. i. p. 22.

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a narrow tract of mountains lying between the north-weſt part of the province of Shen-ſi, and the country of Koko Nor, incloſing the latter on the north and eaſt in form of a bow. But in the map there is no mention of the Si-fan in thoſe quarters, whence, probably, Du Halde, or his correſpondent *, has miſtaken the country of the Si-fan for that of Koko Nor.

In the third place, the maps of the Jeſuits differ from both the foregoing accounts. In the fifth ſheet of Tibet, the country of the Si-fan is diſtinctly marked out. It is bounded on the eaſt by the Chineſe province of Se-chwen; on the north by the country of Koko Nor; and on the weſt by a river called Tſacho Tſitſirhâna, which riſing to the ſouth of the lakes whence the Whang-ho iſſues, runs through Se-chwen, where it where it takes the name of Ya-long-kyang, and afterwards that of Kin-cha-kyang †. According to this ſituation, which ſeems to be the right, the country of the Si-fan lies between twenty-nine degrees fifty-four minutes, and thirty-three degrees forty minutes of latitude, and between twelve degrees thirty minutes, and eighteen degrees twenty minutes of longitude weſt of Pe-king. Its figure is triangular, the baſe, which lies to the north, being about thirty miles long; and the other two ſides, which make an angle to the ſouth, about two hundred and forty-five each.

This is all which at preſent remains to the Si-fan, of a very large dominion they were formerly poſſeſſed of, compriſing all Tibet, and even ſome neighbouring territories of China. Hence, it may be preſumed, it is (as well as on account of the affinity between the languages of the Si-fan and Tibet) that the Chineſe, we are told, extend the name of Si-fan over all that country, and ſometimes to all the nations lying weſt of their own empire. In all probability, it is that great empire of the Si-fan, including the whole country between China and Hindûſtan, with all thoſe wide plains and deſarts on the north and weſt of it, inhabited by Eluth-Tartars, and bounded, in the map, by a chain of mountains, which were formerly called Tangût, Tanguth, or Tankut ‡; and the rather, becauſe at preſent the language and characters of Tibet, ſtill uſed by the Si-fan, are called the characters and language of Tangût, as hath been already obſerved §. However that be ‖, the condition of the Si-fan, or Tu-fan, is very different from what it was formerly. They have not now one town in their poſſeſſion, and are pent up between the rivers Ya-long on the weſt, Whang-ho on the north, and Yang-tſe-kyang on the eaſt ¶; whereas anciently their kingdom had fortified towns, was well peopled, and very powerful **.

The Chineſe diſtinguiſh the Si-fan, or Tu-fan, into two ſorts of people: The He Si-fan, or black Si-fan, and the Whang Si fan, or yellow Si-fan; from the colour of their tents, not their complexions, which are in general a little ſwarthy. The black Si-fan have alſo ſome pitiful houſes, but are very uncivilized. They are governed by petty chiefs, who depend on a greater. Thoſe whom Regis ſaw were dreſſed like the inhabitants of Hami ††. The women wore their hair parted into treſſes hanging down on their ſhoulders, full of little braſs mirrors.

* Who ſeems to be Regis, for he is quoted afterwards. † See the maps. ‡ Du Halde, as before, vol. ii. p. 385. § See Green, vol. iv. p 457, note f. ‖ How eaſily might the miſſioners have ſolved all difficulties concerning the ſituation and extent of Tangût, when they were on the ſpot? But they do not ſo much as tell us what name the Si-fan go by, either among themſelves or any of their neighbours, except the Chineſe. Thus, for want of making proper enquiries, either through negligence or ignorance, they have recourſe to conjectures themſelves; differ from one another in their accounts of things, and generally leave material points of hiſtory and geography in the dark, juſt as they found them. ¶ Its ſprings are in this country. The moſt famous of them, called Ho-ſhwi by the Chineſe, but Chûnak by the Tu-fan, riſes in the mountains named Chûrkula. ** Du Halde, as before, vol. i. p. 22, and 29. †† Or Kham-il, in Little Bûkharia.

The Yellow Si-fan are ſubject to certain families, whereof the eldeſt is made a Lama, and wears a yellow habit, which may alſo contribute to their name. Theſe Lamas, who are all of the ſame family, and govern in their reſpective diſtricts, have the power of deciding cauſes, and puniſhing criminals. They inhabit the ſame canton, but in ſeparate bodies, and without forming large families of the ſame kindred, which appear like Syaw-in, or little camps, as the Chineſe geographers call them. The greater number of them dwell in tents; but ſome have their houſes built with earth, and a few of bricks. They want nothing of the neceſſaries of life. They have numerous flocks of ſheep. Their horſes indeed are but ſmall, but well ſhaped, mettleſome, and ſtrong.

The Lamas who govern thoſe people do not make them uneaſy, provided they render them certain honours, and punctually pay the dues of Fo, which are very trifling *. The Armenians who were at To-pa †, ſeemed very well pleaſed with the Lama, who is lord of the place, and was not then above twenty-five, or twenty-ſix years of age. Far from vexing his ſubjects, he only took from each family a very ſmall tribute, in proportion to the quantity of land it poſſeſſed.

There is ſaid to be ſome difference in the language of theſe two ſorts of Si-fan; but as they underſtand one another well enough to trade together, it is probable that they differ only as dialects of the ſame tongue. The books and characters uſed by their chiefs are thoſe of Tibet. They have cuſtoms and ceremonies very different from the Chineſe, though bordering on them: for inſtance, it is uſual for them to preſent a large white handkerchief of cotton or taffety when they go to wait upon perſons whom they mean to honour. They have alſo ſome cuſtoms like thoſe found among the Kalka Tartars, and others which reſemble the uſages of the Tartars of Koko Nor.

Neither nation is more than half ſubject to the neighbouring Chineſe Mandarins, before whom they rarely appear when ſummoned, little regarding their citations: nor dare thoſe officers treat them with rigour, or offer to force them to obedience; the frightful mountains they inhabit, whoſe tops are covered with ſnow even in July, ſhelter-ing them againſt all purſuits. Beſides, as the rhubarb grows in abundance on their lands, they are courted by the Chineſe for that precious commodity ‡.

2. *The Hiſtory of the Si-fan, or Tû-fan.*

Formerly very famous: — Invade the Empire: — Conclude a Place: — Aſſiſt the Chineſe. — The Wheyhe Tartars break the Peace. — Invade the Empire: — Burn the Capital: — Are made to retreat by Chineſe Stratagems: — Invade China afreſh: Are defeated again: — Sue for Peace: — Break it, but routed: — Another Defeat: — Their Capital taken: — Recovered again: — The Tû-fan retreat: — A Peace concluded: — Their flouriſhing State.

IT appears from the Chineſe geographers of the middle age, from the hiſtory of the provinces of Shen-ſi and Se-chwen, and by the great annals Nyen-i-ſhe, that the Si-fan, or Tû-fan, had formerly a very large dominion, and Princes of great reputation, who made themſelves formidable to their neighbours, and even to the Emperors of China. On the eaſt ſide they not only poſſeſſed divers territories, which at preſent belong to the provinces of Se-chwen and Shen-ſi, but alſo puſhed their conqueſts ſo

* Theſe dues ſeem to be a kind of tithes, as being exacted on a religious account. That of Fo was always the religion of the Tû-fan, who always choſe their Lamas to be miniſters of ſtate, and ſometimes to command their armies. Du Halde, p. 29. † Near Si-ning, at one end of the great wall in Shen-ſi.
‡ Du Halde's China, vol. i. p. 22, et ſeq. Some of their rivers yield gold, of which they make handſome veſſels and images.

far into thoſe provinces, as to ſubdue ſeveral cities of the ſecond rank, whereof they formed four great governments. Weſtward they were maſters of all the countries, from the river Yalong to the borders of Kaſhmîr, in the Great Mogul's empire.

In the ſeventh century, Ki-tſon, King of the Tû-fan, poſſeſſed this vaſt dominion, and had ſeveral Kings his tributaries, to whom he ſent patents and ſeals of gold. This Prince, in 630, coveting an alliance with Tay-tſong, that renowned Emperor of the Tang dynaſty, ſent a famous embaſſy to that Prince; which having been received with great marks of diſtinction, he by a ſecond, demanded a Princeſs of the imperial blood, for his ſon Long-tſong. The Emperor's council, looking on this as a very bold propoſal, rejected it, without deigning to deliberate on it. Hereupon Long-tſong ſucceeding to the throne, on the death of his father, came at the head of two hundred thouſand men to demand the Princeſs; and having defeated certain Princes tributary to China, who oppoſed his paſſage, penetrated to the borders of Shen-ſi, where the Emperor then kept his court. From thence he ſent one of his officers with a haughty letter to His Majeſty, demanding that the Princeſs ſhould be immediately delivered up to him, with a certain quantity of gold, ſilver, and ſilks, by way of portion.

The Emperor, offended at ſuch a demand, amuſed the envoy with hopes, till his troops were aſſembled on the frontiers, and then diſmiſſed him diſgracefully, and without returning any anſwer to his maſter's letter. At the ſame time his army attacked that of the Si-fan, and routed it. However, as the loſs was not conſiderable, Long-tſong rallied his troops, and being in a condition to give the Emperor uneaſineſs, in 640 *, the Princeſs, by advice of his council, was ſent, with a great deal of pomp, to the Si-fan King who after the ceremonies of marriage were over, retired, and became very ſerviceable to the Empire on divers occaſions: particularly, when the General Alena uſurped a tributary kingdom of China, he joined the imperial army with all his forces, which he commanded in perſon, and had a good ſhare of the victory in killing the rebel†.

Ki-li-ſo. who ſucceeded Long-tſong, improved the peace he was in with all his neighbours, by the treaties which he made with different nations of Tartars, eſpecially, the Whey-he ‡. This Prince dying without any iſſue, Suſi, his next heir and ſucceſſor, was, called in, with his Tartarian confederates, to aſſiſt the Emperor When-tſong §, obliged at that time to quit his court at Chang-gan-fû (at preſent called Si-ngan-fû) and abandon it to the rebel Gan-lo-ſhan. This Gan lo-ſhan was a foreign Prince, whom the Emperor, againſt the advice of his miniſters, had advanced to the higheſt employments, and even intruſted with the command of his army. This traitor, finding himſelf maſter of great part of the north, aſſumed the title of Emperor, and marched to attack Chang-gan; which having entered, he plundered the imperial palace, and carried the treaſure to Lo-yang ‖; but by the aſſiſtance of Su-ſi, he was defeated, and ſoon after killed in bed by his own ſon.

The Tû-fan, or Si-fan, in reward of their ſervice, beſides the rich plunder of Lo-yang, and other rebellious cities, were preſented with great quantities of ſilks, and the choiceſt things that China afforded: but whether through covetouſneſs, or pride, as ſoon as

* The dates, which in Du Halde are ſet in the margin, we have thrown into the text. † Du Halde's China, vol. i. p. 23. ‡ Whey-he, or Whey hû. They inhabited in the neighbourhood of Turfan. See before, p. 431. e. § Or, Hivn-tſong. This Emperor began his reign in 713, and died in 762. He founded the college of the Han-lin-ywen, firſt gave the title of Regulos to his diſtinguiſhed generals, and divided his dominions into fifteen provinces. ‖ This was about 762, in the fourth year of the reign of So-tſong, Hivn-tſong's ſucceſſor. But this hiſtory, in Du Halde, is very inaccurate, neither obſerving the dates, nor reigns, when the facts, which are related, happened.

they

they heard of the Emperor's death *, they ſet forward with a formidable army; and arriving on the frontiers of the empire, before there was the leaſt ſurmiſe of their irruption, the governors of Ta-chin-quan, Lanchew, and all the country of Ho-ſi-û †, were forced to ſurrender. The prime miniſter, who at firſt could not believe this, ſent Ko-tſey, the moſt experienced general then at court, with three thouſand horſe to learn the truth.

Kto-tſey ‡ being informed at Hyen-yang, a city not far from the capital, that the enemy's army conſiſting of three hundred thouſand § men, would be there that very day, diſpatched a courier to the miniſter to apprize him of the danger, and preſs for ſuccours: but the good patriot did not ſtir a ſtep faſter. Meantime the generals of the enemy, who knew the country, being arrived at Hyen-yang, detached a conſiderable body of troops to poſſeſs themſelves of a bridge on the river. The Emperor, from whom the honeſt miniſtry had, till then, concealed the danger he was in, confounded with the news, abandoned his palace. The great men of his court, the officers and people, all followed his example. Thus, the victorious army entered the palace without reſiſtance, and having carried off the immenſe riches, ſet the city on fire.‖

Ko-tſey, who had retired, that he might join the troops, which, on the firſt alarm, left Chang-gan, ſeeing himſelf now at the head of forty thouſand men, to ſupply by policy what he wanted in ſtrength, ordered a detachment of horſe to encamp on the neighbouring hills; and there ranging themſelves in one line, to make a dreadful noiſe with their drums, and light up great fires every night in different places. This artifice ſucceeded; for the Tû-fan fearing to be ſurrounded by the united forces of the empire, conducted by a general of known bravery and experience, marched weſtward and blocked up the city of Fong-tſyang.

Ma-lin, who commanded in that diſtrict, came to the relief of the place; and forcing his way through a body of the enemy's troops, whereof he killed above a thouſand, threw himſelf into the town. As ſoon as he was entered, he cauſed all the gates to be opened, to let the enemy ſee he did not fear them. This extraordinary conduct confirming them in their firſt ſuſpicions, and their fatigued troops being unable to withſtand freſh forces, they reſolved to retire with the ſpoil they had already gained. After their retreat, the Chineſe repaired Chang-gan, whither the Emperor returned ſome months after his ſhameful flight.

Theſe troubles were no ſooner over, than the Chineſe were obliged to take the field againſt a new rebel, called Pû-kû, who entered into confederacy with the Tû-fan and the Whey-he Tartars, before mentioned: but he being very opportunely taken off by a ſudden death, they had the addreſs to diſunite the two nations, by fomenting a jealouſy about the chief command. Yo-ko-lo, general of the Whey-he, would needs command the whole army. This the Tû-fan oppoſed, as contrary to their orders, and diſhonourable to their kingdom, which was much ſuperior to the little ſtate poſſeſſed by the Whey-he. The Chineſe generals, who were encamped in their view, ſecretly ſupported the pretenſions of Yo-ko-lo, and at length joined him. Hereupon the Tû-fan were attacked as they were marching off, and loſt ten thouſand men in their retreat.

The King of the Tû-fan meditated how to retrieve his loſſes, and being informed, that the Whey-he were retired much diſſatisfied with the Chineſe, he ſent his army to beſiege Ling-chew. The governor of this city, and its diſtrict, who had but few troops,

* This was ten years after Hivn-tſong's death, in 772, the eighth of Tay-tſong So-tſong's ſucceſſor. † That is, to the weſt of the Whang-ho. ‡ Elſewhere, Ko-tſu-i. In Couplet Ko-tſwi. § Two hundred thouſand, according to Couplet, p. 61. ‖ Du-Halde, as before, p. 23, et ſeq. and 199.

carefully ſhunned an engagement. The courſe he took was, at the head of five thouſand horſe, to attack the magazines of the beſiegers; which he not only burnt, but carried off all the ſpoil they had taken, with part of their baggage. This loſs obliged the Tû-fan to return home in haſte, where they remained quiet for five years, and then brought a formidable army into the field, which dividing into two bodies, fell almoſt at the ſame time on the diſtricts of King-chew and Ping-chew. Theſe numerous troops eaſily defeated ſeveral bodies of the imperial forces. But at laſt the General Ko-tſey routed them intirely, in 779, by means of an ambuſcade.

This defeat diſpoſing the King of Tû-fan to peace, he ſent an ambaſſador, with no fewer than five hundred men in his retinue, to the Emperor; who to mortify him, detained him a long time at court, without an audience. His maſter, greatly incenſed at ſuch contempt, was preparing to take revenge, when Tay-tſong * happened to die. His ſon Te-tſong, who ſucceeded (in 781), taking a different meaſure, feaſted the ambaſſador, and his retinue, gave them rich habits, and loading them with preſents, ſent them back, under the conduct of Wey-ling, one of his officers; who had orders to lay the blame of the ſmall regard which had been paid his ambaſſadors, to their bad conduct, and having too numerous a retinue †.

Wey-ling, contrary to his expectation, was received and diſmiſſed with honour, as well as a magnificence that ſurprized the Emperor himſelf, and gave him an eſteem for this court ‡, which promiſed an inviolable regard to peace. But this King dying in 786, Tſang-po, his ſucceſſor, ordered his army forthwith to enter Shen-ſi; which they did, without being diſcovered, and defeated all the imperial troops they met with, till they arrived at Kyen-ching, called at preſent Kyen-yang: but the Chineſe general, Li-ching, with the troops of the province, coming up, as the enemy were on the point of beſieging the city, obtained ſo complete a victory, as forced them to ſue for peace, which was ratified by oath. Yet ſome of their officers, who deſired the continuation of the war, endeavoured to ſeize the Emperor's envoy, and carry him to their camp. The general, however, diſowned having any hand in the matter; and without committing any farther hoſtilities, returned home with his army.

This firſt expedition not having the deſired ſucceſs, the King of the Tûfan prepared for a ſecond; and in 791 ſent an army ſtrong enough to oppoſe both the Chineſe, and their new allies the Whey-he Tartars. At firſt they took ſome conſiderable forts, which lay in their roads; and having poſſeſſed themſelves of Gan-ſi, advanced to Peting, which lies to the ſouth of Ning-hya. Here they were ſurprized, and defeated by the Whey-he: yet far from retiring, they continued their march towards the court with incredible reſolution: but ſoon after, the General Wey-kau falling on them unexpectedly, cut ſeveral bodies of them in pieces, and purſued them as far as the frontiers; where afterwards, to hinder the incurſions of the enemy, the fortreſſes of Tong-ka, Ho-tau, Mu-pu, and Ma-ling, were built, in the diſtrict of Ning-yang-fû, belonging to Shen-ſi.

Yet this precaution proved uſeleſs; for ſcarce were thoſe towns finiſhed, when the Tû-fan returned in 801, and at length took Lin-chew, which they had before attempted ſeveral times in vain. But on the appearance of Wey-kau with his army, they abandoned the city, and marched towards Wey-chew in Se-chwen, which was one of the beſt places they had. Wey-kau purſued them, and finding they fled continually before

* His death fell out in 780, and Ko-tſey, the famous general, died in 784, the firſt of the forty-ninth ſexagenary cycle of the Chineſe. † Du Halde's China, p. 24. ‡ Yet neither the name, nor ſituation of this court is mentioned; nor does it appear from the hiſtory in what part of their dominions the capital of the Tû-fan ſtood

him,

him, laid ſiege to that town. The King of the Tû-fan, ſtartled at this news, immediately ſent Lur-mang, his prime miniſter, with conſiderable ſuccours; but being met by Wen-kau, he was defeated, and taken priſoner. Immediately after this victory, he had admiſſion into Wey-chew, which he made a place of arms, and went to beſiege the fortreſs of Quen-min-ching; but was baffled there, through the bravery of the governor.

Wey-Chew was one of the royal cities; and the Kings of Tû-fan, ſince the time of Ki-lo-ſo, reſided there one part of the year: ſo that King Itay, who ſucceeded his brother, reſolving by all poſſible means to recover it, levied an army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men next year, and ſent to beſiege it. On the report of their march, the Chineſe general threw himſelf into the city: but the expected ſuccours nor arriving, he was conſtrained to ſurrender, after a ſiege of twenty-five days, held out againſt the continual aſſaults of the enemy.

The Tû-fan, puffed-up with their conqueſt, advanced towards Ching-tu-fû, the capital of Se-chwen. The Emperor's general, unable to oppoſe their march, ſpread a report that he was gone to poſſeſs himſelf of the defiles of the mountains through which they had paſſed, and cauſed his little army to make all the neceſſary motions to induce them to believe it; which had ſo good an effect, that for fear of having their retreat cut off, they retired to Wey-chew.

As ſoon as they were returned, Itay, who was a mild prince, being content with having retaken the place, ſent to acquaint the imperial generals on the frontiers, that he was willing to live in peace; and as a proof of his ſincerity, enjoined his officers to act only on the defenſive. The Chineſe, on their ſide, behaved with great generoſity, on ſeveral occaſions. Si-ta-mew, a Tû-fan, governor of Wey-chew, having offered to deliverup that place to the Chineſe general, almoſt all the other officers were for accepting the propoſal, but Ni-û-fan; who declared, that a great empire ought to prize ſincere dealing more than the poſſeſſion of a town, and that their breach of the peace would authorize all the perfidies which the Tû-fan had committed, or ſhould commit for the future. Hereupon the offer was rejected.

Itay took the opportunity of the peace, to govern his ſubjects by new laws, and advanced none to employments but men of the greateſt merit. If he was informed of any perſon remarkable for his knowledge, and application to ſtudy, he preferred him to thoſe who were equally experienced in the management of affairs. Thus, he ſent for Shang-pi-pi, one among the literati, of great reputation*, from the fartheſt part of the kingdom; and after he had examined him, made him governor of the city and diſtrict of Chen-chew, at preſent Si-ning †.

3. *Hiſtory of the Tû-fan continued, to the Deſtruction of their Empire.*

Diſorders in Government cauſe a Rebellion: — The Rebel defeated in all his deſigns. — Tû-fan Power broken. — King of Hya defeated by the Tû-fan: — Their Power ruined by dividing the Kingdom among three Brothers: — Two of them ſubmit to the Emperor on good terms. — the final Deſtruction of the Empire of the Tû-fan, or Si-fan.

ITAY dying without iſſue, was ſucceeded by Ya-mo, his neareſt of kin, who gave himſelf up wholly to his pleaſures: he lived in peace with his neighbours, but by his

* Hence it appears that the Tû-fan had introduced the Chineſe form of government; perhaps, after having made ſome conqueſts in China, as the Lyau and Kin did afterwards. † Du Halde's China, vol. i. p. 25, et ſeq.

oppreſſions

oppreſſions and cruelties, became ſo odious to his ſubjects, that they left their country in crowds. In ſhort, he was the firſt cauſe of this kingdom's falling to decay. The diſtractions increaſed much more after his death; for as he neither left any children, nor had nominated a ſucceſſor, one of the miniſtry, gained by the widow queen, cauſed the ſon of Pay-va, her favourite, a child of three years old, to be proclaimed King in 842.

On the firſt report of this election, Kye-tû-na, firſt miniſter of ſtate, haſtened to the palace, and oppoſed it, in behalf of the royal family. But his zeal coſt him his life; for they killed him as he was returning home. This conduct of the court loſt them the hearts of all the people. Lû-kong-je, the great general, who was then with the army, near the frontiers, refuſed to obey the orders that were ſent him by the new government; and even conceived thoughts of making himſelf king. He was a man of boundleſs ambition, and proud, full of his own merit, extremely paſſionate, and often cruel: but on the other hand, was brave, ſkilful, and capable of the greateſt undertakings. He firſt cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he was preparing to extirpate the uſurpers of the crown; and then marched directly againſt the army of the new King, which he defeated. He alſo took and plundered Wey-chew. By this time his army, by the acceſſion of malcontents, was an hundred thouſand ſtrong. But the firſt thing he attempted, was to bring the governors of the provinces into his meaſures.

Shang-pi-pi being one of the principal, and his troops, by the care he took to exerciſe them, the beſt in the kingdom, Lu-kong-je was willing to found him firſt: and after writing him a deceitful letter, advanced towards the city. Shang-pi-pi, who ſaw through the general's deſign, to deceive him in his turn, wrote him an anſwer, which flattered his hopes. At the ſame time, ſetting forward with all his troops, he came upon the rebels ſo unexpectably, that without any difficulty, he defeated their army although much ſtronger than his own. Lu-kong-je retired much enraged in his heart; and, in 846, having recruited his forces, imagined, the way both to regain his authority, and win the affections of his nation, was to enter the territories of China, and give them up to be plundered. He had ſome ſucceſs at the beginning; but was quickly beaten by the Chineſe generals, who afterwards took from the Tû-fan the city of Yen-chew, and ſeveral fortreſſes.

The rebel, who conſidered theſe as loſſes which might eaſily be retrieved, if once he was ſole maſter of the kingdom, having augmented his army by Tartars, to whom he promiſed the plundering of the frontiers of China, bent all his thoughts on reducing Shang-pi-pi. Thus he began his march; and arriving near Chen-chew, forced Shang-pi-pi to abandon his camp, which he had fortified on the firſt news of his approach. Hereupon that officer paſſed the river, broke down the bridge, and followed the enemy ſtep by ſtep on the other ſide, without ever coming to an engagement, although Lu-kong-je, to draw him to a battle, made great ravages in his march. Meantime the natural brutiſhneſs of the rebel general, and his bad temper, which increaſed by the ſmall ſucceſs of his enterprizes, rendered him ſo inſupportable to his ſoldiers, that they deſerted in troops to Shang-pi-pi, while the Tartars, for the ſame reaſon, rened home.

Lu-kong-je hereupon deſpairing of compaſſing his deſign, ſubmitted to the Emperor on certain conditions, and repaired to Ko-chew, a Chineſe city, where he lived at eaſe the remainder of his life. This happened about the year 849. While this ambitious general was maſter of almoſt the whole forces of the ſtate, the Princes of the Blood retired into different parts of the kingdom, where they had ſmall patrimonies; and ſome took ſhelter in certain forts that belonged to them, towards Se-chwen, reſolving rather

to ſubmit to the Emperor of China than to an uſurper. Others fortified themſelves in their mountains; while ſome of the moſt conſiderable remained in the territories they poſſeſſed, bordering on the government of Shang-pi-pi. Hence aroſe an infinite number of diſtractions in the ſtate, which laſted many years, and proved the ruin of this monarchy at laſt.

When the Tû-fan, divided into different parties, were weary of fighting, many officers and ſoldiers joined themſelves to Pan-lo-chi, Prince of Lû-kû, a place in the borders of the diſtrict of Chen-chew, which the children of Shang-pi-pi had preſerved for their nation. As ſoon as they beheld a chief of the royal blood, they quickly formed an army, and reſolved to attack the King of Hya, who had ill requited their ſervices. This new King was a Tartar orginally of Tupa, (near Si-ning,) who, by aſſiſtance of the Tû-fan, had about the year 951, founded a new dominion, near the Whang-ho, under Li-ki-tſyen *, in ſpite of the Chineſe, the capital whereof was Hya-chew, at preſent Ning-hya; from whence the new kingdom took its name. This King had in the year 1003, † renewed the war with the empire, at that time governed by the Song ‡, entering ſuddenly with a numerous army into the weſtern part of Shen-ſi, which bordered on the ſmall dominion that the Tû-fan were ſtill poſſeſſed of.

Pan-lo-chi offered to join the Chineſe commander with his forces, to deſtroy this growing power, provided the Emperor would honour him with a title that might give him more authority among thoſe of his own nation. The propoſal being liked, His Majeſty ſent him patents, as governor general of the Tû-fan. The King of Hya, who knew nothing of theſe private contracts, after making ſome ravages, beſieged the town of Si-lyang, and taking it, put the governor to death. He thought to puſh his conqueſt farther, believing, that Pan-lo-chi was coming to join him with his troops: but that Prince arriving at the head of ſixty thouſand men, attacked him with ſo much valour, that he entirely defeated his great army; however, being wounded in the battle, he died ſoon after the victory.

So-tſo-lo, his ſucceſſor, in 1015, bent his thoughts on recovering the ancient monarchy of his anceſtors. His little dominions conſiſted only of ſeven or eight towns, particularly Tſong-ko-ching, Li-tſing-ching, Ho-chew, I-chwen, Tſing-tang, Hya-chen, and Kan-ku, with ſome neighbouring countries; but was in hopes, that the reſt of the Tû-fan would join him, when they ſhould ſee him powerful enough to defend them. He fixed his court at Tſong-ko-ching, where he eſtabliſhed officers the ſame, both as to number and titles, which the kings, his predeceſſors, had. Afterwards, levying new forces throughout his dominions, he entered the territories of the empire ſeveral times, but was always beaten; and at length, concluded a peace.

As the growing power of the King of Hya, who had aſſumed the title of Emperor, gave So-tſo-lo ſome uneaſineſs, the Chineſe monarch, to engage that Prince more firmly in his intereſt, made him governor general of Pau-ſhun, which ſtood very conveniently for him: but So-ſo-lo dying ſoon after, the diviſion, which enſued among his children, haſtened the entire ruin of the Tû-fan ſtate. That Prince had by his firſt wife two children; one named Hya-chen, the other Mo-chen-tſu. He had afterwards the Prince Ton-ſhen, by a ſecond venter, who prevailed on him, in her ſon's favour, to impriſon his children by the firſt, and oblige their mother to turn nun. But they finding

* See an account of the origin, extent, and end of this monarchy, p. 433, and 446.

† This is the year marked in the margin; but if ſo, Li-ki-tſyen muſt then have reigned fifty-two years.

‡ This family, which is the nineteenth, began their reign in 961.

means

means to eſcape, and deliver their mother out of the convent, the people who had aſſiſted them, declared in their favour.

So-tſo-lo, who had recovered from his infatuation, approving of this change, gave Tſong-ko-ching to Mo-chen-tſu for his maintenance; for he had removed his court to Chen-chew. To Hya-chen he aſſigned Can-ku, for the place of his abode; and to Ton-ſhen, whom he judged moſt capable of keeping up his family, he ſurrendered all his authority, with the government of Pau-ſhun, and the reſt of his dominions. Ton-ſhen reſided at Li-tſing-chin; where he was beloved of his people, and feared by his neighbours; inſomuch, that all the Tû-fan, who dwelt to the north of the Whang-ho, were under his ſubjection.

This great power, wherewith the younger brother was inveſted, gave the two elder, and their families, apprehenſions of being one time or other oppreſſed. Mû-ching, ſon of Hya-chen, more uneaſy than his father, delivered up Kan-ku, Ho-chew, and all the lands which were in his poſſeſſion, to the Emperor; who granted to him, and his poſterity, whatever he demanded, in order to live with honour in the empire.

Kyau-ki-ting, the heir of Mo-chen-tſu, the eldeſt brother, was much beloved in his little ſtate; but did not long ſurvive his father. His ſon Hyn-cheng, who ſucceeded, ſo incenſed his ſubjects by his violences and cruelty, that they formed a deſign to depoſe him, and ſet up his uncle Sû-nan in his ſtead. But the plot being diſcovered, Sû-nan, and almoſt all his accomplices, were put to death.

One of the principal officers, named Tſyen-lo-ki, finding means to eſcape, carried with him Cho-ſa, one of the family; and ſeizing the city of Ki-kû-ching, cauſed him to be proclaimed Prince of that petty ſtate. But Hya-ching haſtening thither with his forces, took the place, and put Cho-ſa to death. Tſyen-lo-ki having found means to get to Ho-chew, perſuaded Van-chau, the governor, to conquer the country of Tſing-tang, and repreſenting the thing as very eaſiy, that general attacked the little city of Moſchwen, which he took without difficulty. Hereupon, Prince Hya-ching ſeeing himſelf hated by his people, and vigorouſly attacked by the Chineſe, in 1099, repaired himſelf to Van-chau, and offering him all the territories that belonged to him, obtained his demands of the Emperor.

The like happened to Long-ſu, a ſon of Mû-ching, whom one of the chiefs of the Tû-fan had put in poſſeſſion of the city of Hi-pa-wen. After ſeveral battles fought, with various ſucceſs, againſt Van-chau, wherein he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſurprizing valour, that Prince ſubmitted alſo upon advantageous terms.

In the midſt of the troubles, which aroſe in the twelfth century, between the Chineſe Emperors of the dynaſty of the Song, and the eaſtern Tartars, called Nu-che, who took the name of Kin, the family of Ton-ſhen, which continued longeſt in ſplendor, made an alliance with the Kings of Hya; and under their protection, enjoyed their territories pretty peaceably; till at length it was involved in the common ruin by the victorious arms of Jenghiz Khân *. The year 1227, according to the Chineſe hiſtory, is the æra of the intire ruin of the Tû-fan †: from which time they have remained in their ancient country without either name or power ‡.

* The miſſioner paſſes ſlightly over this part relating to the deſtruction of the power of the Si-fan, and Si-hya; which yet is the moſt curious and intereſting to us of all their hiſtory, as being connected with that of Jenghiz Khan. † Yet in the preceding hiſtory we find no mention of them, poſſibly for the reaſon given by Green, vol. iv. p. 447. ‡ Du Halde's China, p. 26, et ſeq.

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TRAVELS OF BENEDICT GOËZ, A PORTUGUEZE JESUIT,

FROM

LAHOR IN THE MOGOL'S EMPIRE TO CHINA, IN 1602 *.

INTRODUCTION.

News of Katay: — A Miſſion thither reſolved on, and why. — Pagans deemed Chriſtians. — Goëz prepares for his Journey. — Abſtract; whence taken.

THE name of Katay, firſt made known in Europe by Marco Polo, had ſince his time been ſo little heard of, that moſt people doubted if there ever was ſuch a country: but while the public were thus divided in their opinions, news came from the Jeſuits of Lahor † concerning that famous empire. They had their information from an aged Mohammedan merchant, who had diſtributed an hundred thouſand pieces of gold at Mekka, and had lived in Khânbalu ‡ thirteen years, whither he went as ambaſſador from the King of Kaygar §. He ſaid the Katayans were a very fair and handſome people, exceeding the Rûms, or Turks, in comelineſs: that they were Chriſtians, having temples full of pictures and images; had crucifixes, which they devoutly adored: prieſts, whom they much reverenced, and fed with preſents: monaſteries, altars, lamps, proceſſions, and other ceremonies. He added, that among them were ſome Jews, and many Mohammedans; which latter were in hopes of converting the Chriſtan King to their religion.

On theſe tidings, Nicholas Pimenta, a Portugueze, viſitor of the Indies at Goa, out of his Jeſuitical zeal formed a deſign of ſending miſſioners to inſtruct this nation; who being at ſo great a diſtance from the head of the church, might otherwiſe, it ſeems, be liable to fall into errors. Hereupon he ſent advice to the Pope and King of Spain; who forthwith gave orders to Arias Saldanna, then Viceroy of India, to aſſiſt and defray the expences of the expedition, as Pimenta ſhould direct. Goëz, who was coadjutor to Xavier, ſuperior of the miſſion in the Mogol's empire, and ſpoke the Perſian, as well as underſtood the cuſtoms of the Mohammedans, being then at Goa on an embaſſy to the Viceroy from the Great Mogol, Akbar, who had a great eſteem for him, Pimenta ‖ pitched on him as a fit perſon to undertake this new miſſion.

Thoſe of the ſociety were informed, by the letters of Matthew Ricci, ſent from Peking, that Katay was the ſame country with China: but as that information was contrary to the advice of the Lahor Jeſuits, the viſitor inclined to the opinion of the latter. On the one hand, he could not conceive, it ſeems, that ſo very fooliſh a ſect as the Mahommedan could penetrate into China; and, on the other, it was affirmed, that there was not the leaſt ſign of Chriſtianity ever having been in that vaſt empire. Whereas Katay was reported to be a Chriſtian country, and this was the rather believed,

* Green's Coll. vol. iv. p. 642. † In a letter of Jerom Xavier, dated from thence 1598. ‡ In Purchas, Xambalu. § It ſhould be Kaſgar, or Kâſhgar. ‖ He was joined in commiſſion with another ambaſſador.

as it came from the Mohammedans themſelves. However, it was thought not improbable, that Katay might have communicated its name to China, as being a kingdom contiguous to it. On the whole, it was thought proper to purſue the deſign with a view both to remove the doubt, and find out a ſhorter way of trading with China.

With regard to the Chriſtians, whom they took for granted would be met with in Katay, the Mohammedans, ſays Trigautius, either told lies, according to their cuſtom, or were deceived by appearances: for as they do not worſhip images themſelves, and ſaw many in the temples of the Chineſe, not much unlike thoſe by which the Papiſts repreſent the mother of God, and certain ſaints, they might think both followed the ſame religion. They obſerved, that the prieſts put candles and lamps on their altars: that theſe Pagan ſacrificers wore ſacred veſtments, like what the Romiſh books of ceremonies call pluvials *: that they make proceſſions, and ſing much in the ſame manner as is done in the Romiſh church, according to the inſtitution of St. Gregory, and ſuch like things; which the devil, ſays our author, who imitates ſacred ceremonies, had transferred to the Chineſe †: and this reſemblance, continues he, might induce foreigners, eſpecially Mohammedans, to think they profeſſed Chriſtianity.

Goëz being choſen as before mentioned for the expedition, was ſent back by the viſitor to Lahor, then the capital of the Mogol's empire, in order to accompany the merchants, who every fifth year, according to the old Mohammedan's report, ſet out for China, with the title of ambaſſadors from the King of Perſia. In 1602 he came to Agra, where the Akbar, applauding his deſign, gave him not only his letters to ſeveral petty Kings, his friends or tributaries, but alſo four hundred crowns for his journey ‡. Here he put on the the habit of an Armenian merchant, wearing his hair and beard long; alſo, according to the cuſtom of that people, took the name of Abdallah §, adding Iſay, to denote his being a Chriſtian; and by this means obtained a free paſſage, which he could not have done had he paſſed for a Portugueze.

He carried with him ſeveral Indian commodities, as well for diſguiſe as to exchange for neceſſaries on the road, bought with money furniſhed by the Viceroy for that purpoſe. He arrived at Lahor the 13th of December. Xavier gave him for companions two Greeks, Leo Grimani, a prieſt, and Demetrius, a merchant, who were well acquainted with the roads; and, in place of four Mohammedan ſervants appointed him he took one Iſaac, an Armenian, to whom we owe the following journal of his travels: for Goëz dying at So-chew, in the entrance of China, Iſaac went forward to Pe-king, where Ricci drew up an account of their travels, partly from ſome minutes left by Goëz, and partly from what Iſaac told him, on the credit of his memory ‖.

This curious relation is inſerted in Ricci's Commentaries ¶, which Nicholas Trigautius, or Trigault, a Dutchman, tranſlated out of the Italian MS. into Latin, and publiſhed at Rome in 1618 **. Purchas has given it in Engliſh, in his Pilgrims; and Kircher an abridgment of it in his *China Illuſtrata*; whence Ogilby has made his tranſlation. The following abſtract, though referring to Purchas, is taken chiefly from the original.

* Chaſubles, or Copes. † We have already ſhewn, that there is more reaſon to believe, that the devil transferred thoſe and other ceremonies, doctrines, and practices from the Bonzas to the Papiſts. See before, p. 221, a. ‡ Purchas adds, from Jarric, beſides a thouſand rupees, which he had already ſpent. Perhaps that was the money advanced to him by the Viceroy, as mentioned lower down. § Purchas ſays, from Jarric, that he took the name of Branda Abdallah. ‖ See Purchas, vol. iii. p. 311; and Trigaut. de Chriſtiana Expedit. cap. xi. and xiii. ¶ Book V. ch. xi, xii, and xiii. ** Under the title of "De Chriſtiana Expeditione, apud Sinas." It was tranſlated into French, and publiſhed at Paris the ſame year.

SECTION

SECTION I. — *The Travels of Goëz from Lahor, the Capital of India, to Kaſhgar.*

Goëz leaves Lahor. — Kafreſtan City. — Ghideli. — Kabul, a famous City. — Policy of Goëz. — Charakar. — Parvam. — Aingharan, Kalcha. — Tauban. — Kalchans rebel: — Plunder the Caravan: — Goëz eſcapes. — Tenga Badaſhân. — Charchunal, Serpanil. — Sarchil Province. — Tenghetar Yakonith. — Hyarkan, or Yarkian. — Precious Marble, or Jaſper, how procured — Audience of the King. — Journey to Kotan: — Danger from Zealots: — Reſolves to proceed: — Is diſſuaded in vain.

GOEZ, furniſhed with ſeveral writings, and a table of moveable feaſts till the year 1610, left Lahor in Lent 1603, with a caravan of five hundred merchants, who ſet out every year with a great number of horſes and waggons for the kingdom of Kaſkar. In one month's time they came to the city of Athek, in the province of Lahor; and fifteen days after paſſed a river a bow-ſhot broad, where they ſtaid five days, on a report of a numerous gang of robbers being on the road. In two months more they came to the city of Paſſaur, where they reſted twenty days. At another ſmall town beyond this they were informed by a pilgrim, that thirty days off was a city named Kafreſtân *, into which no Mohammedan dared to enter under pain of death; yet that Pagans were admitted into the city, but not their temples. He added, that the inhabitants of that region go to church dreſſed in black: that the ſoil was fertile, and yielded plenty of grapes: he gave a cup of the wine to Goëz, who found it very good, and thence conjectured they were Chriſtians. Here they ſtaid other twenty days: and becauſe the way was infeſted with thieves, they procured a convoy of four hundred ſoldiers, from the lord of the place.

Travelling twenty-five days farther along the foot of a mountain, they came to a place called Ghideli, where the merchants pay duty. On the road they kept on their guard againſt the robbers, who, from the top of the hill, aſſail them with ſtones, unleſs ſome go up to repel them. For all their care they were aſſaulted by them, and many wounded, who had much ado to ſave their lives and goods. Goëz eſcaped by flying into the woods.

In twenty days more they came to Kabul, a famous city and mart ſtill in the Mogol's domiñions. Here they ſtaid eight days; for ſome of the merchants had no mind to go farther, and durſt not venture forward, being ſo few. Here the caravan met a Princeſs, who was ſiſter of the King of Kaſkar, called Maſſamet Khân †, and mother to the King of Kotan: ſhe was called Haji Hanem ‡, as having been on pilgrimage to Mekka; from whence returning, and falling ſhort of neceſſaries, ſhe applied to the merchants to borrow money. Goëz, conſidering that his Mogol patents were now wearing out, thought this a proper opportunity to procure the friendſhip of another King; and, therefore, lent her 600 crowns on certain goods, refuſing to take any intereſt; which, however, ſhe made up to him, repaying him bountifully in pieces of marble, which is the beſt merchandiſe that can be carried to China. Grimani, the prieſt, wearied with tedioufneſs of the journey, would go no further; and Demetrius ſtaid in this city to trade §.

The caravan being much increaſed, Goëz held on with Iſaac the Armenian. In the next city they came to, called Charakar ||, is great ſtore of iron: here Akbar's ſeal,

* Kafreſtân ſignifies, "the Country of Infidels." In the original Capherſtam.

† Doubtleſs a miſtake for Mahamet Khân, and the rather, as he is afterwards miſcalled Mahametain.

‡ Haji ſignifies "Pilgrim," and is a very honourable title among the Mohammedans.

§ Purchas, p. 311. Trigaut. l. v. c. 11. || In the original, Ciaracar.

which hitherto had freed him from payment of cuſtoms, was diſregarded. Ten days after they came to Parvam, a ſmall town, in the utmoſt confines of the Great Mogol's dominions. After reſting five days they travelled over high mountains, and in twenty ſtages came into a region named Aingharan. In fifteen more they got to another called Kalcha *, whoſe inhabitants dwell in villages, and have fair hair like the Dutch. Ten days farther they came to a place called Jalalabâd †, where the Bramins exact cuſtoms granted them by the King Bruarate.

In fifteen days more they came to Talhan ‡, where a rebellion of the Kalchans detained them a month. Hence they paſſed to Kheman, a ſmall walled town, under Abdulahan, King of Samarhan, Burgania, Bukharata §, and other neighbouring kingdoms. The Kalchans being in the neighbourhood, the commander of the place ſent to the merchants not to purſue their journey by night, leſt the rebels lighting of them, ſhould by that means be furniſhed with horſes; but to come into the town, and join him to repel them. They were ſcarce gotten up to the walls, when news being brought that the Kalchans approached, the governor and his people ran away.

Hereupon the merchants made in haſte a fortification with their baggage, and carried into the incloſure plenty of ſtones, to make uſe of, in caſe arrows failed. The rebels perceiving that, ſent a meſſenger, deſiring them to fear nothing, promiſing to accompany and defend them. The merchants not daring to truſt them, fled to the next wood, leaving their goods at the mercy of the thieves; who, after they had taken what they pleaſed, called them back, and permitted them, with their empty packs, to enter the empty walls. Benedict loſt nothing but a horſe, for which alſo he afterward received cotton cloths. They continued at Kheman in great apprehenſions, till at length an eminent commander, called Olobet Ebadaſkan, ſent his brother out of Bukharate; who, by threats, compelled the rebels to let the merchants depart. However, their rear was plagued with pilferers, four of whom ſetting upon Goëz, he threw amongſt them his Perſian turban, and while they made a foot-ball of it, ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and overtook his company.

After eight days travel, in a very bad road, they came to Tenga Badaſhân ‖, which ſignifieth "a troubleſome way;" for there is ſpace but for one to paſs, and that on the high bank of a great river ¶. The inhabitants, with a company of ſoldiers, ſet upon the merchants, and took from Goëz three horſes, which he after redeemed. Here they ſtaid ten days, and then, in one day, came to Charcunar **, where they were five days detained by rains in the open field, and, to mend the matter, aſſaulted by thieves. Ten days after they arrived at Serpanil, a place quite forſaken. Then they climbed a high hill, called Sakrithma, which only the ſtrongeſt horſes were able to paſs, the reſt going about: two belonging to Goëz halted, and had much ado to overtake the caravan.

In twenty days they came to the province of Sarchil, where they found many villages, not far from each other. After two days ſtay for refreſhing, they in two days more came to the foot of a mountain, called Chechalith ††, which they aſcended, thick covered with ſnow; many were frozen with the cold, and Goëz was in great danger,

* In the original, Caleia. † In the original, Gialalabah; a corruption, doubtleſs, of Jalalabâd, which ſignifies the "Glory of the City." ‡ Or, Talkhan, a city on the road between Balk and Badakſhân. § Abdallah Khân, of Samarkand, Burgania, and Bukhâria. Purchas writes Burgavia, and Bacharate. What country is meant by Burgania, or Burgavia, we cannot conjecture. ‖ Or, Badakſhân. In the original, Badaſcian. Purchas has it, to Badaſcian, called Tengi. ¶ This muſt be the Jihun, or Amû, on which Badakſhân is ſituate. ** In the original, Ciarciunar. ††In the original, Ciecialith.

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for the weather laſted ſix days: at length they came to Tanghetar, belonging to the kingdom of Kâſkar. There Iſaac fell from the bank of a great river into the water, and for eight hours lay half dead. In fifteen days more they reached the town Yakonith; but the road was ſo bad, that Goëz loſt ſix horſes by the way. Five days after, haſting before the caravan, he got to Hiarkan; from whence he ſent neceſſaries to the reſt, who ſoon after arrived there in November, 1603*.

Hiarkan,† the capital of the kingdom of Kaſkar, hath great reſort of merchants, and variety of commodities. Here the caravan of Kabul ends, and another aſſembles to proceed to Katay: the captain‡, or chief, buys the poſt at a great price of the King, who veſts him with abſolute power over the merchants. It was a year before a ſufficient number could be gotten together to undertake ſo long and dangerous a journey: neither do caravans ſet out from hence every year, but only at ſuch times as they know they ſhall be admitted into Katay.

The commodity before-mentioned, beſt for carrying thither, is a certain ſhining marble, which for want of a fitter word, Europeans call jaſper. The King of Katay buys it at a great price; and what he leaves, the merchants ſell to others, at exceeding great rates. Of it they make veſſels, ornaments for garments, and girdles, with other toys, whereon they engrave leaves, flowers, and other figures. The Chineſe call it tuſhe§. There are two kinds, one more precious, like thick flints, which are found by diving in the river Kotan, not far from the city-royal‖. The other meaner ſort is digged out of quarries, and ſawed into ſlabs above two ells in breadth. The hill where they are dug, called Konſanghi Kaſho, or the ſtony mountain, is twenty ſtages from the ſame city. This marble is ſo hard, that they muſt ſoften it with fire to get it out of the quarry. The King farms it every year to ſome merchant, who carries proviſions for the workmen for that ſpace of time.

Goez viſited the King, named Mahametain¶, and preſenting him with a watch, a glaſs, and other European commodities, procured his paſs to the kingdom of Chalis**; for he did not think it proper yet to ſpeak of going to Katay. When he had been there ſix months, Demetrius arrived from Kabul; and but for Goëz interpoſing with gifts, had been handſomely drubbed, as well as impriſoned, for refuſing, according to the cuſtom of the merchants, to make a preſent to the mock Emperor, whom they chuſe with the King's permiſſion.

After this, thieves breaking into the houſe, bound Iſaac, and clapped a ſword to his throat, to terrify him from making a noiſe: but Demetrius hearing the buſtle, cried out, and ſcared them away. Mean while Goëz went to receive his money, lent to the mother of the King of Quotan,†† whoſe reſidence was ſix days‡‡ journey diſtant. As he was a whole month away, the Mohammedans raiſed a report, that he was dead, ſlain by their prieſts, called Kachiſhes, for refuſing to invoke Mohammed§§: and becauſe he left no will, they ſought to ſeize on his goods; but, to their diſappointment, and his companion's joy, Benedict returned at laſt with plenty of the precious marble.

One day, as he was eating with ſome Mohammedans, who had invited him, there ruſhed in a perſon armed; who, ſetting a ſword to his breaſt, commanded him to in-

* Purchas, p. 312. Trigaut. ch. 11. † Yarkian, or Jurkend, as others. See before, p. 528. ‡ Called the caravan Baſhâ. § In the original, tuſce: a miſtake, no doubt, for yu-ſhe. See Green, vol. iv. p. 309. ‖ By the Jeſuit's map, the river of Khoton runs about ninety miles eaſt of Yarkian. ¶ In Purchas, Mahamethin; before called Maffamet Khân, which ſhews the names are much corrupted. ** In the original, Cialis: yet Ramuſio writes Chialis, i. e. Khialis. †† Kotan, Hoton, or Hotom. ‡‡ Purchas has ten days: but ſix are more agreeable with the map. §§ This muſt be falſe, for the Mohammedans never invoke Mohammed. Perhaps it ſhould be for refuſing to ſay the Mohammedan confeſſion of faith: in which caſe he muſt either have turned Mohammedan, or ſuffered death.

voke Mohammed: but he refuſed, ſaying, that in his law there was no ſuch name invoked; and the company taking his part, thruſt that mad fellow out of the houſe. The like zeal, it ſeems, often endangered him. Another time he was ſent for by the King of Kâſkar, who in preſence of his prieſts, and the Mullas, or learned men, aſked what law he profeſſed, whether that of Moſes, David, or Mohammed, and which way he turned himſelf in praying. He anſwered, that he profeſſed the law of Jeſus, whom they call Iſay; and turned any way when he prayed, believing that God was every where. This occaſioned a great diſpute among them; for they turn to the weſt*: yet they concluded, that in this his practice might be good.

Meantime one Haji Aſi†, of that country, being appointed captain of the future caravan, he invited Goëz to a feaſt, accompanied with muſic. At the end of the entertainment, he deſired his company to Katay. This was juſt what the Jeſuit aimed at, who, knowing the diſpoſition of the Mohammedans, wanted the invitation to come from them. Aſi was ſo earneſt in the matter, that he got the King to ſecond his requeſt to Goëz; who complied, on condition that His Majeſty would give him his letters patent. Thoſe of the firſt caravan, from Kabul, who were loth to loſe his company, did all they could to diſſuade him from the enterprize. They adviſed him not to truſt to the people of Kâſkar, ſaying they were treacherous, and would deſtroy him.

This advice was the more to be regarded, as ſeveral of the natives themſelves affirmed, that thoſe three Armenians would be ſlain by their companions, as ſoon as they were out of the city. This ſo terrified Demetrius, that he dropped them a ſecond time, and would have diſſuaded Goëz from proceeding any farther; but Benedict was reſolved to fulfil the expectations of thoſe who ſent him, at all hazards.

SECTION II. — *Continuation of the Author's Travels from Kaſhgar to So-chew, in Katay, or China.*

Caravan ſets forward: Fatiguing road. — Karakatay. — Akſu City. — Kucha Town. — Chalis City. — Goëz victorious: — leaves the Caravan. — News from Pe-king. — Turfan. — Kamul. — Wall of China. — Remarks on the Road. — Dangerous Travelling. — The Frontiers fortified. — Kan chew, and So- hew. — Artifice of Merchants to enter China, by counterfeit Embaſſies: — Sends to Peking: — His letters received. — Goez in Diſtreſs: — His Death: — His Effects ſeized. — The Merchants ſued: — Are ſhamefully caſt: — yet little recovered. — Iſaac goes to Pe-king.

GOEZ hereupon preparing for his journey, bought ten horſes for himſelf, his companion Iſaac, and their baggage. Meantime the caravan baſhâ, who was gone to his houſe five days journey diſtant, to get his equipage ready, ſent to Goëz to haſten forward, and by his example quicken the other merchants.

About the midſt of November, 1604, they came to a place called Yolchi‡, where they pay cuſtoms, and their paſſports are examined. From thence, in twenty-five days, they got to Akſu, paſſing through the following places, Hanchaliſh§, Alcheghet, Hagabateth, Egriar, Meſetelek, Horma, Thalek, Thoantak, Minjeda, Kapetalkol-zilan, Sark-ghebedal, Kanbaſhi, Akon-ſerſek and Chakor. The road was very fatiguing, being through the ſands, and very ſtony‖.

In the way they croſſed the deſart, called Karakathay, that is, the black land of the Kathayans¶; becauſe, as they ſay, the Katayans dwelled there a long time. Alſo one

* Becauſe Mekka, to which the Mohammedans always turn, lies weſt, or ſouth-weſt of Kâſhgar.
† In the original, Agiaſi. ‡ In the original, Jolci. § In the ſame, Hancialix.
‖ Purchas, p. 313. Trigaut. ch. 12. ¶ Rather, Black Katay.

of the Jeſuit's horſes falling into a rapid river, ſwam to the other ſide; but came back again, it ſeems, of himſelf, on invoking the name of Jeſus.

Akſu is a town of the kingdom of Kâſkar, whoſe governor, the King's nephew, being but twelve years old, affairs were managed by his preceptor. He would needs ſee Goëz, who preſented him with ſugar and ſuch childiſh things. The young Prince, in return, received him kindly, and made him dance at a ſolemn ball. Benedict next viſited the Queen-mother, who admitted his patent with great reverence: to her he gave a cryſtal glaſs, a piece of Indian calico, and the like.

Here they ſtaid fifteen days for other merchants, and then departing proceeded through Oitograkh, Gazo, Kaſhani, Dellay, Saragabedall, to Ugan, and then to Kucha, another town, where they ſtaid a whole month to refreſh their beaſts, almoſt ſpent with the bad ways, and want of barley. Here, to extort a preſent, the prieſts would have conſtrained Goëz to faſt during their Lent.

From hence, in twenty-five days, they came to Chalis*, a ſmall, but well-fortified city. This country was governed by a natural ſon of the King of Kâſkar, who hearing that Benedict profeſſed a different religion, began to terrify him, ſaying, it was a very audacious thing for a man, who was of another faith, to enter thoſe territories; and that for ſo doing, he might lawfully deprive him both of his goods and life. But when he read the King's letters patent, he was pacified, and with a preſent became alſo a friend. One night ſending for Goëz, Iſaac fell into tears, thinking he was going to be put to death. Benedict deſpiſing the danger, went courageouſly to the palace: but when he came there, found all the buſineſs was, that he might diſpute with the prieſts and learned men; whom, it ſeems, he preſently ſtruck dumb by dint of argument: nay the Viceroy himſelf approving all he ſaid, declared, that the Chriſtians were the true believers; adding, that his anceſtors had profeſſed the ſame law†. After this he feaſted, and kept him to lie that night in the palace.

In this city they ſtaid three months, for the caravan baſhâ would not depart without a great company (it being ſo much more gain to him) nor ſuffer any man to go before. However Goëz, tired with the delay and expence attending it, by a preſent obtained leave of the Viceroy, to make the beſt of his way. He was juſt ready to depart from Chalis, when the merchants of the former caravan returned from Katay. Theſe feigning an embaſſage (as uſual) had pierced as far as the capital; and having lodged for three months in the ſame palace of ſtrangers, with the Jeſuits, brought ſure tidings of Ricci, and the reſt of the ſociety, to Goëz; who wondered thus to find that Katay was China, and Kambalu was Pe-king. Among other evidences, they produced a piece of writing in Portugueze, which they had taken out of the duſt ſwept out of the chamber, in order to ſhew in their own country, at their return.

Goez having obtained the Viceroy's letters for his ſecurity, departed with Iſaac, and a few others, and in twenty days came to Puchan, a town of the ſame kingdom; whoſe governor generouſly furniſhed them with neceſſaries out of his own houſe. From hence they travelled to Turfan, a ſtrong and well-fortified city, where they ſtaid a whole month. From Turfan they proceeded to Aramuth, and ſo on to Kamul, another well fortified place; where, likewiſe, they halted for a month, becauſe they were well

* In the original, Cialis. † In caſe the Viceroy did ſay theſe words, which is hardly poſſible, he muſt have miſtaken the Chriſtians for the worſhippers of Fo; as we have already obſerved hath been often the caſe: For the religion of Tibet prevailed in theſe parts before the time of Jenghiz Khân.

uſed

uſed throughout the kingdom of Chalis, which ends at this town. From Kamul, in nine days, they came to Khya-yu-quan*, at the northern walls of China; where they waited twenty-five days for the anſwer of the Viceroy of that province†.

After this they were admitted within the walls, and in one day came to So-chew‡, a city, where they heard much of Pe-king, and other places, whoſe names were known; ſo that Goëz was now fully convinced, that Katay and China differed only in name.

All the way from Chalis, to the borders of China, being infeſted with incurſions of the Tartars, the merchants travel in great fear. In the day they examine, from the hills, whether there be any parties of them by plains; and if they judge the coaſt clear, perform their journey by night with ſilence. One night Benedict falling from his horſe, the reſt went on, not miſſing him till they came to their lodging; and then Iſaac going back to ſeek him, found him by the ſound of the name Jeſus, almoſt deſpairing to ſee his company any more.

In the way they found many Mohammedans ſlain, who had ventured to travel alone: although the Tartars ſeldom kill the natives, ſaying, they are their ſervants and ſhepherds; becauſe they take from them flocks of ſheep, and herds of bullocks. They eat no wheat, barley, nor pulſe, ſaying, it is food for beaſts, not men. They feed only on fleſh, eating that of horſes, mules, and camels; yet are ſaid to live an hundred years. The Mohammedan nations, on this side, not being warlike, might eaſily be ſubdued, if the Chineſe cared to enlarge their dominions §.

The end of the famous walls, before-mentioned, is in the weſt of China, which extends northwards; from which end, for the ſpace of two hundred miles, is the part where the Tartars moſt commonly made their excurſions formerly, as they do at preſent, but with leſs danger; for the Chineſe, to reſtrain them, have built two very ſtrong cities in Shen-ſi, and gariſoned them with choice ſoldiers. Theſe have a peculiar Viceroy, and other magiſtrates, who depend immediately on the court, and reſide in one of them, named Kan-chew ‖.

So-chew, the other, hath a ſpecial governor, and is divided into two parts; one inhabited by the Chineſe, called Kitayans by the Mohammedans, who occupy the other part, and come from Kâſkar, and other weſtern countries on account of trade. Many of them having wives and children, ſettle there: yet they have no magiſtrates of their own; but are governed by the Chineſe, who every night ſhut them up within the walls of their own city. There is a law, by which no man, who has lived nine years in the place, can return to his own country.

The merchants who reſort hither, come moſtly from the weſt under feigned embaſſies; and have, in conſequence of a contract made with China by ſeven or eight kingdoms, obtained a privilege of ſending every ſixth year ſeventy-two perſons in quality of ambaſſadors, with tribute to the Emperor; conſiſting of the ſhining marble before-mentioned, diamonds of the rock, azure, and other things. By this means they travel to court, and return at the public charge. The tribute they carry, is very little expence to them: for no man pays dearer for this marble than the Emperor himſelf, who eſteems it a diſhonour to take any thing of ſtrangers for nothing: beſides, they are ſo well ſupplied, at His Majeſty's coſt, that it is computed they get every day, above their neceſſary charges, a ducat a man. Hence many ſtrive to be admitted into this embaſſy,

* In the original, Chiaicuon, a fort at the entrance of the Great Wall. See Green, vol. iv. p. 55.
† Province of Shen-ſi. ‡ In the original, Socieu. § Purchas, p. 314.
‖ See Green, vol. iv. p. 55.

purchaſing

purchaſing the privilege of the caravan baſhâ, by large preſents. For this purpoſe they counterfeit their King's letters, acknowledging vaſſalage to the Emperor of China. The like embaſſies are admitted from divers other kingdoms; as Kauchin-China, Siam, Leukhew, Korea, and ſome parts of Tartary. The Chineſe are at incredible expences on theſe occaſions; nor are they ignorant of the fraud: but finding their account in it, flatter their ſovereign with the fancy, that all nations pay him tribute; whereas, in fact, he rather pays tribute to them.

Goëz arrived at So-chew the end of the year 1605, grown wealthy by his long journey. He had thirteen horſes, five hired ſervants, and two boys whom he bought, beſides the marble, more worth than all the reſt; the whole valued at two thouſand five hundred ducats. In this city he met with other Mohammedans returned from the capital, who confirmed the former reports. Hereupon he wrote forthwith, to acquaint Ricci of his arrival: but the ſuperſcription of the letter being written in European characters, and the Chineſe, who carried them, not knowing either the Chineſe names of the Jeſuits, or the quarter where they lodged at Pe-king, could not deliver them. The next year, at Eaſter, he ſent other letters by a Mohammedan, who had fled from that city (for none may either go in or out without the magiſtrates leave), acquainting them with his voyage and ſituation, deſiring them to take ſome courſe to free him from his priſon, that he might return by ſea to India along with the Portugueze.

The Jeſuits, who had long before been informed from Goa of his intended journey, yearly expected him, and made ſuch enquiry of thoſe counterfeit ambaſſadors; but could hear no tidings of him. They were therefore rejoiced at his letters, which they received in November following, and preſently diſpatched a perſon, to bring him, if poſſible, to court; not an European, leſt one ſtranger ſhould hinder another; but a native, by a Chineſe mother, named John Ferdinand, a virtuous young man, who had not yet performed his noviciate. To him they joined a new convert, well acquainted with the country. His orders were, in caſe he could not bring Goëz thence by leave of the magiſtrates, or any other means, to ſtay there with him, and write to the Company; who were then to try what they could do by their friends at Pe-king.

This journey, of near four months, was undertaken in a very ſevere winter, they ſetting out the eleventh of December. Meanwhile Goëz, who ſuffered more injuries from the Mohammedans in So-chew, than on the road, was forced to ſell his marble for twelve hundred ducats, which was under half price; wherewith he paid his debts, and maintained his family a whole year. In the interim the caravan arriving, he ſoon run out the remainder of his caſh, in the frequent entertainments he was obliged to make for the captain of it. This laid him under a neceſſity of borrowing money; and becauſe he was choſen into the number of the ſeventy-two ambaſſadors, he bought ſome pieces of marble, hiding an hundred pounds of it in the ground, to conceal it from the Mohammedans: for without that commodity, he would have been debarred from going to Pe-king*.

Let us now turn to Ferdinand, who had his afflictions alſo: for his ſervant run away from him at Si-ngan-fû, the metropolis of Shen-ſi†, carrying away half what had been given him to bear his charges. From thence, however, with much fatigue, he got in two months to So-chew, where he arrived the ſeventh of March, and found Goëz on his death-bed. The ſick man, however, rejoiced at receiving the letters from thoſe of his ſociety; but died eleven days after, without having made auricular confeſſion for ſo many years; as to which, he relied on God's mercy.

* Purchas, p. 315. Trigaut. lib. 5. cap. 13.

† In the original, by miſtake, Shan-ſi

His death was not without ſuſpicion of poiſon from the Mohammedans* ; who, as ſoon as he departed, ſeized all that he left behind. Among the things that were loſt, nothing is more to be regretted than his journal, which he had kept in detail of his travels. This book they were the more earneſt to get into their hands, in order to prevent payment of debts there entered. They would have buried him alſo like a Mohammedan, if Iſaac and Ferdinand had not oppoſed them. Goëz was a man of great parts, and after his admiſſion, had done great ſervice to the ſociety, but was not prieſted. He ordered Ferdinand to caution the Jeſuits not to truſt the Mohammedans, nor purſue this road to China, as being unprofitable and dangerous.

As the merchants, by a cuſtom among themſelves, divide the goods of all thoſe who die on the road, they bound Iſaac, threatening to kill him if he would not invoke Mohammed†. Hereupon Ferdinand preſented a requeſt to the Viceroy of Kan-chew ; who wrote an order under it to the governor of So-chew, to examine the affair impartially. He firſt was favourable ; but corrupted by bribes, threatened to whip the complainant, and held him in priſon three days. However, not diſcouraged by this treatment, he ſold his garments for want of money, and continued the ſuit five months. All this while, as Ferdinand could not ſpeak Perſian, nor Iſaac either Portugueze, or Latin ; they could not converſe together. When before the tribunal, one ſaid the Lord's prayer, the other repeated the name of Benedict Goëz, with a few Portugueze words : but nobody underſtanding either of them, the judge thought they ſpoke in the language of the province of Kanton‡, and underſtood each other.

At length, in two months, Ferdinand learned to ſpeak the Perſian. The Mohammedans, among other things, pleaded that Ferdinand was a Chineſe by his countenance, and Iſaac a Saracen§. In anſwer to this allegation, Ferdinand one day aſſured the court, that he was a mortal enemy to the law of Mohammed, which did he profeſs, he would without doubt, abſtain from hogs' fleſh : at the ſame time pulling a piece of pork out of his ſleeve, he and Iſaac fell to eating it very heartily. Hereupon thoſe preſent ſet up a loud laugh ; while the Mohammedans aſhamed, ſpat at the Armenian, ſaying, he was deluded by the Chineſe cozener : for all the way on the road to prevent offence, Benedict and Iſaac had abſtained from pork.

Thus, the effects of the deceaſed were decreed to Ferdinand : but, after all, nothing was found, except the pieces of marble, which had been hidden underground : theſe they ſold to pay their debts, and buy neceſſaries for their journey to Pe-king ; whither, at length, both of them arrived. They brought a croſs finely painted on gilt paper, with the paſſports of the Kings of Kâſkar, Quotan, and Chalis ; which are kept for a memorial.

Iſaac related all theſe paſſages to Ricci, upon credit of his memory, and a few minutes of Benedict's‖. Having ſtaid a month at Pe-king, he was ſent, by the uſual road, to

* This is an invidious reflection, common with Popiſh zealots. † It ſhould be, turn Mohammedan. ‡ Although none were there who underſtood either Latin, or Portugueze ; ſure there were enough among the Mohammedans who could ſpeak the Perſian. It ſeems, by this account, that Ferdinand could not ſpeak the Chineſe. § The Mohammedans are every where called Saracens, by this author ; which term we uſe here only to avoid repetition of the ſame word. ‖ There is ſome room to believe, not only that the diſtances of places are often made greater than they are, but alſo, that the places themſelves are not always ſet down in their proper order, ſome ſeeming to be placed after, which ſhould be before others : and the rather, becauſe it muſt have been morally impoſſible for Iſaac to have retained the diſtance and poſition of ſuch a number of towns as are mentioned, exactly in his memory, and it does not appear of what nature, or extent, the minutes of Goëz were.

Amakao,

Amakao*. From thence, in his voyage to India, he was taken by the Dutch: but being redeemed by the Portugueze of Malakka, he held on his courſe; and, hearing of his wife's death, returned not to the Mogol's country, but ſtaid at Chaul, and was alive in 1615, when Trigautius wrote†.

TRAVELS THROUGH TIBET, TO AND FROM CHINA:

BY SEVERAL MISSIONERS.

INTRODUCTION.

Road to China through Tibet attempted by Andrada the Jeſuit: — his Relation cenſured. — Cheſaud ſets out: — is forced to return. — Grueber's Travels; literary account of them.

ALTHOUGH Goëz was ſent expreſsly to diſcover the road to China, through Little Bukhâria; yet it does not appear the Jeſuits proſecuted that deſign, probably for the advice he left them to the contrary. However, about the year 1660, Amatus Cheſaud, a Frenchman, ſuperior of the reſidency of Isfâhân, attempted to paſs thither through the countries of the Uzbeks and Turkeſtân, but was deterred by the difficulty and danger of the road. From that time none of the Romiſh miſſioners have ventured to travel on that ſide, although caravans are continually paſſing and re-paſſing, with which the Armenians make no ſcruple to aſſociate themſelves, and perform the journey with ſafety.

The above-mentioned undertaking dying with Goëz, the Society turned their thoughts next on opening a way to China through Tibet: a region, whoſe inhabitants they were informed were Chriſtians, or at leaſt of a religion nearly reſembling their own; and, conſequently, had ſo much the ſtronger inducement to proſecute that deſign, as they hoped to meet with eaſy converſions, a thing they deſpaired of in Mohammedan countries. Travellers mention two ways of paſſing into Tibet; one the northern road, by the north part of the Mogol's empire, the other ſouthern, through Bengal. In 1624, Anthony Andrada, a Portugueze Jeſuit, attempted the northern road, and penetrated as far as Katay, or China. In 1661, Grueber and Dorville, Jeſuits, travelled from China to India, through Tibet, taking the ſouthern road; with regard to which, Tavernier about the ſame time procured ſome informations. In 1414, Deſideri, another of the Society, paſſed into Tibet, as far as Laſſa, by the northern road; and

* Makau. † Purchas, p. 316. Trigaut. lib. v. cap. 13.

laſtly, in 1732, Horace de la Penna, with other Capuchins, went to the ſame place by the ſouthern route.

Theſe are all the travels to this vaſt region that have appeared in print. Thoſe of Andrada and Cheſaud are very ſhort, and contain nothing extraordinary. The firſt, it ſeems, made the journey, on hearing that the people of Tibet were profeſſed Chriſtians. The ſubſtance of his relation is this: that he left Lahor in 1624, and having paſſed the Ganges, entered into Skrinegar * and Chafaranga, very great and populous cities; in the laſt of which are many monuments, he ſays left by the Chriſtians; that from thence croſſing an exceeding high mountain, on the top of it he diſcovered a vaſt lake, which gives riſe to the Indus, Ganges, and the other great rivers of India: that paſſing forwards through high mountains he arrived, after many days journey, at the city of Redor, in the cold northern region of the ſame name: Laſtly, that from hence travelling through the kingdoms of Maranga and Tankhut, ſubject to the Tartars, he in two months arrived at Kathay, or China.

Bentink, in a note on Abulghàzi's genealogical hiſtory of the Tartars, ſays, he is ſure that the author of Andrada's letter, relating to the preſent ſtate of Tibet, and religion of the Lamas †, never was in Tibet, in regard all he writes of that country, is ſo contrary to what at preſent appears to be the caſe; and that all he reports concerning the worſhip of the Lamas, is taken from the account which Rubruquis has given of certain religious among the Tartars. It muſt be confeſſed, the journal of his travels is very ſuperficial; and beſides affording very little, if any, light into the geography of the country, mentions places, ſuch as the kingdoms of Redor ‡ and Marango, which do not appear to lie in the northern road through Tibet: nor is there any lake there, which is the common fountain of the rivers above mentioned; at leaſt the Indus, and all the other rivers of India, except the Ganges, are known to have their ſources in India itſelf §.

The travels of Cheſaud ſeem to be more genuine than thoſe of Andrada, but are ſtill leſs to the purpoſe: for he went no farther than the borders of Great Bukhâria, and then turned back. The account was ſent by the author, in a letter from Kaſhan near Iſpàhân, written in Perſian to Kircher, who has inſerted an abſtract of it in his *China Illuſtrata* ‖, to the following effect: that a year before he wrote the letter, he travelled from Sfahân (or Iſpàhân) to Bâlkh; which he ſays, is the regal city of Uzbek ¶; in order to ſee if it was practicable to paſs through that country and Turkeſtan, to Katay, and thence to China: but that when he arrived in the train of the Uzbek ambaſſador, as far as the bounds of Kezalbaſh **, he found the way to be both difficult and dangerous: that for this reaſon he continued for ſome months at Hayrat ††, formerly (he ſays) called Skandria, and there had a full view of the place which the ancients called Bakhtra, where there is a great univerſity (built by the ſon of Tamerlang ‡‡, but going to ruin), and many other ſtructures raiſed by the Uzbeks, when in

* Perhaps, a miſtake for Serinegar, or Kaſhmir; but then that city lies on this ſide of the Ganges.
† Printed at Paris in 1629, with permiſſion of the Society, and dedicated to the general of that order.
‡ Perhaps, Redok; which, as well as Maranga, is mentioned by Grueber. § Hiſtory of the Turks, Moguls, &c. p 491. ‖ Ogilby has given a tranſlation in his China, vol. i. p. 363. It has no date.
¶ It is only one of the capitals of the three Uzbek dominions in Great Bukhâria. ** That is, of the Perſian dominions called Kezelbaſh, or red-heads, from their turbans. See Green, vol. iv. p. 639. note d.
†† Herat, or Heri, capital of the province of Khoraſan in Perſia. ‡‡ Or, Timûr-ling that is, lame Timur for Tamerlan was lame of one leg. His ſon, ſpoken of here, was doubtleſs, Shâh Rokh, who ſucceeded him, and reigned at Herat.

poſſeſſion:

poſſeſſion *: that from Hayrat he came back to Maſhahad †, called by ſome the Holy; where there is a masjid ‡, adorned with gold. Here he ſtaid two months diſputing with the learned, who are numerous, about their law: that leaving this place, he came to Niſhapûr, and then to Sabazwar §, belonging to Khoraſân; whence paſſing through the cities of Setam, Damgan, and Jamnam ‖, he proceeded to Kaſhan, in the province of Arakand ¶, the way for the moſt part ſandy; and thence to Sfahân, thirty farſang diſtant.

Theſe are all the itinerary remarks which theſe two authors afford: but Grueber, though not ſo particular as could be wiſhed, is much more copious. What relates to his travels, is contained in five letters, all written in Latin by himſelf; except the firſt, which is in Italian, from one anonymous virtuoſo to another, ſetting forth the ſubſtance of a converſation which he had ** with our Jeſuit on the ſubject of his travels, and the cuſtoms of the Chineſe; on which laſt the diſcourſe chiefly turned. The ſecond is from Grueber to John Gamans, a Jeſuit at Aſchaffenburg in Germany; containing a brief account of his journey from China. The third, dated December 11, 1664, from Dantzick, is in anſwer to ſeveral queſtions put to him by ſome learned nobleman, concerning China, and the Tartars who conquered it. The fourth is on much the ſame ſubject, dated from Breſlaw in Sileſia, March 14, 1665. The laſt, containing the ſubſtance of ſeveral letters written by Grueber to Kircher ††, furniſhes the moſt particular account of his journey from China to India, gives the latitudes of the chief places obſerved by the author, and is embelliſhed with cuts drawn by him, repreſenting the habits of the people, the Great Lama, Ptala, Buth, the ſlaying youth, and other remarkables in the countries he paſſed through.

Theſe letters are publiſhed by Thevenot, in his French collection of voyages ‡‡: but he has omitted all the cuts, which Kircher gives in his *China Illuſtrata*, and after him Ogilby. In the following ſection we have incorporated the remarks, contained in the ſeveral letters, together; or making the ſubſtance of that to Kircher the text, ſupplied it with notes from the reſt.

SECTION I. — TRAVELS FROM CHINA TO EUROPE, IN 1661. BY JOHN GRUEBER, JESUIT.

Sets-out. — Si-ning. — Great Wall: — Account of it. — Delightful travelling, in the Great Deſart. — Koko Nor Lake. — Kalmak Tartars: — Their Dreſs and Dwellings. — Laſſa, or Barantola. — Tartar Women. — Mountain of Langur. — Nekpal Kingdom. — King Partaſmal. — The Jeſuits preſent. — Odd Cuſtoms. — Kingdom of Maranga. — Mogul's Empire. — Comes to Agra: — Returns to Europe: Reſumes the Miſſion. — Author's Character. — Latitudes obſerved. — Road from Tavernier. — Gorroſhepur City. — Way of travelling — Nupal Country. — Mountains of Naugrokot. — Women-Porters. — Butan, or Tibet.

THE miſſioner ſet out for China, as we conjecture, in the year 1656. According to the firſt letter, he went from Venice to Smyrna by ſea: from thence to Ormuz by

* The author ſeems to miſtake Timûr, and his deſcendants, for Uzbeks; which latter poſſeſſed Khoraſân but a very ſhort ſpace, under Shaybek Khân. † Or Maſhhad, the ſame with Tûs in Khoraſan. See Green, vol. iv. p. 443. note i. In the original, written Maxahad. ‡ Or, temple, in Kircher Meſquit. The Perſian word is meſkû, whence moſk. § Alſo, Niſhabur, and Sebzwar. ‖ Doubtleſs, Baſtam, Damagan, and Semnan, three cities in the road from Niſhapûr, to Kaſhan. ¶ By which muſt be underſtood the Perſian Irâk. ** In company with Signor Carlo Dati. †† He tells us, in his third letter, that on quitting Rome he left many geographical remarks with Kircher, and that he was about publiſhing them in 1664. They were publiſhed in his China Illuſtrata, at Amſterdam, in 1667, in folio ‡‡ Part iv. containing twenty-ſix pages and a half.

land

land, in five months: from Ormuz by ſea, in ſeven months, to Makac. There landing, he paſſed through China, partly by water, partly by land, to Pe-king, in three months *. He ſtaid in China three years; in one of which, viz. 1660, he ſays, the fifty-ſix Jeſuits, who were then in that empire, baptized more than fifty thouſand men †.

In his return, he took a road never, perhaps, attempted by any European before. Grueber left Pe-king in the month of June ‡, 1661, in company with Albert Dorville, of the ſame Society: in thirty days he came to Si-ngan-fû §, and in thirty more to Si-ning, or Si-ning fû‖, croſſing the Whang-ho, or Yellow River, twice in the way.

Si-ning is a great and populous city, built at the vaſt wall ¶ of China, through the gate of which the merchants from India enter Catay, or China. Here they ſtay till they have licence from the Emperor to proceed forward. The wall at this place is ſo broad that ſix horſemen may run abreaſt on it, without embarraſſing each other. Here the citizens of Si-ning take the air (which is very healthful, coming from the deſarts,) and recreate themſelves with the proſpect, as well as other diverſions. There are ſtairs to go a-top of the wall, and many travel on it, from the gate at Si-ning to the next at So-chew, which is eighteen days journey.

This they do by the governor's licence, out of curioſity; having a delightful proſpect all the way from the wall, as from an high tower, of the innumerable habitations on one ſide, and the various kinds of wild beaſts, which range the deſart, on the other ſide. Beſides wild bulls, here are tigers, lions, elephants, rhinoceroſes, and monoceroſes, which are a kind of horned aſſes **. Thus, the merchants view the beaſts free from danger; eſpecially from that part of the wall, which running ſouthward †† approaches the more inhabited provinces of Quang-ſi, Yun-nan, and Tibet: for at certain times of the year they betake themſelves to the Yellow River, and parts near the wall, which abound with thickets, in order to get paſture, and ſeek their prey.

This deſart is partly mountainous, and partly level, all over ſandy and barren; excepting that in ſome places you meet with little rivulets, whoſe banks yield good paſture. It begins in the middle part of India, and extends from ſouth to north; but nobody ever yet hath diſcovered its bounds, which may ſtretch to the frozen ocean. Marco Polo calls this deſart Lop, and ſpeaks of its being haunted with ſpirits. But Grueber ſays nothing of them. The Tartars formerly called it Beljan now Samo; the Chineſe, Kalmuk; others Karakathay ‡‡. The Tartars accuſtomed to deſarts dwell here in tents, removing with their cattle, wherever they can find a river, or place fit for paſture §§.

The road from Si-ning, as far as Laſſa, is ſomewhat differently deſcribed, in different letters. In the firſt we are told, that our miſſioner paſſing out of China, entered the ſands of Deſart Tartary, which he croſſed in three days: afterwards he came to the banks of the Koko Nor, which ſignifies the Great Sea; being a great lake, or ſea, like the Caſpian, where the Yellow River has its ſource ‖‖.

* Grueber, letter 1. † The ſame, letter 2. ‡ In the ſecond letter, he is ſaid to have ſet out the thirteenth of April, ſent by the new Emperor (Kang-hi) as mathematician of the empire, leave being procured by Adam Schall. § Capital of Shen-ſi. ‖ A miſtake for Si-ning-chew, or Wey. In the ſecond letter it is called Ciniara, a city ſeated at the great wall. ¶ Not ſo, but ſeveral miles diſtant. Grueber drew a draft of the wall, which is given by Kircher. ** In another place of this letter, it is ſaid, no other animals are found in this deſart, but wild bulls of a mighty bigneſs. †† The author miſtakes here, for the wall does not proceed ſouth of Si-ning, nor touch that city, but ends twenty miles to the weſt; nor can any travel from Si-ning to So-chew on the wall; which beſides being, on many accounts, unfit for the purpoſe, breaks off in ſeveral places for twenty or thirty miles together. ‡‡ Theſe ſeem to be the remarks of Kircher, mixed with thoſe of Grueber, who could never have committed ſo many blunders in ſo few lines. The Chineſe call it Sha-mo, the Tartars, Kobi; both words ſignifying a ſandy deſart. Kalmuk is a nickname, that comes from the Mohammedan Tartars. §§ Letter the fifth. ‖‖ This is a miſtake: for the Whang-ho or Yellow River, riſes from other lakes to the ſouth-weſt. See Green, vol. iv. p. 451.

Leaving this ſea behind him, he entered into the country of Toktokay, which is almoſt deſart, and ſo barren, that it need fear no invaſion. One meets with nothing but ſome tents of Tartars *. It is watered by the Toktokay, a very fine river, whence it takes the name. It is as large as the Danube, but ſo ſhallow, that it may be forded every where.

Thence having croſſed the country of Tangut, he came to Retink, a very populous province, belonging to the kingdom of Barantola; where at length he arrived, whoſe capital city is called Laſſa †.

According to the fifth letter, or Kircher's abſtract, we are told, that preſently after they had paſſed the great wall, they found a river ſtored with fiſh, on which they ſupped in an open tent. Then croſſing the Saffron River ‡, they immediately entered that vaſt and barren deſart of Kalmak, inhabited by the Kalmak Tartars §, who rove up and down it to rob the caravans, and at certain ſeaſons ſettle with their portable cities on the banks of the rivers. The Jeſuits often met with their habitations in the way, and drew their figures as repreſented in the plate ‖, viz. a Kalmak man, clothed with a leathern garment, and a yellow cap. A Kalmak woman in a habit made of a certain ſkin, of a green or red colour; each with a charm about their necks, to preſerve them from dangers: a Lama, that is, one of their Tartar prieſts, or biſhops. They wear a white coat, or cloak, caſt backwards, with a red girdle; and a yellow coat, from the girdle of which hangeth down a purſe: their cap, or hat, is painted red. In the offskip are expreſſed their habitations, being tents made with ſmall ſticks twiſted, or plaited together, and covered with a coarſe woollen ſtuff ¶, bound together with cords. The turning-wheel is an inſtrument like a ſceptre, which the people turn round while the Lama prays.

From Si-ning they in three months entered the kingdom of Laſſa, which the Tartars call Barantola **. The King is ſtyled Teva ††, deſcended from an ancient race of the Tangut Tartars, and reſides at Butala, a caſtle built on a high mountain ‡‡, after the European faſhion, where he has a numerous court §§. The great prieſt of this country is called Lama Konju ‖‖, and adored as a god ¶¶. He reſides at Barantola, and is the Pope of the Chineſe and Tartars, called by them God the Father; whoſe religion, in all eſſential points, tallies with the Romiſh; although, ſays the author, no Chriſtian ever was in the country before ***.

Here they ſtaid a month, and might have converted many of the natives, but for that deviliſh God the Father (as the author calls him), who puts to death ſuch as refuſe to adore him. However, they were kindly treated by the people and King, who was the brother of that God the Father †††.

In the court of Deva, King of Tanguth ‡‡‡, they ſaw a woman born in Northern Tartary, dreſſed in an unuſual habit: She wore hair like knotted cords, her head and girdle adorned with cockle-ſhells §§§. They ſaw, likewiſe, ſome women no leſs ſtrangely dreſſed, who came from the neighbouring kingdom of Koin. The ladies braid or curl their hair in the manner of hair-laces, or ſmall bands, and twiſt it behind them: on their foreheads they wear a red fillet, beſet with pearls; and on the top of their heads a ſilver crown, bedecked with turchoiſes and coral.

* In his ſecond letter, he ſays, he met with neither man nor bird, but many wild beaſts; and that they ſuffered extremely in the journey. † Letter the firſt. ‡ Or, Whang-ho. § Theſe are the Eluths, or Tartars of Koko Nor. ‖ See plate 54, p. 403. ¶ Rather, felt. ** Letter the fifth. Miſprinted Baranteka, in the ſecond letter. †† Or, Deva, as in the fifth letter; and Tipa, as others write. ‡‡ See Green, vol. iv. p. 456. §§ Ibid. ‖‖ For ſo Sama Konjum (as it is there ſaultily printed) is explained in the ſecond letter. ¶¶ See Green, vol. iv. p. 459, d. *** Letter the firſt. ††† Letter the ſecond. ‡‡‡ So Barantola is called here. §§§ This was a woman of Khamil, or Hami. See Green, plate 55, p. 456.

Grueber

Grueber drew the pictures of the Grand Lama, (taken from one hung at the palace-gate,) and of Han, late King of Tangut *. This laſt, who had fourteen ſons, was for his goodneſs and juſtice reverenced as God. He was of a dark complexion, his beard of a chefnut colour, mixed with grey, and his eyes protuberant †.

From Laſſa, or Barantola, they came in four days to the foot of the mountain Langur; which being exceeding high, travellers can hardly breathe at top, the air is ſo very thin; neither is it to be croſſed in ſummer without great danger from the exhalations of certain poiſonous herbs. Beſides, as no waggons or beaſts can paſs it for the rocks and precipices, they muſt proceed on foot, almoſt a month, till they came to Kuthi, one of the two chief cities of the kingdom of Nekbal. This mountainous tract ‡ is plentifully furniſhed with ſprings, both hot and cold, which iſſue from all parts of the mountain, affording ſtore of fiſh and paſture.

From Kuthi, in five days, they came to the city Neſti §, ſtill in Nekbal; where proviſions are ſo plenty, that thirty or forty hens are ſold for one ſcutum.

From Neſti they came in five days journey to Kadmendu ‖, the metropolis of Nekbal, where reigns a potent King.

From Kadmendu, in half a day's time, they came to the city Nekbal, called alſo Baddan by the natives, the regal city of the whole kingdom ¶.

The firſt letter relates, that Nekbal is a month's journey in extent, and has two capital cities, Katmandir and Patan **, ſeparated only by a river. The King, called Partaſmal, reſides in the firſt, and his brother Nevagmal (a young handſome Prince), in the latter. He had the command of all the troops in the country; and while Grueber was there, had a great army in the field, to oppoſe a petty King named Varkam, who made frequent incurſions into his dominions.

The Jeſuit preſented this Prince with a teleſcope; wherewith having diſcovered a place where Varkam had fortified himſelf, he deſired the Prince to look that way, which he did; and ſeeing the enemy ſo near, cried, "Let us march againſt them;" not conſidering that their ſeeming approach was the effect of the glaſs. It is not eaſy to expreſs how pleaſed he was with this preſent ††. He likewiſe gave the King other curious mathematical inſtruments; with which he was ſo taken, that he determined not to let them go, but that they promiſed him faithfully to return. In that caſe, he promiſed both to erect a houſe for their uſe, endowed with ample revenues, and grant them full power to introduce the Chriſtian law into his kingdom ‡‡.

In this country, when a man drinks to a woman, the company pour in the liquor cha, or the wine, three times for the parties; and while they are drinking, affix three pieces of butter to the brim of the cup, which thoſe that pledge them take off, and ſtick on their foreheads.

They have a moſt cruel cuſtom in theſe kingdoms; for when they judge their ſick people to be paſt hopes of recovery, they carry them into the fields, and caſting them into deep ditches full of dead corpſes, there leave them to periſh; and their bodies, when dead, to be devoured by birds and beaſts of prey, eſteeming it an honour to have living creatures for their tombs.

* See Green, plate 61, p. 460. † Grueber has given other cuts relating to Tibet; which, with their deſcriptions, have been given in Green's plates, 56, 57, 58, and 59. ‡ Kircher ſuppoſes this to be the Parapaniſus of Ptolemy, and Belor of Polo; in which laſt conjecture, at leaſt, he is very much miſtaken. § This, and Kuthi, are ſaid a little lower to be the two chief cities of Nekbal. ‖ In the firſt letter called Katnandir. ¶ Letter the fifth. ** This muſt be Baddan, or Nekbal, in the fifth letter: but there is a great diſagreement between the two letters with regard to its diſtance from Katmandir. †† Letter the firſt. ‡‡ How came they to neglect ſo favourable an offer?

The women, out of a religious whim, never wash, but daub themselves with a nasty kind of oil; which not only causes them to stink intolerably, but renders them extremely ugly and deformed.

From Nekbal, in a journey of five days, you meet with the city Hedonda *, a colony of the kingdom of Maranga, inclosed in Thebet. Its metropolis is Radok †. From the names of Dominic, Francis, and Anthony, still in use with the natives ‡, it appeared, that Christianity had been planted there in times past §.

In the first letter we are told, that in Maranga he saw no towns, but only houses, or rather huts made of straw, and among them a custom-house. The King pays yearly to the Great Mogol a tribute of two hundred and fifty thousand rixdollars, and seven elephants ‖.

From Hedonda (crossing the kingdom of Maranga), in eight days, they came to Mutgari, the first city of the Mogol's ¶empire.

From Mutgari is a journey of ten days to Battana **, which is a city of Bengala on the Ganges.

From Battana, in eight days, they came to Benares, a populous city on the Ganges, famous for an academy of the Brachmans, where persons are instructed in their religion and sciences.

From Benares, in eleven days, they came to Katampor, and from thence, in seven more, to Agra ††. So that from Pe-king thither was a journey of two hundred and fourteen days; but reckoning the time which the caravans rest, it will come to about fourteen months. Here Dorville, the companion of Grueber in his travels, died ‡‡.

The author's travels from Maranga is related, with some variation, in the first letter. It is there said, that from thence he entered India, and came to Minapor, the metropolis of the country, where he crossed the Ganges, twice as broad as the Danube. Thence he travelled to the city Patan; and from Patan, in twenty-five days, to Arga, the chief royal seat of the Mogol's empire, eleven months after he had left China.

This first letter furnishes us also with an account of his travels from Agra to Europe, and several other particulars not to be met with in Kircher's memoirs. From Agra he got, in six days, to Deli; and from Deli, in fourteen, to Lahor, on the Ravi, which is as broad as the Danube, and falls into the Indus, near Multan §§. At this last place he embarked on the Indus, and in forty days fell down to Tata, the last city of Indostan, and residence of a viceroy, called Laskartan. Here he found many English and Dutch merchants. From thence sailing to Ormuz, he landed; and passing through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, came to Smyrna; where putting again to sea, he arrived first at Messina, and then at Rome, fourteen months after he had left Agra.

He had not been long at Rome before he received orders to return to China. Accordingly he went into Germany, and from thence to Poland, with a design to cut out another new road through Russia; having by the Emperor's means, obtained passports from the Dukes of Courland and Moscovy: but when he arrived on the borders of Russia, news came that the King of Poland, in conjunction with the Tartars, had invaded the Grand Duke's dominions. Fearing therefore that it would be difficult, to

* At the end of the letters, it is said to be the first city of the Mogol's empire. † This, Kircher observes, was the utmost extent of Andrada's travels. ‡ This looks like a pious life. § Letter the fifth. ‖ Letter the first. ¶ This author calls him the Mogor. ** In the first letter, called Patan. †† Kircher says, he received the foregoing account from the mouths of Grueber and Dorville: yet at the end of this abstract tells us, the last died at Agra, in his way to Europe. ‡‡ Letter the fifth. §§ In the original, Multaia, by mistake.

get to Moſkow, called by the Tartars, Stoliza, he thought it beſt to return to Venice, which he did juſt at the time when the Emperor was ſending Count Leſly on an embaſſy to the Porte. In the train of this lord he travelled to Conſtantinople, deſigning to take his way through Natolia, Perſia, and the Indies. But on his arrival was ſeized with a violent flux, and pains in the ſtomach; ſo that being unable to proceed, he returned by ſea to Leghorn, and thence to Florence. Here his diſorder abating, he repaired to Venice, in order to paſs through Friuli to Vienna, and ſo to Conſtantinople, once more to attempt getting to China by that road, (but how he ſucceeded, we do not find.)

The author in 1665, when he ſet out on his return to China, was about forty-five years of age, of an affable temper, and extremely civil, joining to other good qualities the German ſincerity, which rendered his converſation perfectly agreeable *. The variations found in the letters from whence we have collected our materials, ſeem to be owing to the defects of the author's memory, and miſtakes of thoſe who took the relation from his mouth. With regard to the Chineſe and Tartars, he has explained ſome things more fully than other authors have done, as well as related others in a different manner.

Table of Latitudes obſerved in this Journey.

	°	′	″
Si-ning city - - -	36	10	0 †
Laſſa, or Barantola - -	29	6	0
Kadmendu - - -	27	5	0
Hedonda - - -	26	36	0
Battana on Ganges - -	24	44	0
Benares on Ganges - -	24	50	0

We ſhall add, by way of ſupplement, the information which Tavernier received from the merchants in Bengal concerning this ſouthern road through Tibet.

The kingdom of Bû-tân, whence comes the muſk, rhubarb, and ſome furs, is a kingdom of great extent: but Tavernier could never come to a perfect knowledge thereof. He obſerves, that the caravan is three months travelling from Patna, in Bengal, to the kingdom of Bû-tan ‡. It ſets out about the end of December, and eight days after arrives at Gorroſhepûr, the laſt city in the Great Mogol's dominions.

From Gorroſhepûr to the foot of the high mountains is eight or nine days journey more. As the country is nothing but wide foreſts, full of wild elephants, the merchants ſuffer much; for inſtead of taking their reſt, they are forced to watch, keep fires, and ſhoot off their muſkets all night long; otherwiſe, the elephant, who makes no noiſe in treading, would be upon the caravan before they were aware; not that he comes to hurt the men, but to get what victuals he can find.

You may travel from Patna to thoſe mountains in Pallekis But they uſually ride upon oxen, camels, or horſes, bred in the country. Theſe laſt are generally ſo little, that when a man is on the back of them, his feet touch the ground; but they are very ſtrong, and will travel twenty leagues together without baiting. Some of them coſt

* Letter the firſt and fourth. † The Jeſuits, who made the map, found it to lie in thirty-ſix degrees, thirty-nine minutes, and twenty ſeconds, which difference of twenty-nine minutes ſhews Grueber's obſervation to be far from accurate, and brings that of the other places under the ſame ſuſpicion Ogilby has twenty minutes inſtead of ten; as it is in Thevenot. ‡ Butan is Tibet. For a deſcription of the muſk, rhubarb, &c. from this author, ſee Green, vol. iv. p. 457.

200 crowns: for indeed the roads over the mountains are ſo narrow and rugged, that you can make uſe of no other ſort of carriage.

Five or ſix leagues beyond Gorroſhepûr you enter into the territories of the rája of Nupal *, which extend to the frontiers of Bû-tan. This rájah pays every year to the Great Mogol an elephant for his tribute. He reſides in the city of Napul, from whence he derives his title: but there is little of either trade or money in his country, which is all woods and foreſts.

The caravan being arrived at the foot of the mountains of Maugrokot †, abundance of the inhabitants, chiefly women and maids, repair thither, in order to carry the merchants and their goods acroſs the mountains, which is eight days journey more. There are three women to carry one man, relieving one another by turns. They have upon each ſhoulder a woollen roll, to which is faſtened a large cuſhion, that hangs down their backs, upon which the merchant ſits. Their luggage and proviſions are laid on the back of goats, which carry an hundred and fifty pounds weight a-piece. They who chuſe to ride, are in many places, forced to have their horſes hoiſted up with cords. They never feed them but morning and evening. Their morning fare conſiſts of a pound of meal, half a pound of brown ſugar, and half a pound of butter, mixed together with water. In the evening they muſt be contented with a few flat peaſe bruiſed, and ſteeped half an hour in water. The women-porters get for their ten days travel two roupies a-piece; the ſame alſo for every loaded goat, and every horſe which they lead ‡.

After you have paſſed the mountains, you may travel to Bû-tan upon oxen, camels, horſes, or in pallekis. Thus far from Tavernier concerning the road to Bû-tan: what he relates with reſpect to the inhabitants, and trade of the country, has been already inſerted §.

SECTION. II. — TRAVELS INTO TIBET IN 1714: BY HYPOLITO DESIDERI, AN ITALIAN JESUIT.

[Now firſt tranſlated from the French.]

Author leaves Goa. — High Mountains, difficult to croſs. — Fertile Spots. — Comes to Kaſhmir. — News of Tibet. — Enters Great Tibet. — Horrible Mountains. — Dreadful travelling. — Arrives at Leh, or Ladak. — Air, Soil, Inhabitants. — Believe in a Trinity. — Saints and Images. — Other Reſemblances. — Viſits the Grand Lama. — Searched for Jewels. — A third Tibet. — Comes to Laſſa. — Admitted to Audience. — Favourably received.

THE account of this journey into Tibet was written in Italian by the author to Ildebrand Graſſi, another miſſioner of the ſame ſociety and nation, then reſiding in the kingdom of Mayſſur, in the peninſula of India, on this ſide Ganges. The letter is dated from Laſſa, the tenth of April, 1716. N. S. A French tranſlation of it is inſerted, by Du Halde, in the fifteenth tome of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuſes, &c.* containing twenty-ſix pages ‖, in twelves, large print. The relation, as thoſe of the miſſioners commonly are, is very ſuperficial. It gives you neither a regular journal of the road, nor deſcription of the country and inhabitants, but only certain looſe, imperfect

* Perhaps, the ſame called in Grueber's journal Nekbal; and in Deſideri's, Nepal. † They are nineteen ſtages, or days journey, from Patna. ‡ Tavernier's Travels, part ii. p. 183. § See Green, vol. iv. p. 456, et ſeq. ‖ It begins, p. 183.

remarks; which, however, are of no ſmall uſe, conſidering how little we know of Tibet. On this occaſion the reader will, doubtleſs, be ſurprized to ſee that the Jeſuits, who have been ſo long in China and India, between which that vaſt region lies, ſhould not be able to give a better account of it than what is to be found in the reports of this author, and his ſucceſſor, *Horace de la Penna*.

Deſideri, having been appointed for the miſſion of Tibet, left Goa on the twentieth of November, 1713, and came to Surat on the fourth of January, 1714. Having ſpent the time he ſtaid there in learning the Perſian, the twenty-ſixth of March he took the road for Delhi *, where he arrived the eleventh of May; there he found Manuel Freyre, deſtined to the ſame miſſion, for which they both ſet out the twentieth-third of September, and got to Lahor the tenth of October. From thence departing on the nineteenth, they, in a few days, came to the foot of Caucaſus, which is a long chain of very high and ſteep mountains. After paſſing one, you find a ſecond higher than the firſt; that is followed by a third; and the more you aſcend, the more you have to aſcend, till at the laſt, you come to the higheſt of all, called Pir-Panjal. The Gentiles have a profound reſpect for this mountain; where they bring offerings, and worſhip a venerable old man, who, they ſay, is appointed to guard the place. This the author takes for granted to be the remains of the fable of Prometheus, whom the poets feigned to have been chained to Caucaſus †.

The top of the higheſt of theſe mountains is always covered with ſnow and ice. They were twelve days paſſing them on foot, croſſing with incredible trouble the torrents made by the melted ſnow; which ruſh over the ſtones and rocks with ſuch violence, that Deſideri was often forced to lay hold of an ox's tail, to prevent being carried away with the current. He likewiſe ſuffered extremely from the cold, for want of providing proper cloaths for the journey.

This mountain-country, though otherwiſe ſo frightful, yet in ſeveral parts appears very agreeable, from the multitude and variety of trees, fertility of the ſoil, and many habitations that occur: for here one meets with ſome ſmall territories, whoſe Princes are dependent on the Great Mogol; nor are the roads ſo bad, but that travellers may paſs them either on horſe back, or in a jampan, which is a kind of palankin ‡.

The tenth of March they arrived at Kaſhmîr, where they were obliged to ſtay ſix months, becauſe the prodigious quantities of ſnow which fell in the winter had ſhut up the paſſages. Here Deſideri was reduced almoſt to the laſt extremity, by a diſtemper cauſed, as he judged, by the fatigues he had undergone. However, he continued to learn the Perſian, and make enquiries concerning Tibet: but after all his pains, he could find then out but two countries of that name; one called Little Tibet, or Baltiſtan §, a few days journey from Kaſhmîr, extending from the north towards the weſt; whoſe inhabitants and princes are tributary to the Great Mogol. But there is no buſineſs there for the miſſioners, long experience having convinced them, that they can reap but little fruit in countries, where, ſays the author, the impious ſect of Mohammedans prevails.

The ſecond Tibet, named Great Tibet, or Bûtan, extends from the north towards the eaſt, and lies a little farther from Kaſhmîr than the other. The road, which lies

* Dehli, or Delli, in the Mogul's Empire. † It is, doubtleſs, on this weak ground, that Deſideri has given the uncertain name of Caucaſus to this chain of mountains, omitting the modern name, which would be certain, and of infinite more uſe. Such abſurdities, which in authors are very common, only diſcover their ignorance, while they would ſhew their learning, and perplex inſtead of clearing-up geography. Bernier, in his memoirs, part iv. p. 81, 101, et ſeq. ſpeaks of this old man and Pir-Panjel. ‡ Lettres Edif. tom. 15, p. 183, et ſeq. § Perhaps for Beladeſtân, that is, the mountain-country. See Green, vol. iv. p. 452.

through

through narrow paſſages, is frequented by caravans, which go thither every year for woollen. The firſt ſix or ſeven days journey is tolerable; but afterwards the roads grow very difficult, occaſioned by the winds, the ſnow, and the extreme cold: yet one is obliged to lie at night on the bare ground; ſometimes even on the ſnow or ice.

Great Tibet begins at the top of a frightful mountain named Kantel, all covered with ſnow; one ſide of it belongs to Kâſhmîr, the other to Tibet. They left Kâſhmîr the 17th of May 1715, and were forty days in travelling to Leh, called alſo Ladak, where the King of Great Tibet reſides; which journey they performed on foot. The thirtieth, being Aſcenſion-Day, they paſſed the mountain, that is, entered Tibet. The road lay through the mountains, which are a true image of horror. They are heaped one upon another, and ſo cloſe together, that they are ſcarce ſeparated by the torrents, which daſh againſt the rocks with a noiſe enough to daunt the moſt hardy travellers.

The top and bottom of the mountains being impaſſable, one is obliged to proceed along the ſides of them; and the way is ſo narrow that there is ſcarce room to ſet one's foot; hence great caution muſt be uſed: for the leaſt falſe ſtep tumbles you down the precipices, where you run the riſk of loſing your life, or at leaſt of breaking your limbs; as happened to ſome of the caravan: for there is not a buſh, or blade of graſs to catch at, which might ſave your fall. In paſſing from one mountain to the other you find no other bridges over the torrents, than ſome narrow, quaking plank, or cords ſtretched acroſs, and interlaced with green boughs. Nay, often you are obliged to put off your ſhoes, that you may tread with leſs danger.

The very thoughts of thoſe paſſes made the author tremble: not to mention the other inconveniences before mentioned, relating to the weather and manner of reſting at night. Add to this, the neceſſity they were under of feeding on the flour of ſattû, a kind of barley, which they commonly boiled; though the natives eat it crude, when they could find a little wood to dreſs it. To increaſe their miſery, the reflection of the ſun from the ſnow almoſt blinded them; ſo that Deſideri was obliged to cover his eyes, leaving only a ſmall opening ſufficient to ſee his way. Laſtly, every two days they met with cuſtom houſe officers; who not content with the uſual duties, demanded what they thought fit *.

In theſe mountainous countries one finds no large towns, nor any money, but that of the Great Mogol, each piece being worth five Roman Julios; trade being generally carried on by exchange of commodities.

They arrived the twenty-fifth of June, at Leh, or Ladak; which is a fortreſs where the Ghiampo, or King, reſides; who is abſolute, and named Nima Nanjal. He has under him a tributary King. The firſt ſettlements one meets with are Mohammedan; the reſt are inhabited by Pagans, who are leſs ſuperſtitious than the natives of other idolatrous countries.

The climate in Tibet is very rough. Winter reigns almoſt all the year round; the tops of the mountains are continually covered with ſnow. The ſoil produces nothing but corn and barley. One ſees neither trees, fruits, nor plants. Their houſes are ſmall and narrow, made of ſtones heaped one upon another, without any art. The inhabitants go clothed with woollen ſtuffs. They are naturally of a mild and tractable diſpoſition, but ignorant, and unpoliſhed; having neither arts nor ſciences among them (although they do not want genius), nor any correſpondence with foreign nations.

As to their religion, they call God Konchok, and ſeem to have a notion of the Trinity: for ſometimes they name him Konchok-chik, or the one God: at other times,

* Lettres Edif. p. 187, et ſeq.

Konchok-ſum

Konchok-ſum, or the Trine God. They uſe a kind of beads, on which they repeat Om, ha, ham. Om, they ſay, implies intelligence, or the arm, that is, power; Ha, the word; and Hum, the heart, or love; and that theſe three words ſignify God. They adore alſo one called Urghien, born about ſeven hundred years ago. When aſked if he be God, or man, ſome anſwer, that he is both: that he had neither father, nor mother, but was produced by a flower. However, their ſtatues repreſent a woman with a flower in her hand; who, they ſay, is Urghien's mother.

They worſhip ſeveral other perſons, whom they conſider as ſaints. In their churches there is an altar covered with a cloth, and ornaments; in the middle of which is a kind of tabernacle, where, according to them, Urghien reſides; though at the ſame time they affirm he is in heaven. For the reſt, they reject the tranſmigration of ſouls, and do not admit polygamy: nor is any ſort of meats prohibited among them; three articles in which they differ widely from the idolatrous Indians.

Their religious are called Lamas *, and our miſſioners were conſidered as Lamas of the Chriſtian law by the King, and ſeveral of his court; who obſerving them to recite their office, had the curioſity to look at the books which they read in, and eagerly enquired what the pictures repreſented which they found there. After they had examined them, they ſaid Nuru, that is, very well †: they added, that their book was like that of the miſſioners; but Deſideri, it ſeems, could not believe it. He allows many of them can read their myſterious books, but affirms none underſtand them ‡. They often wiſhed he was ſkilled in their language, or they in his, that they might hear him explain his religion. This, which could be nothing but curioſity, the author would impoſe as a proof, that they were ready to embrace the Romiſh faith §.

Two days after their arrival at Ladak, the miſſioners went to viſit the Lampo, who is the firſt perſon next the King, and called his right arm. The ſecond of June they had their firſt audience of His Majeſty, who received them ſitting on his throne. The fourth and eighth they were ſent for again, and treated with more familiarity. The ſixth they viſited the Great Lama, who was accompanied with ſeveral other Lamas, one of whom was a near relation of the King's, another the Lompo's ſon. They were received very politely, and preſented with ſeveral refreſhments, according to the cuſtom of the country.

Theſe honours and teſtimonies of friendſhip, however, did not ſecure them againſt trouble. Some of the Mohammedan merchants, who came from Kâſhmîr to trade for wool, either through jealouſy, or hatred of the Chriſtian name, told the King and his miniſter, that the miſſioners were rich merchants, who brought with them pearls, diamonds, rubies, and other precious commodities. This was enough to bring vexations upon them. They were preſently viſited by a meſſenger from the court, who having ſearched their lodging, carried away with him a large baſket, and a leathern purſe, wherein they kept their linen, books, ſeveral writings, ſome inſtruments of mortification beads, and medals. The moſt credulous papiſt can ſcarce be ſuppoſed ſtupid enough to believe, that this King was more pleaſed to ſee ſuch trumpery, than pearls and diamonds, which he expected: yet the Jeſuit, true to the cauſe of lying and impoſture, has the front to affirm that the Prince declared ſo much.

Deſideri had already begun to learn the language, in hopes of fixing his abode in this country, when he came to learn, that there was a third Tibet. After ſeveral deliberations, it was reſolved, contrary to his inclination, to go and make the diſcovery. This is a journey of about ſix or ſeven months, through deſart and uninhabited places.

* An account of them, from this author, is given Green, vol. iv. p. 454. † They approved of things which they uſed themſelves in worſhip. ‡ How could he know this, who was ignorant of their language, as he confeſſes in the ſame breath? § Lettr. Edif. p. 194, et ſeq.

This

This third Tibet, alſo, is more expoſed to the incurſions of the Tartars, who border on it, than the other two.

They departed from Ladak the ſeventeenth of Auguſt 1715; and arrived at Laſſa, the eighteenth of March 1716. They ſuffered greatly in the way, travelling through the midſt of ſnow, ice, and exceſſive cold, which reigns in thoſe mountains. Soon after their arrival, they were cited to appear before certain tribunals, about a troubleſome affair *. As they paſſed by the palace, the King, who was in a balcony with one of his miniſters, aſked who they were. That lord, who was a perſon of great probity, and knew their caſe, took that occaſion to apprize His Majeſty of the injuſtice which was done them. Hereupon the King ſent for Deſideri immediately, and gave orders, that they ſhould give over vexing them.

Some days after paying a viſit to the ſame miniſter, he aſked our Jeſuit, why he had not been yet introduced to the King? His anſwer was, that he had nothing fit to make a preſent of to ſo great a monarch. This excuſe not ſerving, he was obliged to repair to the palace; where in the hall he found above an hundred perſons of diſtinction, who demanded audience. Preſently two officers came, and having taken a liſt of their names, carried it to the King, who immediately ordered Deſideri to enter along with a Great Lama. The Lama's preſent was conſiderable; the Jeſuit's but trifling: yet the Prince cauſed his to be brought from the door, where the other was left (according to cuſtom) and to ſhew how well ſatisfied he was with it, kept it near him, which is a ſingular mark of diſtinction at this court. Then ordering the miſſioner to ſit oppoſite to him, and very near his perſon, talked to him for near two hours, without ſpeaking a word to any other preſent. But Deſideri had no opportunity all the while to put in a ſyllable, in behalf of either his religion, or miſſion thither. In ſhort, the King, after ſpeaking in his commendation, diſmiſſed him.

This Prince is a Tartar, who ſome years before conquered Tibet, which is not far from China: for they reckon but four months journey from hence to Pe-king, whither an ambaſſador, who lately arrived from that court, was returned †.

SECTION III. — AN ACCOUNT ON THE COMMENCEMENT, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE CAPUCHIN MISSION IN TIBET, AND TWO OTHER NEIGHBOURING KINGDOMS, IN THE YEAR 1741. — BY FRIAR HORACE DELLA PENNA, PREFECT OF THE MISSION.

Miſſioners ſet out: — Reception by the King, and Grand Lama: — Allowed to preach. — The King's Paſſport: — His Letter to Horace. — Grand Lama's Letter: — The prime Miniſter's. — Supply of Miſſioners. — The King's Edict, recommending Popery as the true Law. — The King's Stedfaſtneſs. — The Lama's Licence. — Some Converſions made. — King of Bargao, his Licence to preach. — King of Battia infatuated: Letter to the Pope, who ſends Miſſioners, and applies to the Public. — Objections: The firſt: — The ſecond: — The third: — The fourth. — Similar Hierarchies. — Female Polygamy. — The fifth.

THIS relation, which was publiſhed at Rome in 1742 ‡; was not written in the form it appears, by Friar Horace, but dreſſed up by the procurator general, or the

* Why is the cauſe concealed? † Lettr. Edif. p. 202, et ſeq. ‡ Under the title of "Relazione del Principio e Stato preſente delle Miſſione del vaſto Regno del Tibet, ed altri due Regni Confinanti, raccommandata alla Vigilanza e zelo de Padri Cappucini, della Provincea della Marca nello Stato della Chieſa. In Roma, nella Stamperia di Antonio de Roſſ. 1742. Con licenza de Superiori." It is in ſmall quarto, and contains twelve pages. The tranſlation is inſerted in the fourteenth tome of the Nouvell Bibliotheque, ou Hiſtoire Literaire; with judicious remarks by the journaliſt.

Congregation

Congregation *de propaganda*, from the account he gave them by word of mouth or writing, of the ſtate of Tibet, and ſucceſs of his miſſion. As on one hand Horace ſeems to have impoſed on them, in many things; ſo on the other, there is no doubt but they in their turn, have impoſed on thoſe for whom the memoir was deſigned, namely, perſons of figure and wealth, who were beſt able to give aſſiſtance to this new miſſion. They judged, that the ſureſt way to obtain their ends, was to repreſent Tibet in great meaſure already converted, and that nothing was wanting to complete the work ſo ſucceſsfully begun, but a ſufficient number of miſſioners. It it thus only that the glaring improbabilities which appear in this tract can be accounted for, which we have taken notice of elſewhere: and as we have likewiſe inſerted already from thence the little which it affords concerning the country and inhabitants of Tibet *, we ſhall confine our abſtract chiefly to matters concerning the miſſion, and other occurrences.

Clement XI. conſidering that the inhabitants of Tibet (little known to the moderns) where St. Thomas preached the goſpel †, were at preſent all Pagans, reſolved in the laſt year of his popedom, to ſend thither twelve Capuchins of the province della Marca, in the eſtates of the church, under Francis Horace della Penna, as prefect; with orders to enquire into the ſtate of that kingdom, and ſee how a miſſion might be introduced for preaching the faith, and converting the natives. After a tedious and fatiguing journey, the miſſioners at length arrived at the capital, taking the road from the Great Mogol's empire through the kingdoms of Battia and Batgao; but for want of a regular correſpondence, ſeveral years paſſed, without hearing any thing from them. Mean time nine of the twelve died, and the prefect returning to Rome, gave an account, that the other three were rendered unfit for ſervice, either through age, or the hardſhips they had ſuffered. He ſaid he was ſent by the King of Tibet, to ſolicit for more miſſioners, and to ſettle a method of correſponding by letters, as well as receiving yearly the ſupplies neceſſary for the ſupport of the miſſion.

Horace and his companions having been preſented to the King, and a Great Lama, they were received with a benevolence natural to thoſe people: and His Majeſty having heard the reaſon of their coming into his dominions, ordered the prefect to deliver him, in writing, an account of the law which he propoſed to preach. The Lama did the ſame, and Horace having obeyed their commands, waited on the King ſome days after, to know his opinion of the doctrines contained in the memoir. "Lama," ſays he, "know that the law profeſſed by me and my ſubjects has always appeared good to me, as having been bred in it: but, I confeſs, yours ſeems better." The Capuchin, on ſo good encouragement, made a bold puſh, and deſired His Majeſty not only to embrace a religion which he approved of, but to oblige his whole kingdom to do the ſame. The King (who, doubtleſs, did not expect ſo haſty a ſummons) anſwered, that it was not time for that yet; bidding him and his companions, in the mean while, to learn the language, and teach their law.

Horace, after this, went to the Lama, to know what he thought of the matter. But the Pontiff, it ſeems, more reſerved than the King, gave him his objections in writing ‡, and deſired his ſolution. The Friar went to work without delay, and having drawn up an anſwer, carried it to the Lama; who only ſaid, he would examine it, and then talk to him about the ſame. However, as he obſerved their humility and diſintereſtedneſs (which, by the way, Friars know well how to counterfeit on occaſion) he ſhewed an extraordinary love and kindneſs to them §. He likewiſe recommended to them the

* See Green, vol iv. p. 458, et ſeq. † This account of the origin of the miſſion is taken from the memoir itſelf. ‡ To have given the reader a right idea of this remarkable affair, the Friar's ſyſtem of doctrines, and the Lama's objections, ought to have been ſet forth in the memoir. § Nouv. Bibl. tom. xiv. p. 48, et ſeq.

learning of the language; which, that they might do the more effectually, the King put them into the hands of a Lama monk, much eſteemed at court. He likewiſe gave them permiſſion, confirmed by edict, to build a church and houſe, forbidding any perſon to moleſt them, and ordering his miniſters to protect them, and require no tribute of them. Theſe favours from the heads both of the ſtate and church, procured them the reſpect of all the great men in the capital *.

This region is ſo vaſt, that the inhabitants amount to no fewer than thirty-three millions. They are very tractable, and of an amiable diſpoſition. Although they are all Gentiles, yet they have, and confeſs, both in the names and forms, many things which the Romaniſts retain, and profeſs in their religion †.

Horace being ready to return to Europe, to execute the King's commands before-mentioned, received from him the following paſſport: "From Laſſa, the place of excellence and reſidence of the King, be it known to all our ſubjects, miniſters, great and ſmall, who dwell on the road to the kingdom of Niverri, weſtward, That the European Lama having come to Laſſa, capital of the rich kingdom of Tibet, to aid and do good to all people; and being to return to the ſaid kingdom of Niverri, no tax-gatherer is to demand any duty of him. We order, that nobody do him any injury; but that all aſſiſt him in his paſſage. From our palace of Khaden Khagn San, this year Chilvimo Khagn, that is, 'of the Region of the Water,' the 23d of the moon," which anſwers to the 7th of Auguſt 1732.

He had orders, when he had got to Nepal ‡, capital of the kingdom of Batgao, to write to the King, and firſt miniſter of ſtate, to let them know how he did. This he performed, and received anſwers both from them and the Grand Lama. That of the King runs as follows: "We have a great pleaſure that you, European Lama, by the grace of God, are in good health, and that your body is like to the fineſt gold, and as the increaſing of the moon till it comes to be full. We have received your letter with the cryſtals, which are extremely agreeable to us. Return quickly with other Fathers; and continue writing to me without interruption, as runs the Ganges §. Written from Laſſa, the good day the 23d of the ſeventh month." This anſwers to the 3d of Auguſt 1733.

The Grand Lama's letter is in theſe terms: "It gave me no ſmall pleaſure and conſolation to find by your letter, that you are very well ‖. And ſince you have always the bowels of a father for your dear friend, I muſt believe that your life will always be very happy. All your diſcourſes are printed in my heart. This letter is wrapped in a piece of yellow brocade, called torcheſalam ¶. Given the good day, 1ſt of the ſixth month, in the year of the Water Ox," that is, the 23d of July 1733.

The letter of the prime miniſter begins in a kind of religious rant. "Triumph over all infidels, and be you holy! I am rejoiced to hear that you are very well, and that the branches of your heart are extended to gather the fruits of your excellent law." One may conceive from theſe letters, adds the memoir, the great eſteem which the King, the Grand Lama, and the prime miniſter had of our holy evangelic law **.

* Nouv. Bibl. tom. xiv. p. 48, et ſeq. † An account of theſe articles has been already given. ‡ Or, Napak. Perhaps the Nupal of Tavernier. See Green, vol. iv. p. 458, a. § It is not likely, that the King ſhould mention the Ganges (which is not in his dominions of Laſſa, but thoſe of Ladak, or the ſecond Tibet,) when the Tſan-pu, which runs near Laſſa, is in more eſteem. ‖ It is not probable, that the King ſhould write to this friar: it is much leſs ſo, that the Great Lama ſhould ſtoop to ſend him a letter, eſpecially conceived in ſuch terms, as amount to acknowledging him as his ſuperior. ¶ Is it likely the Great Lama would mention ſuch an impertinent circumſtance? ** Thoſe who conſider theſe letters, can only conceive that they were forged, to make the Popiſh dupes believe their religion was in high eſteem with ſuch as were chief in power.

Upon this report made to His Sanctity, and the holy congregation, they appointed for the miſſion nine other Capuchins, aſſigning to each eighty Roman crowns for his voyage, and as much for his annual maintenance, giving them a year's ſalary beforehand. They ſet out in 1738, with a preſent for the King, and another for the Great Lama; beſides two briefs, one for each. In the year 1742, a letter came from Friar Horace, ſetting forth, that they had arrived at Laſſa the year before: that the preſents of the Pope, called by them the Grand Lama, had been received with great ſatisfaction; and that the King, as well as the Great Pontiff, were preparing preſents for his Holineſs, and to anſwer his briefs; which were to be ſent the year following by one of the Capuchins, whoſe age had rendered him uſeleſs to the miſſion *.

There came with the ſaid letter the original privilege for liberty of conſcience, granted by the King, and publiſhed throughout his dominions. It is conceived in theſe terms:

"We, Nivagn, King of Tibet, give warning to all men under the ſun, and in particular to the miniſters of the reſidence of the Supreme Lama, to the miniſters of Lhaſa, to the chiefs of a thouſand, of an hundred, and of ten men: to the chiefs of the Tartars, and all both great and ſmall: to the miniſters named Hemor, Gnalep, and Chirinjis, and to all the governors of fortreſſes and provinces, and to all the governors of ſeveral caſtles, and to the ſubordinate governors; and to the nobles of all Tibet; to the privileged perſons, and all others, powerful or not powerful; that none of you have the preſumption to hinder the execution of the preſent privilege in favour of all theſe European Fathers of the religion, called that of the Capuchins, or true Lamas Gokhar, provided that none others interfere who come for ſake of their private intereſt; theſe being arrived not to trade, but only with a view to do good to all men; to recommend the works of true ſaints; to conduct all men in the true road to paradiſe; to teach ſubjects to be very ſubmiſſive, and to obey, with a ſincere heart, their proper Kings †, their viceroys, and their miniſters; and to extend the law of the true God, that is to ſay, the evangelical law.

"The Sovereign Pontiff, or Grand and Supreme Lama of all theſe Fathers, who, as a tender father, extends his compaſſion and love to all men, to draw them out of the road to hell, and render them partakers of an eternal and immenſe glory, as well as felicity, in the abode of paradiſe; without regarding the incredible expence, ſends into all kingdoms, as far as in his power, preachers of the true law: and it is for the ſame end, and not for other motives ‡, that he has ſent ſome again into our kingdom. It is for this reaſon that we give for ever our ſeal to all thoſe who are called European Fathers, or, properly, Lamas Gokhar §; and to all thoſe who ſhall come after them, liberty to preach, and extend the law of the true God, freely, openly, and publicly; not only in the city of Lhaſa, but alſo throughout the kingdom of Tibet, in all places, and to all perſons, as well religious as ſecular.

"To you all, univerſally, as before recited, more powerful, or leſs powerful, and in particular to the Chineſe, to the Tartars Hor ||, and to all others, whether religious or ſecular, we command, that no perſon attempt to hinder thoſe whoſe hearts are enlightened with the light of the true God, to embrace the true law, and who voluntarily deſire to embrace the true law, or have embraced it already. All you, as above,

* Nouv. Bibl. tom. xiv. p. 57, et ſeq. † His Majeſty ſhould have ſaid, their Catholic Kings. ‡ To be ſure he knew the Pope's heart better than he did himſelf; nor ever heard that theſe European Lamas had been expelled China eighteen years before, for contrary ſuſpicions. § How comes it this uncouth term, though often inſerted, is not explained? || Theſe are a ſort of Tartars, never heard of in Europe before.

do not dare to hinder them from learning it; and when they have embraced it, let none obſtruct them, or forbid them to obſerve freely, openly, and publicly, this true law. Be it known likewiſe to you, that all who ſhall embrace and keep this true law, ſhall be reputed by us more faithful ſubjects than thoſe who retain the firſt *; and that with reſpect to the preachers of the true law, or apoſtolic miſſioners, we ſhall guard and defend them, taking them under our ſpecial protection: neither do any thing, be it ever ſo trivial, that may give them the leaſt cauſe of uneaſineſs; but live in peace with them. All you, who are concerned as aforeſaid, print theſe letters. Given at Kadeno Khagſer [before, Khadon Khagan Sun,] the reſidence of the triumpher on all ſides, in the year of the Iron Bird, the 30th of the ſeventh month:" that is, the 9th of September 1741.

During the eight years that Horace was abſent from Tibet, the King's affection for the Romiſh religion (which the memoir always takes care to compliment with the name of holy) increaſed, it ſeems, inſtead of diminiſhing: in proof of this, part of a letter is inſerted, which we are told was written from the King, by his ſecretary of ſtate, to Horace whilſt in Italy; intimating, that "he gave belief to his own religion, only becauſe he was bred in it †; whereas he believed in that of the Capuchins, and held it in great devotion." This he bid him repreſent to his Grand Lama. But he aſſigns no reaſon why he believed in it; nor is the date of the letter, or of its arrival, mentioned ‡.

We are told next, that the expoſition of doctrines, given by Friar Horace to the Grand Lama, had made the ſame impreſſion on that Pontiff as on the King; as appears from his privilege, which, in ſubſtance as follows, is the ſame with the royal.

"We univerſally command all men under the ſun, particularly all the miniſters of our reſidence, the miniſters of Lhaſa, that all theſe European Fathers of the religion called that of the Capuchins, or Lamas Gokhar, in the kingdom of Tibet, not being mixed with the other, who come for ſake of intereſt, or only to trade; we command, we ſay, that wherever they go or ſtay, every one of you may aſſiſt them, and do them good offices. And that throughout the whole extent of the kingdom they may carry on, in peace, the work which they have been ſent to execute §. Written and given in our great palace of Putala, the year of the Bird of Iron, and twenty-eighth of the autumn of the ſtar called Thrumaho;" that is, the 7th of October 1741.

Our Friar likewiſe ſpeaks of ſome converſions which he had made, and of certain perſons whom he had baptized. He obſerves, that the Capuchins he carried with him, having had time to make a great progreſs in the language, which he taught them during the voyage, he hoped they would ſoon be able to preach the goſpel, which the people of Tibet were very well diſpoſed to embrace: ſo that by the protection of the King, the Great Lama, the prime miniſter, and the whole court, he did not doubt

* Meaning the eſtabliſhed religion of Tibet. Was ever ſuch impudent forgery? Would any ſovereign thus incenſe his ſubjects, by ſtigmatizing them openly as rebels? Does the religion of Tibet aſſert the independency of the church on the ſtate more than the Romiſh? But the devil knows how to hide his cloven foot till he has gained his point. † It is ſtrange this ſhould not be as ſtrong a motive in Tibet, as it is in Europe; or that the people there ſhould ſo eaſily get over the prejudices of education, which in theſe parts of the world are found ſo difficult to conquer. Does not this ſhew how egregiouſly miſtaken and conceited we are, in fancying ourſelves endowed with more reaſon and good ſenſe than any of the Aſiatics? ‡ Nouv. Bibl. p. 64, et ſeq. § Here the Lama is ſuppoſed to give the Capuchin licence to overturn the eſtabliſhed religion, and dethrone himſelf, in favour of the religion of the Capuchins, which new term ſeems to be coined to diſtinguiſh the religion taught by them from that of the Jeſuits. Such is the rancour that reigns among theſe deteſtable orders of friars.

quickly to ſee the capital city entirely converted; eſpecially conſidering how well the doctrine had been received by great numbers both of the clergy and laity.

But, he adds, that, conſidering the great extent of the kingdom, and many millions of inhabitants, it would require a great number of miſſioners, diſperſed through the provinces, to carry on and complete the work ſo ſucceſsfully begun. On the other hand, the memoir declares, that the Apoſtolic Chamber was ſo poor, and much in debt, that, far from ſupporting new miſſions, it was not in a condition to maintain thoſe already eſtabliſhed, the number of miſſioners requiſite for the purpoſe was ſo great. This inability in the Apoſtolic Chamber happened to be the more unlucky, in regard the Kings of other dominions bordering on Tibet required miſſioners: for the Capuchin de Recanati, ſuperior of the miſſion, ſent to the kingdom of Batgao in 1735, being with two of his companions at Nepal, the capital; the King, it ſeems, was ſo enamoured with their doctrine, that he aſſigned them a large palace, confiſcated from one of the grandees, for their habitation; and granted them liberty of conſcience, by the following public edict, ſent by the ſaid ſuperior to the procurator-general of his order.

"We Zaervanejitta Malla, King of Batgao, reſiding in Nepal, grant, by virtue of theſe preſents, to all the European Fathers, liberty to preach, teach, and gain over to their religion, the people under our dominion; and in like manner permit our ſubjects to embrace the law of the European Fathers, without fear of being moleſted either by us, or thoſe who bear authority in our realm. However, theſe converſions ought to be perfectly voluntary, and not procured by force. Thus it is. Kaſinat, the Doctor, was the writer: Griſnanfarangh, the Governor-general, confirms it: Biſoraja, the Great Prieſt *, confirms and approves it. Given at Nepal, in the year 861, in the month of the Margſies. Good day. Health.

"I, Friar Vito de Recanati, Capuchin Miſſioner, teſtify that this is a true copy of the original. †."

The ſame Capuchin, with his companions, paſſing afterwards into the kingdom of Battia, bordering on the Mogol's empire; the King being informed, that they preached a law which it was neceſſary to embrace and follow, in order to be ſaved, ſent one of his miniſters for them, to the place where they then were, reſolving to hear himſelf what they had to ſay on that ſubject. Accordingly they explained their law, and pointed out the errors of that obſerved in the country. All this they made him eaſily apprehend, by means of a written inſtruction; which pleaſed to ſuch a degree, it ſeems, that he commanded them to remain with him, becauſe, forſooth, their religion being all charity ‡, he would needs have them preach it in his kingdom §. Recanati anſwered, that being deſtined by the Pope to the miſſion of Batgao at Nepal, he could not comply with his requeſt. The King replied, that he would write himſelf to the Pope, to obtain his permiſſion for them; not doubting but he would both grant it, and ſend him other miſſioners.

The Capuchin hereupon ſubmitted, and received the letter written by the King to His Sanctity, in theſe terms: "I am in good health, and wiſh the ſame to you. Some-

* Theſe Pagan High Prieſts, or Popes, contrary to what is found in Europe, are more tractable and honeſt than the inferior prieſts. † Nobody doubts but the Friar would have ſworn to the truth of a greater falſehood, to ſerve his religion or intereſt: for friars are the ſame now as in the time of the Tartars, and before. ‡ O wicked deceivers! Spawn of Satan! Well ye know, that it is the moſt uncharitable, cruel, and deſtructive religion, both to the ſouls and bodies of men, this day on earth. § As if there was little or no charity among his people: though the miſſioners, both Proteſtant and Papiſt, repreſent the Indian charity and humanity every where, as infinitely ſurpaſſing what is to be found among the greater part of the Chriſtian ſects. [Theſe ſtrange notes of Green are given for the reader's amuſement.]

time ago I was informed, that the miſſionary Fathers have been ſent to do good to mankind. Out of a deſire to have it explained to me, I ſent for them into my preſence; and being ſatisfied that their miniſtry is entirely charity, I ordered them to ſtay in my kingdom: but, as they tell me they cannot obey me without the Sovereign Pontiff's permiſſion, I entreat this Lord, the Sovereign Pontiff, to command ſome Fathers to remain in my realm, which I ſhall conſider as the higheſt favour. Given at Battia in the year 184, and month of the Buſadabi. Signed the King." Thus it is. "I Friar de Recanati, Capuchin miſſioner, atteſt that this is the true ſenſe of the original."

The ſame miſſioner, we are told, ſent this letter, with the King of Batgao's privilege, to the procurator-general; who received it the beginning of this year *, before the letters of Horace, from Tibet, reached his hands. The Pope having received theſe packets from the procurator, ſent them to the Congregation *de la Propaganda*. Theſe being in debt, and in no condition to bear this new expence, repreſented the caſe to His Holineſs; who, notwithſtanding the poverty of the Apoſtolic Chamber, gave orders for ſending over ſome regulars, at his own expence, though not ſo many as were requiſite. He wrote alſo to the King of Battia a very fine brief, it ſeems, to acquaint him, that he condeſcended to his requeſt, and returned him thanks; at the ſame time exhorting him to be the firſt who ſhould ſet his vaſſals the example of embracing the Romiſh religon. He wrote another likewiſe to the King of Batgao, to thank him for the privilege before recited, and make him the ſame exhortation †.

This is the ſtate of the miſſion in Tibet, Batgao, and Battia. But as it was not poſſible to ſupport it, without greater expences than the Pope and congregation aforeſaid, were able to ſupply, therefore the procurator-general of the Capuchins publiſhed the preceding account, not only to let all good Catholics ſee what a hopeful proſpect there was of propagating their religion in thoſe foreign countries, but alſo to excite grandees and pious ſouls to contribute their caſh to promote ſo glorious a deſign.

Thus ends the relation whereon the journaliſt has made ſeveral pertinent remarks, which we ſhall briefly touch on. Firſt, he aſks, ſince theſe three Kings required miſſioners of their own accord, why ſhould it be at the expence of thoſe they apply to? Were they leſs inclined to maintain the prieſts of a religion they liked, than thoſe of a religion they were out of conceit with? Secondly, that as the capital of Tibet had been almoſt entirely converted in 1741, he cannot conceive how Friar Horace ſhould ſpeak of only ſome converſions ſince that time, and a few perſons baptiſed. He wonders alſo, ſince Lhaſa was almoſt converted, that he ſays nothing of the Chriſtianity of Putala, which is ſo near it; eſpecially as he had the Great Lama's licence to make proſelytes ‡. Thirdly, that the facility with which the Grand Lama appears to favour the new religion is beyond all imagination; eſpecially as they pretend to have acquainted him, that there was in Europe a Sovereign Pontiff, or Dalay Lama, who exerciſed the ſame authority over the Chriſtians, as he of Tibet did over that kingdom, and all Tartary. This, ſays the journaliſt, expoſed a claſhing of intereſts, titles, and juriſdictions, which ought to have incenſed the Lama of Putala againſt him of Rome. Inſtead of that, after receiving anſwers to his objections (neither of which are laid before the reader,) he becomes as tractable as the King himſelf. What makes this ſurrender of power and intereſt the more incredible, is the Grand Lama's laying claim to the divine attributes,

* That is, 1742, when the relation or memoir was printed. † Nouv. Bibl. p. 70, et ſeq.

‡ It looks as if the Grand Lama was more ready to own himſelf an impoſtor, than the inferior were willing to loſe the benefit of the impoſture.

no

no leſs than Chriſt himſelf *. Is it poſſible, that a perſon who enjoys the honours of a god, is accuſtomed to the ſame adorations, and conſiders himſelf vaſtly ſuperior to all mortals, ſhould ſo eaſily give up all his rights, and acknowledge for his ſuperior a man he knows nothing of, reſiding in a diſtant corner of the earth †?

Fourthly, as the miſſioners pretend they found the people of Tibet ſo ready to embrace the evangelic law, doubtleſs, the reader would be glad to know, what were the doctrines they preached: but they neither tell us whether thoſe delivered in ſcripture, or Pope Pius IVth's creed, or, ſimply, the inſtitutes of their order, are what they call the Religion of the Capuchins. They do not mention a word of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby one might judge it was him they preached. There are only two things then mentioned in the relation which could induce the Tibetians ſo eaſily to conform. The firſt is the outward agreement, in the form of eccleſiaſtical government ‡. But this, inſtead of forwarding their converſion, ought to be one of the greateſt obſtacles: for where there is ſuch a great ſimilitude, it muſt be the moſt difficult thing imaginable to convince the people, that there can be any reaſon for a change §; beſides twenty to one the Pagan Lamas would find they ſhould be loſers by becoming Chriſtian Lamas. In ſhort, there needs no more to ſet the Lamas of Tibet againſt the religion of the Capuchins, than obliging them to learn the Latin for their offices. This ſingle innovation would make the greater part of them revolt.

The other thing which might facilitate the converſion of the Tibetians is, that the married men can, by their law, have but one wife. This is a very favourable article, plurality of wives being, according to the miſſioners, the great obſtacle to the converſion of other nations: but there is a circumſtance mentioned by Du Halde, though not taken notice of by Friar Horace, or thoſe who drew up the memoir, which knocks all in the head again; namely, that although the huſbands in that country have but one wife, yet the women have ſeveral huſbands ‖. If this be the caſe, woe be to the miſſioners who ſhall attempt to deprive them of ſo important a privilege. If the men accuſtomed to a plurality of wives, riſe up in arms every where againſt the Chriſtian religion, which would reduce them to one, what oppoſition muſt it meet with from the women, long uſed to half a dozen huſbands at a time? Doubtleſs, they would fly upon the miſſioners tooth and nail in defence of their rights.

Fifthly, the privilege granted by the King and Grand Lama, for liberty of conſcience and preaching is not, perhaps, a thing ſo rare, or of ſuch great conſequence as may be imagined, or the memoir would repreſent it: for Kempfer affirms, that in moſt of the ſtates of Aſia, as well as Japan, liberty of conſcience is readily granted ¶, ſo that it be not inconſiſtent with the temporal government, or prejudicial to the public peace. But what is ſingular in the privileges granted by the two powers ruling in Tibet, is, that they exclude the miſſioners who mix themſelves with others, who come for private intereſt, and motives of commerce. It would require no great ſkill in conjuring, ſays the journaliſt, to gueſs at thoſe others, who are to be excluded by the edict **: but who told the King and Lama, adds the ſame author, that there are miſſioners of ſuch a mercenary order ††? Why, who ſhould, but their good friends the Capuchins?

* The Journaliſt ſays, than the Pope of Rome. But the Popes do not aſſume the name of God in an abſolute ſenſe, as the Grand Lama does. † Nouv. Bibl. p. 81, et ſeq. ‡ See Green, vol. iv. p. 459, a. § Ibid. p. 212, note f. ‖ Ibid. p 457, d. ¶ But not, we preſume, in ſo extenſive a degree, giving leave to any who will, to embrace the new doctrine, and forbidding any to hinder them, &c. ** He means, doubtleſs, the Jeſuits. †† Nouv. Bibl. p. 90, et ſeq.

CARON'S ACCOUNT OF JAPAN.

[Tranſlated from the Dutch.]

Extract from Hagenaar's Voyage to and in the Eaſt Indies, from 1631 *to* 1638 *; with* CARON's *Account of Japan* *.

IN 1634 Hagenaar was ſent by the Governor-general of Batavia, Brouvar, with the yachts Grol and Zeeburg, to Tayovan in Formoſa, where he arrived in the middle of Auguſt. A violent tempeſt drove him ſoon after from the road. After being toſſed about a conſiderable time, he caſt anchor in the bay of Firando in Japan. There is a good roadſted in the entrance for barks and Japaneſe veſſels, but it is not very fit for the Company's ſhips.

Formerly there were two hamlets cloſe to each other, near the road, which made together a tolerable village; they now are united, and form a conſiderable town. The houſes are ſmall, and conſtructed of thin deals rabbited together.

There are hardly any merchants here, but thoſe who reſide at the lodge, which is very large, and built of wood. It conſiſts of four large rooms, five bed-rooms, baths, ſtoves, kitchens, and other conveniences. It is, however, an old and ruinous building, ſo much ſo, that the merchandiſe in it may not be conſidered as very ſafe. To have it properly ſecured againſt thieves, fire, or other contingencies, a ſtone houſe ought to be erected.

The lodge attracts many people to this place to trade with the Dutch. Without this, the place would be what it formerly was, a village of fiſhermen. The increaſe of revenue to the Lord of Firando is proportionate to the increaſe of buildings; and there are now thirty-ſix ſtreets in the place.

Hagenaar then ſailed to the bay of Courchie, in the ſame neighbourhood, where he found ſome other Dutch ſhips. The preſident of the factory, Koakebakker, came on board his ſhip, accompanied by ſome Japaneſe chieftains, in order to muſter the crew according to cuſtom. The next day he went higher up the bay of Firando, and diſcharged his cargo.

About this time thirty-ſeven perſons loſt their lives at Firando, on account of their being either profeſſed Chriſtians, or born of Chriſtian parents. Some were hung up by the feet; others were beheaded, and cut to pieces; and again, others were tied to ſtakes and burnt.

On the 1ſt of November, Hagenaar ſailed to Nangaſakki with the Company's bark, taking with him 36,000 taels, each worth three gilders, to exchange for ſilver in bars. Here he ſaw a venerable old man, Melchior van Santvoort, who had reſided there thirty years, having belonged to the fleet of Mahu, one of whoſe ſhips had been loſt here. After a ſtay of nine days, Hagenaar returned to Firando.

Nangaſakki has a capacious bay, and a good road. The city ſtands cloſe to the ſea, at the end of a valley. It is interſected by ſeveral canals, over which there are a number of wooden bridges, which are moſtly covered. The houſes are large, and in general built of wood. There are many ſtreets, moſt of them unpaved, and, in rainy weather, ſcarcely paſſable. At night they are ſhut by booms. The place has neither walls nor ditches, but is very populous, and abundant in proviſions.

* This is chiefly followed in the "Japonia" of Varenius.

About

About this time the yacht Venlo was laden with timber, rice, and forty boxes, each containing about 3000 gilders in ſilver, bound for Taiovau; the Wepen van Delft was ſent with ſpecie and the requiſite articles of merchandiſe to China; and the Grol (Hagenaar's veſſel,) with a flute-ſhip, ſailed direct for Batavia.

IN Auguſt 1635, Hagenaar arrived at Firando, for a ſecond time, coming laſt from the Piſcadores, whence he brought a rich cargo. Diſputes having ariſen, about this time, between the Japaneſe and the Dutch, on matters of trade, it was deemed expedient to ſend an envoy to the Emperor at Jedo, in which city he had his reſidence. Hagenaar was appointed to this office, and ſet off on his journey about the middle of December.

Directly after his arrival, which was in the beginning of the year 1636, he apprized the Lord of Firando thereof, and ſolicited an audience. He made a public entry into Jedo; on which occaſion the concourſe of people was ſo great, that they could ſcarcely move forward. They took up their abode in the houſe of a bonze, or Japaneſe prieſt, which was the uſual place of reſort of the Dutch who came to Jedo. It was not till the next day that he obtained an audience from the Lord of Firando. The preſents were at firſt refuſed, but afterwards accepted. The Dutch were obliged to have a petition drawn up, couched in the moſt reſpectful terms, ſtating the object of their embaſſy, by the private ſecretary of the Lord of Firando; and nearly a month elapſed in various procraſtinated ceremonies and negotiations, before a meſſage was ſent to them from one of the chief miniſters of the Emperor, ſaying that no opportunity had yet occurred of laying their petition before the Emperor; that it was not likely that their buſineſs could be done before the ſandats, that is, the Japaneſe new year; and that he, therefore, adviſed the Dutch to ſet out on their return.

Hagenaar, upon this, took his departure from Jedo, leaving behind him, however, ſome of the Company's ſervants, amongſt whom was the ſenior merchant Frans Caron. Having reached the large city of Meaco in eight days, Hagenaar, who had been wounded by his Japaneſe ſervant, in a fit of drunkenneſs, was obliged to take his paſſage by water to Hoſucka, where he arrived the next day. As he had to wait here for the Company's bark, he took a palanquin to view the city. He ſaw here eight magnificent pagodas, adorned with gilt ſtatues; alſo the famous caſtle, which is ſtrongly fortified according to the Japaneſe mode, being ſurrounded by handſome ſtone walls, and deep ditches. The bark ſoon made its appearance, and Hagenaar returned to Firando.

In the beginning of June, our people ſaw the laſt Japaneſe veſſels come in from their whale-fiſhery. This fiſhery commences in December, and continues till May or June. In this period they had taken two hundred and ſeventy-four fiſh of various ſizes. They are all caught near the ſhore.

About this time Caron came back from Jedo, where he had had an audience of the Emperor, who was very well pleaſed with the preſents offered by the Dutch; and gave them in return two hundred pieces of ſilver, worth about two thouſand five hundred gilders. The Lord of Firando gave the chief of the Dutch factory leave to build a ſhip, and man her with Japaneſe; and in other points the affairs of the Company ſeemed to go on very well.

In the beginning of Auguſt, Hagenaar ſailed for the iſland of Tabour. A Japaneſe, who was accuſed of theft, proved his innocence by the following method: he held in his hand a piece of very thin Chineſe paper, upon which were painted three monſtrous images,

images, folded together. Upon this a large piece of red hot iron was put; the paper inſtantly caught fire and was conſumed, but the iron did not appear to have done the leaſt injury to the man's hand. This was conſidered as a mark of his innocence, and he was acquitted in conſequence.

Hagenaar then returned to Firando, where, ſoon after, it was determined in council to ſend the merchant Van Santen to compliment the Emperor, and tranſmit ſome preſents to him. At the ſame time, the information given by the junior merchant Verſtegen relative to the exiſtence of an iſland very productive of gold, in the latitude of thirty-ſeven degrees north, about four hundred leagues to the eaſtward, was taken into conſideration; but it was determined not to make any attempt at that time to diſcover it; partly for want of veſſels, and partly, becauſe the ſeaſon was gone by for ſending ſuch as could have been diſpatched from Japan: beſides, the matter was looked upon in a very dubious light, as the Caſtilians were in the habit of traverſing thoſe ſeas every year. The enterpriſe was therefore deferred till a more convenient time.

On the 18th of October the Japaneſe celebrated a feſtival in honour of archery. At the end of a wide ſtreet, in which the principal magiſtrates reſided, a target was erected. Three Japaneſe appeared on horſeback, armed with bows and arrows, and otherwiſe equipped as for war. They put their horſes upon a full gallop, and, upon approaching the target, they ſhot their arrows at their higheſt ſpeed, about ten feet off. When the centre was hit, loud acclamations were heard. Each horſeman ſhot three times.

Hagenaar now received orders from Batavia, to proceed thither by way of Taiovan; and ſailed accordingly in the beginning of November.

THE accounts given by Frans Caron, mentioned in the following narrative, interſperſed with additional obſervations by Hendrik Hagenaar, which latter are diſtinguiſhed by inverted commas, reſpecting the intereſting empire of Japan, are ſeparated from the narrative part, and here ſubjoined.

Japan, called Nippon by the inhabitants, is ſuppoſed to be an iſland, or an aſſemblage of iſlands, together conſtituting an empire. This is, however, not quite certain. The Japaneſe are themſelves ignorant on this ſubject. By the moſt particular inquiries made by Caron it appears that, from the province of Quanto, whence the Emperor derives the largeſt portion of his revenue, and in which is ſituated his capital city Jedo, it is twenty-ſeven days journey, in a direction north-eaſt-by-eaſt, until the utmoſt point of the province of Tſunga, which borders upon the ocean. Thence an arm of the ſea is paſſed, which is reckoned to be eleven leagues broad; after which you come to the country of Jeſſo, or Seſſo, which produces large quantities of beautiful furs, but which is very deſert, mountainous, and thinly inhabited. It is ſo extenſive that, though the Japaneſe have penetrated very far into it, they have not yet found its termination, and cannot determine its extent. They have often been obliged to give up the further purſuit of diſcovery for want of proviſions. This obſtacle might, however, eaſily be removed; but the accounts given by the emiſſaries ſent thither have not encouraged the Emperor to make further progreſs. According to them, the country is wild; and where there are inhabitants, they are repreſented as being hairy all over the body, with very long hair and beards, more reſembling wild beaſts than human beings. Whether, therefore, any of the iſlands which compoſe the empire of Japan are united to the continent or not, muſt thus remain unaſcertained.

The two large iſlands, called Chikok and Saickok, are governed by Kings and noblemen. The laſt-mentioned, which is the largeſt, includes a ſeparate province called Fiſen, which is ſaid to be the ſmalleſt province of the whole empire. The largeſt iſland, Japan Proper, or Nipon, is cloſe to the two juſt mentioned, and reaches to the country of Jeſſo, whoſe extent, as has before been obſerved, is not exactly known. It is divided into ſeven provinces, namely, Saickok, Chikok, Jamaiſort, Jetſingo, Jetſigen, Quanto, and Ochio. Theſe provinces, together with their cities and fortreſſes, are under the immediate authority of a number of Kings and noblemen, who govern them, and levy the revenues, out of which they tranſmit annually to the Emperor, the amount which has been fixed as their quota upon their appointment.

The revenues are appropriated, in the firſt place, to the maintenance of the Emperor, the King, his ſon, and of the court, in which objects are expended 4,000,000 cockiens, each cockien worth ten Dutch florins; ſecondly, 5,000,000 cockiens are devoted to maintain the guards, who are all noblemen, and receive pay each according to his rank. The whole annual expenditure is 28,345,000 cockiens. The lordſhips, lands, and eſtates which the Emperor diſtributes amongſt his Kings, Princes, and noblemen, generally bring in 19,185,000 cockiens; but whether they produce more or leſs, the amount at which they are rated muſt be brought into the imperial treaſury.

The monarch has the title of Emperor, and is the lord paramount of the ſubordinate Kings, who are all dependent upon him; and he is alſo the abſolute proprietor of all their poſſeſſions. Caron ſaw, during his reſidence in this country, ſeveral inſtances of Kings and noblemen, who, for trifling miſdemeanors, were exiled to different iſlands, and others who were condemned to death; whoſe eſtates, revenues, and treaſures were beſtowed upon others, according to the will of the Emperor.

The imperial city of Jedo is very large. The palace, or caſtle, is ſix miles (in the original an hour and a half) in circumference; and is ſurrounded by three deep moats, and ſtone walls. Theſe moats are connected with each other, and the bridges and gates of communication are ſo numerous and intricate, that it is difficult to form a conception of them.

The ſtreets are very broad; ſome are bordered on both ſides by ſumptuous palaces. The gates are fortified on each ſide with iron bands, or gratings, about an inch in thickneſs, laid croſſwiſe over each other. Over each gate is a large building, capable of containing, in caſe of neceſſity, two or three hundred men.

It is in the interior part of the caſtle that the imperial palace is ſituated, conſiſting of many large apartments, ſurrounded by ſhady groves, which although planted by art, appear to be the productions of nature. There are likewiſe fiſh-ponds, rivulets, open ſpaces, race-grounds, rides, gardens, and a number of ſeparate apartments for the women.

In the ſecond incloſure ſtand the palaces of the Princes of the Blood, and of the principal miniſters. In the third and outer incloſure are the palaces of the principal Kings and nobles of Japan; all gilt and richly adorned. Without are the dwellings and houſes of the inferior nobles, more or leſs ſumptuous, according to their rank. Taken altogether, this aſtoniſhingly large palace appears, within and without, like a golden mountain; for all the nobles, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſpare no expence to ornament their reſidences, in order to give a greater luſtre to the whole, and to pleaſe the Emperor, who takes great delight therein.

Here reſide the married wives and children of the nobles, in order that, being always under the eye of the court, they may ſerve as hoſtages for their fidelity. This exceedingly large palace, which has an extent equal to a great city, is thus at all times filled with

with great men, who never appear in public without a numerous retinue of inferior nobles, pages, horſes, and palankeens. The ſtreets, however broad, are yet too narrow for their pompous proceſſions.

The Emperor ſhews himſelf to his ſubjects, ſometimes on horſeback, and ſometimes in an open ſedan. He is generally accompanied by a number of lords, who are ſtyled His Majeſty's companion-nobles. They are generally ſome of his richeſt and moſt powerful ſubjects, but do not enjoy any other dignity or employment than that of conſtantly attending upon the perſon of the monarch. It is requiſite, however, that every one of them ſhould poſſeſs ſome eminent qualification. Some are muſicians, others phyſicians; ſome ſingers, others beautiful writers; ſome painters, others orators.

Upon them follows the firſt diviſion of the body guard, conſiſting of principal lords, Kings, and Princes, the Emperor's ſons by his concubines, who are on that account excluded from the ſucceſſion to the throne, as alſo his brothers, nephews, and other near relations. Theſe illegitimate Princes are very numerous, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed from the great number of the Emperor's concubines. One of the Emperor's uncles, who is King of Mito, has fifty-four ſons, beſides daughters, whoſe number is not publicly known.

In the third place, follows a part of the ſecond diviſion of the body guard. As this conſiſts of ſeveral thouſand men, the colonel, ſome of the officers, and part of the guard precede the Emperor about the diſtance of a cannon-ſhot; and the reſt follow him at a ſimilar interval.

How uncommonly large ſoever the number be of the ſoldiers kept by this monarch, none are found amongſt them but choſen men, well made, of a courageous appearance, expert in the uſe of arms, and even not ignorant of literature.

The appearance of the Emperor in public thus makes a brilliant diſplay. An aſtoniſhing multitude of people are ſeen, all well made, all dreſſed in black ſilk, ſome on foot, ſome on horſeback, before, aſide of and behind the monarch, altogether marching in ranks in the beſt order, and without any one deviating in the leaſt from his appointed ſtation.

It is at the ſame time in the utmoſt ſilence that the proceſſion proceeds. No one is heard to ſpeak a word. Neither the ſpectators in the ſtreets, nor thoſe who form the proceſſion make the leaſt noiſe. It can only be perceived by the ſound of men's footſteps, and the trampling of horſes.

Some time before the Emperor appears in public, his intention is announced; all the ſtreets through which he is to move are cleanſed and ſtrewn with ſand. The doors of all the houſes are open. No one is allowed to appear at them, or at the windows, or in the ſhops. Every one is obliged to return to the interior of his houſe; or, if there be any one that the Emperor deſires to ſee, he muſt kneel on a mat before his door.

When the Emperor deſigns to repair to Miaco, which ſometimes happens once in ſeven years, to pay a viſit of ceremony to the Dairo, who is the true heir to the throne of Japan, an entire year is previouſly taken up in making preparations for the journey, and regulating the ceremonies to be obſerved. In order that the nobles may not croud each other on the road, the number that ſhall ſet out and travel every day is fixed.

Jedo is one hundred and twenty-five leagues diſtant from Miaco. Many cities, and large open villages lie on the road, two, three, or four leagues aſunder. There are alſo twenty-eight palaces, erected at convenient diſtances to lodge the Emperor and his retinue on their journey. Twenty of theſe palaces are fortified. All, from the firſt to the laſt, are provided with an eſtabliſhment of an houſehold, ſoldiers, horſes, furni-

ture, and every neceſſary for the uſe of the Emperor. Thoſe who accompany the Emperor when he ſets out from Jedo until he reaches the firſt palace, remain there; the retinue that is in readineſs there replaces them, and go on to the ſecond, where they remain; thoſe in the ſecond go on to the third, and ſo on till the laſt, regularly relieving each other. The ſame order is obſerved in the homeward journey.

In the year 1636, a large building was founded at Nicko, ſituated four leagues from Jedo, intended as a mauſoleum for the then lately deceaſed Emperor. In front of the pagoda, appertaining to this building, was ſuſpended the large braſs chandelier, which had been preſented by the Company to His Majeſty in that year. Cloſe to it ſtands a caſtle, ſurrounded by a double moat, and handſome baſtions, built of ſtone. It contains a great number of elegant apartments. This caſtle, which was built for no other purpoſe than for the accommodation of the Emperor, when he is required to be preſent at the funeral ceremonies of his father, was completed in five months, an incalculable number of carpenters, maſons, ſtone-cutters, painters, and other workmen, having been employed in its erection, which in the ordinary courſe of work, might eaſily have conſumed three years.

The treaſures of gold and ſilver of that monarch are kept in cheſts containing each one thouſand taïels. It is ſaid, that there is an incredible number of them; but the real number is known to very few. Theſe cheſts are diſtributed in different parts of the chief palace, in one place more, in another fewer. According to the labels upon them, it would appear that ſome of theſe cheſts have remained filled with money for one hundred years. Since the receipts very far exceed both the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure, it follows, that immeaſurable ſums muſt be kept in theſe treaſuries.

The preſent Emperor's father was the ſon of Ongoſſchio, who put an end to the laſt ſtate of civil confuſion into which the empire had fallen, and gave to it a regular form of government. He died at the age of fifty; when on his death-bed, he addreſſed the following words, amongſt others, to his ſon:—"The lands and treaſures which I poſſeſs, belong to you; but there is one thing which I wiſh to put into your own hands; it is this cheſt; it contains the ancient laws and annals of the empire; the deciſions and proverbs of our ſages; and the principal and moſt precious gems. Keep all theſe things with care; they belonged to me, and have been religiouſly kept and reſpected by all our progenitors."

The preſent reigning Emperor had not, when he ſucceeded to the throne, either a lawful wife, or any children, being exceedingly addicted to an unnatural propenſity. The Dairo, who had two very beautiful female relations, ſent them to him, requeſting that he would honour her whom he liked beſt with the title of Midni, or Empreſs. The Emperor, unwilling to offend him, retained one of them; but he never had any thing to do with her, continuing to live according to his uſual manner. This young Princeſs fell, in conſequence, into a deep melancholy, which, however, ſhe ſought to conceal, for fear of exciting the Emperor's diſpleaſure. Her nurſe, to whom ſhe was much attached, and who was much reſpected in the court, having obſerved this, took the liberty once, when ſhe thought ſhe had found the Emperor in a good humour, to ſay to him, "How is it poſſible that your Majeſty takes ſo much delight in the barren pleaſures to which you are devoted, whilſt you neglect a beautiful Princeſs, who would not only yield the bloſſoms of pleaſure, but alſo the uſeful fruit of an heir to your dominions?" The monarch, though offended at this freedom, made no reply, but riſing, retired to his own apartment, whence he immediately ſent for his principal architects, and commanded them to collect as many workmen as they could, and inſtantly to begin the conſtruction of a palace, to be built in the form of a caſtle, ſurrounded by high

walls and deep moats, provided with heavy gates, drawbridges, and a range of apartments. As ſoon as this palace was finiſhed he cauſed the Empreſs, her nurſe, and all the female attendants who had accompanied her from Miaco to be ſhut up in it, with a ſtrong injunction that they ſhould never ſee the face of a man.

Theſe occurrences greatly diſpleaſed the Emperor's own nurſe, who had influence over him, and who was reſpected at Court as if ſhe had been his own mother. She regretted much to think that the Emperor would leave no children. To induce him to alter his mode of life, ſhe cauſed the moſt beautiful damſels to be ſought for in the palaces of the Kings and principal lords, and to be preſented to him as occaſion might ſerve. When, however, this did not ſucceed, ſhe ſought for the moſt beautiful girls throughout every ſtation in the empire. Amongſt thoſe whom ſhe brought forward into notice, there was the daughter of a ſword-cutler, of whom the Emperor became enamoured, and who became pregnant by him. This circumſtance, however, occaſioned ſo much jealouſy amongſt the other ladies belonging to the Emperor, that they determined to deſtroy the infant as ſoon as it was born; and they in fact did commit this horrid deed. How much ſoever this grieved the Emperor's nurſe, and others of the courtiers, yet they gave no information of it to the Emperor, dreading the terrible and ſanguinary conſequences which it would, doubtleſs, have produced.

From the earlieſt times of which the annals of the empire make mention, till about one hundred years ago, Japan was governed by a ſeries of Princes of the ſame race, who followed each other in uninterrupted ſucceſſion, and who bore the title of Dairo. Their ſubjects honoured them, not only as ſovereigns, but as ſaints; inſomuch, that they were never diſturbed by any internal commotions. Every one imagined, that to offer reſiſtance to the Dairo, or not to pay due reverence to his ſanctity, was equivalent to ſinning againſt God himſelf.

Whenever any one of the Kings of the empire engaged in hoſtility with another, a general was ſent from the court, who, with the imperial army, took the ſide of the one favoured by the Dairo, or compelled them to adjuſt their differences, or puniſhed them. The ſanctity of the Dairo not only relieved him from intermeddling perſonally in ſuch affairs, but it was conſidered as a ſhameful degradation for him even to touch the ground with his foot. The ſun and moon were not even permitted to ſhine upon his head. None of the ſuperfluities of the body were ever taken from him, neither his hair, his beard, nor his nails were cut. Whatever he eat was dreſſed in new veſſels. He had twelve wives, to whom he was married with much pomp and ceremony. Whenever he appeared in public his wives accompanied him, each in a ſeparate carriage, ornamented with his arms and emblems. In his palaces ſtood two rows of houſes, ſix on each ſide, all handſomely built and adorned, appropriated for theſe twelve wives, beſides many other apartments for his concubines.

Every evening a banquet was prepared in every one of theſe twelve ſeparate houſes or palaces. No one was previouſly acquainted with that which the Dairo honoured with his preſence. As ſoon as this was known, the feſtive multitude repaired from the other eleven, to the favoured abode; the other eleven wives attended with their ladies in waiting, and muſicians, to do honour to the houſe and to her who dwelt therein. Plays were repreſented, and dancing and feaſting prevailed; all being intent upon affording the greateſt pleaſure to the Dairo.

When a ſon and heir to the empire was born to him, eighty of the youngeſt and handſomeſt ladies, wives of noblemen, were aſſembled, in order to chooſe a nurſe from amongſt them for the hereditary Prince. They were conducted in great ſtate to the palace, and welcomed with much ceremony by the other eleven wives of the Dairo, or Empreſſes,

Empreſſes, and by all the ladies of the court, together with nine of the principal lords, and neareſt relation of the Dairo, who, in default of male iſſue, were, reſpectively, to ſucceed him.

On the following day they were all examined, and out of the eighty, forty were again ſelected; upon which occaſion a feſtival was held. The forty who were rejected, were diſmiſſed with much ceremony, demonſtrations of reſpect, and valuable preſents. On another day the forty were reduced to ten, theſe again to three, and out of theſe three finally one was choſen. At each ſelection new feſtivities took place, and preſents were diſtributed.

The nurſe thus ſelected inſtantly ſuckled the child, who had in the mean while ſucked the breaſts of one of the principal ladies belonging to the court. It was not, however, till after ſhe was conſecrated, as it were, by repeated ceremonies, that the nurſe was reckoned worthy of being intruſted with ſo precious a pledge. Numerous were the marriage and child-bed feſtivals, and anniverſaries, all which were celebrated with great ſtate and ceremony.

All theſe peculiarities continue to be obſerved at the court of the Dairo, who has a ſufficient revenue to defray the expences attending them, without having recourſe to the funds belonging to the ſtate, which are at preſent under the controul of another Emperor. I ſhall now, in a few words, relate the occaſion of this important revolution.

The dignity of commander-in-chief of the army, was formerly one of the higheſt and moſt important in the whole empire. The Dairo's ſecond ſon often filled it. A certain Dairo, who had a third ſon, of whoſe mother he was fervently enamoured, wiſhed, to pleaſe her, to advance him to the ſame dignity as his brother, who, either by law or cuſtom, was entitled to it. For that purpoſe he ordered that the office of commander-in-chief ſhould be divided between them, that is, enjoyed by them by turns every three years. This was accordingly done; but one of the brothers, during the time in which he was in office, ſo much ingratiated himſelf with the great men of the land, that they entered into an engagement with him, to maintain him in the poſſeſſion of the important poſt he filled. The repreſentations and menaces of his father were, in conſequence, unavailing to make him quit his ſituation at the termination of the appointed three years.

The conſequences of this diſpute were eaſily to be foreſeen, and that the flames ariſing from it would ſoon burſt out and ſpread over the whole empire. The Dairo finding himſelf compelled, in order to maintain his authority, to have recourſe to coercive meaſures, reſolved to bring his ſon back to his duty by force, or even, if neceſſary, to deprive him of his life. The laſt took place. This was the firſt civil war that the Dairos ever were engaged in, and the firſt oppoſition to their authority.

The other commander-in-chief, however, remaining the ſole poſſeſſor of his important poſt, acted in the ſame manner as his brother had done; he purſued his meaſures with ſuch certainty, and obtained ſo powerful a party amongſt the great men of the empire, that, after the deceaſe of the Dairo, he cauſed himſelf to be declared the abſolute governor of the empire, leaving to the heir apparent nothing more than the title and the accuſtomed forms of reſpect paid to the imperial dignity.

The conſequence of this was a ſecond civil war. The Dairo took his opportunity, and appointed another commander-in-chief, who defeated the firſt. But the benefits ariſing from this victory were reaped ſolely by the general; who, in his turn, following the ſteps of his two rebellious predeceſſors, uſurped the ſovereign power.

Hence aroſe a third civil war, of which the conſequences were more pernicious than thoſe of the two former; for each King or lord who felt no inclination to ſubmit to this

new ſovereign, ſet himſelf up for an independent Prince. The empire was thus torn to pieces in every corner. There was no city, town, or even village, however ſmall, that was not at enmity with the neighbouring places.

In the midſt of theſe diſturbances and commotions, a ſoldier of fortune aroſe. At firſt he had only a band of fifty men; but by means of his courage, and the good fortune that accompanied him, he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a numerous body, with which he made himſelf maſter of a conſiderable number of cities and fortreſſes, and, in the courſe of three years, made the whole empire ſubmit to his authority.

He further acted in the ſame manner as the other mutinous commanders had done. He left to the Dairo only the title and the revenues attached to it, and took the real ſovereignty upon himſelf. The Dairo, too weak to offer any reſiſtance, was compelled to wear the yoke impoſed upon him, and to crown the new Emperor with his own hands, reſerving only the title.

The name of this uſurper of the empire was Taïcko. He was a man of great abilities, and reigned fortunately, by reaſon of the meaſures he adopted to conſolidate his authority, and to prevent the chief nobles of the empire, who both envied his good fortune, and ſubmitted with reluctance to the dominion of a Sovereign of ſo ignoble a birth, from ſtirring up mutiny or rebellion againſt him. In fact his plans were wiſely and efficiently laid for this purpoſe. In order to provide employment for thoſe of whom he was moſt apprehenſive, and whom he deſired to remove from the court, he declared that, inſpired by the deſire of fame and of the extenſion of the frontiers of the empire, he had projected to undertake the conqueſt of the land of Corea. For that purpoſe he diſpatched thither an army of ſixty thouſand men, and gave commands in this army to thoſe Kings and nobles of whom he had the greateſt ſuſpicion. He afterwards contrived to make this war laſt ſeven years, during all which time he kept the great men whom he diſtruſted, at a diſtance from court. He wrote to them, from time to time, in an inſinuating way, and fed them with fine words and large promiſes. At the ſame time, however, he ſtrictly enjoined them not to think of returning till they had completely ſubjected the country, and had attained the renown of having united it to the crown of Japan.

The army, however, ſo long detained in thoſe diſtant parts, began to murmur. Every one ardently deſired to return home, without being able to obtain permiſſion to do ſo. Not daring, however, to do otherwiſe, both officers and ſoldiers began to wreak their diſcontent upon the conquered inhabitants, and committed every kind of barbarity. Murders, rapes, and conflagrations were inceſſant throughout the country; and their wanton exceſſes aroſe at length to ſuch an height, that the oppreſſed natives, no longer able to bear or ſubmit to them, ſent deputies to the Emperor to prefer their complaints to their new Sovereign. Theſe not having, in their opinion, been received in a ſufficiently friendly or conſiderate manner, found means to adminiſter poiſon to the Monarch. The intelligence of his death no ſooner reached Corea than the army diſperſed. The chiefs haſtened home, either to take their chance in a ſtruggle for the imperial dignity, or at leaſt to ſecure to themſelves ſome lordſhip or territory.

Taicko had an only ſon named Fideri, who, at the untimely death of his father, was only ſix years old. The Emperor, upon feeling his approaching diſſolution, made a will, by which he named as guardian to his ſon, one of the chief nobles of the empire called Ongoſſchio. He made Ongoſſchio ſign an inſtrument with his own blood, by which he promiſed, that as ſoon as the Prince attained the age of fifteen years, he would cauſe him to be crowned Emperor of Japan by the Dairo, would acknowledge him as ſuch, and would rather forfeit his life than depart from this ſolemn engagement.

Ongoſſchio,

Ongoſſchio, who had been ſelected by Taïcko, becauſe he was acquainted with his abilities, having conducted his affairs with great prudence, cauſed himſelf to be appointed regent of the empire. He availed with much cunning, of the jealouſy that prevailed amongſt the different Kings, which he found means to excite and foment, in order to promote his purpoſes. No ſooner was he firmly ſettled in the government of the empire, than he forgot the engagement in favour of his princely pupil, which he had entered into, and ſigned with his own blood. Fideri, having attained the appointed age, was accuſed by his guardian of not being faithful to himſelf, and of having entered into engagements and conſpiracies with ſome of the nobles, in order to procure himſelf to be crowned without his knowledge; and even of having declared himſelf to be his enemy.

Theſe frivolous or unintelligible accuſations were backed by meaſures of force. Ongoſſchio had recourſe to arms to maintain himſelf in the imperial government. Having aſſembled an army in the kingdom of Suraga, he marched to Oſacka, where Fideri held his court. He beſieged the place, and took it after an inveſtment of three months. Fideri was conſtrained to beg for mercy, and to offer to reſign the empire; requeſting further of Ongoſſchio, that he would give him ſome lordſhip, and receive him amongſt his vaſſals in the ſame manner as the other nobles. For the readier obtaining of theſe conditions he ſent his wife, who was a daughter of Ongoſſchio, that ſhe might intercede with her father for him. But Ongoſſchio would not even ſee her. On the contrary, his ambition and cruelty roſe to that pitch, that he cauſed a large quantity of wood to be collected and piled up round the houſe into which his ſon-in-law, with his mother, wives, and moſt faithful friends had retreated, and ſetting it on fire, put them all moſt wretchedly to death.

After this deed of cruelty, he diſincumbered himſelf of all the men of conſideration who had taken the part of Fideri, and in that manner ſubjected the whole empire to his ſway. He in ſome meaſure made amends for his violence and cruelty, by a wiſe government, in which he equalled his predeceſſor Taïcko. But he did not long enjoy his high dignity. He was far advanced in years when he attained it, and died ſoon after his uſurpation. His ſon, Combo, or as ſome call him, Conboſamma, ſucceeded him and was crowned as Emperor. He was the father of Chiongon, the Emperor who ſat on the throne at the time this narrative was compoſed.

The revenues of the empire, which are diſtributed to or farmed by the kings and nobles, amount to 18,400,000 cockiens, each cockien being worth ten gilders. In time of war, or as often as the Emperor requires it, each noble is obliged to furniſh a quota of troops equivalent to the extent of his poſſeſſions. For example, a nobleman who has an income of one thouſand cockiens muſt provide and maintain in the field twenty foot-ſoldiers, and two horſemen. The Lord of Firando, who has a revenue of 6,000 cockiens, is obliged to furniſh 1200 infantry and 120 horſemen*, beſides the ſervants, ſlaves, and other followers of a camp. The number of the troops which the Kings and nobles muſt furniſh upon the firſt ſummons of the court, thus amounts to 368,000 infantry and 36,800 cavalry. The Emperor moreover entertains, out of his private purſe, 10,000 foot-ſoldiers, and 20,000 horſemen; who lie in garriſon in the cities and fortreſſes, or ſerve him as body-guards.

* There muſt be here a miſtake in the numerals, and either the revenue of Firando muſt be 60,000 cockiens, or its contingent 120 infantry and 12 cavalry; the former is moſt probable. S. H. W.

Moſt

Moſt of the nobles, at leaſt thoſe of the firſt rank, generally keep in actual ſervice twice as many troops as they are required to furniſh at the firſt ſummons. It is by the ſplendour of this martial retinue that they chiefly demonſtrate their princely power. Beſides which, they ſeek by this means to avail of any opportunities that may occur to make themſelves more known, and by ſome martial exploit to acquire renown. This was apparent in the laſt war of Arimas.

All the cavalry wear armour, but the foot-ſoldiers only wear a helmet. Some of the horſemen are armed with piſtols; ſome with ſhort lances, and others with bows and arrows; all, however, are provided with ſcimiters.

The infantry, which is divided into companies, are armed with two ſabres, and, according to the ſize and ſtrength of the men, with heavy or lighter firelocks. Some carry long pikes, or nanganets, which are a ſort of bayonet.

There is an officer to every five ſoldiers, who is armed like the men. Five of theſe ſmalleſt ſubdiviſions, or twenty-five men, have again an officer, ſo that each company, which conſiſts of fifty privates, has ten inferior officers, and two who are placed over them; over which two again there is another, to whom they are ſubordinate, and who is the effective captain of the company. Five companies have a chief placed over the captains, and fifty companies again another chief over the ten officers, who each command five companies. The cavalry is organized in the ſame way.

The number of the living inhabitants of the whole empire of Japan is annually exactly known; as well as particularly, the number of ſoldiers, citizens, and farmers. Over every five houſes an inſpector is appointed, who muſt keep a regiſter of all who are born, and of all who die, and render account thereof to his ſuperior. The latter reports the ſame to the lord of the place; he again to the King; and the King tranſmits his documents to two miniſters, who are appointed for that purpoſe by the Emperor.

The Dutch are in the habit of deſignating all the counſellors and placemen of the empire by the general appellation of counſellors of ſtate. But they have all their reſpective titles of honour, except the four firſt and chiefeſt miniſters of ſtate, who have none, but are always attending the perſon of the Monarch in his court, and render account to him of all that occurs in the empire. Theſe are both feared and reverenced by all the kings and nobles. The incomes of the chief miniſters amount to twenty, thoſe of the inferior placemen to ten; and the ſalaries of thoſe who fill the loweſt ſtations may, at leaſt, be reckoned at from two to three tons of gold *.

No one dares to attempt any oppoſition to the will of the Sovereign; and when he has poſitively ſtated his opinion, no one ever dares to utter any thing by way of perſuading him to change it. The leaſt puniſhment that would await a temerity of this kind would be baniſhment. The placemen are choſen from amongſt the lords and nobles who are educated for the particular ſervice of the Emperor; who ſelects from amongſt them thoſe who pleaſe him moſt. Hence in the hope of favour, in which they all live, each pays his court to the Sovereign, and is ready to fulfil his deſires even before his lips are opened to expreſs them. Whatever injuſtice the Emperor may commit, or into whatever extravagance or exceſſes he may plunge, they praiſe or approve of all.

Though the nobles poſſeſs very enormous revenues, yet the expences which they are obliged to incur are ſtill more ſo. They muſt appear at court, and at leaſt reſide there ſix months in every year. What they are compelled to expend in that time in the metropolis almoſt ſurpaſſes belief. The lords from the northern and eaſtern parts of the empire muſt beat court during one half year, and thoſe from the ſouth and weſt during the

* A ton of gold means one hundred thouſand gilders or about 9100l. ſterling. S. H. W.

other half. Yet they muſt ſend, previouſly to coming to court, to aſk permiſſion to do ſo; and on their arrival they give pompous entertainments. Such alſo take place at their departure. On their journies out and home they are eſcorted by bodies of from one to ſix thouſand men, each according to his rank and wealth; and it will readily be conceived that ſo numerous a retinue muſt be extremely expenſive to them. The Lord of Firando, which is the place where the Company have a lodge or factory, though one of the leaſt conſiderable of the nobles, does not go to court with a leſs ſuite than three thouſand nobles, ſoldiers, eſquires, and other dependants, requiſite to compoſe a ſtately pageant. At Jedo there are two palaces, in which he conſtantly keeps one thouſand attendants, both male and female. The other nobles do the ſame, each in proportion to his income.

This aſtoniſhing concourſe of people is the cauſe that every thing is very dear at Jedo, and that houſekeeping is conſequently very expenſive. In addition to the maintenance of their retinue, comes that of their buildings. How ſumptuouſly ſoever they may be adorned, the proprietors have never done, but are conſtantly making alterations or additional ornaments. To this is to be added likewiſe the coſt of cloaths, in which in the ſame manner not a little is waſted; for all theſe numerous dependants muſt be habited ſo as to do honour to their chief. The women, eſpecially, ſpend large ſums as well upon their own dreſs, as upon that of their ladies in waiting, and further female attendants. The grand dinners they are obliged to give, and the preſents they are forced to make, alſo run away with a great deal.

In addition to all this, it muſt likewiſe be ſtated, that whenever the Emperor takes it into his head to erect new caſtles, or to repair the old ones, to dig canals, or to effect any other ſimilar works, each noble is obliged to furniſh workmen according to his rank and revenue. The number of workmen that are forthcoming on ſuch occaſions is incredible, as is alſo the rapidity with which they finiſh what they are engaged in. The nobles ſpare no expence to make the Emperor obſerve their zeal to afford him ſatisfaction, and at the ſame time, doubtleſsly, to get the ſooner rid of the burthen which is laid upon them.

Whenever any of the chief nobles build a new palace, he cauſes an entrance to be made for common uſe, and alſo one which is more elegant, adorned with carvings from top to bottom, varniſhed and gilt. This is covered over with planks in order not to be damaged either by the ſun or by the rain; and it remains thus covered till the Emperor goes to feaſt in the new-built palace. As ſoon as he has paſſed in and out of it, it is again ſhut and covered up, nor is it either opened, or uncovered again, except upon a like occaſion; becauſe no one may enjoy the honour of treading on the ſame threſhold with the Emperor; whilſt at the ſame time it would be conſidered as derogatory to His Majeſty to paſs over one that had been worn.

The Sovereign ſeldom pays more than one viſit to the ſame houſe during his life. Whole years are employed in making preparations for his viſit. All the articles of furniture are adorned with the arms of the empire, in carved work, in painting, or in embroidery. After the imperial feaſt, they are put by, and are never again uſed. They are preſerved like precious jewels, in remembrance of the honour done to that houſe by the Sovereign, in appearing at table in it. He is invited three years before hand; and the interval is not the leaſt too long to iſſue the neceſſary orders, and pay due attention, that nothing may be wanting.

Such an entertainment is of conſiderable importance, and occaſions no little to do. It continues for three months for all the nobles and courtiers, for whom, from the day that the Emperor dined there, open table is held for that time, daily. The exceſſes

that

that take place on theſe occaſions are not trifling. The erection of a new caſtle, and the feaſt which the Monarch deigns to celebrate there, with the conſequences of it, are enough to ruin a King. And in fact, ſome of them, and many of the great men, ruin themſelves by it. To continue in favour with the Sovereign it is neceſſary, however, for them to reſolve upon celebrating theſe honour-bringing but ruinous feſtivities.

When the Emperor has been out a hunting, and has caught any cranes, a ſpecies of bird that is highly venerated in this country, he ſometimes ſends one of them as a preſent to ſome grandee who is moſt in favour with him. But the honour to receive a bird from the Emperor, caught by his own hand, is ſo great, that the favoured nobleman, in order to teſtify his gratitude, is obliged to lay out at leaſt one half of his poſſeſſions in preſents, feaſting, and other expences, and ſometimes to ruin himſelf entirely.

The Lord of Zatſuma lately gave an entertainment to the Emperor in a newly erected palace. So well pleaſed was the Monarch with the reception he had met with from that nobleman, that he preſented him with an addition of ſix tons of gold to his annual income, *to ſerve for provender for his horſes*, as His Imperial Majeſty expreſſed himſelf.

The Emperor frames and concludes all the marriages of the nobles. The wife whom they receive from his hand is always the object of their tendereſt affection. To receive her, they erect a palace on purpoſe. They give her a number of women to ſerve her, ſometimes as many as two hundred, according to their income. The money which is diſſipated by the ſex in dreſs and ornament may be called exorbitant. Their ſeparate apartments muſt be ſumptuouſly adorned, gilt, carved, and provided with coſtly furniture. They only go out once a year to ſee their neareſt relations. On thoſe occaſions they ſit in palankeens, and are accompanied by from thirty to fifty ladies in waiting, each of whom is attended by a waiting-maid, who follow each other in ſtately order on each ſide of the palankeens, which are ſuperbly decorated.

The children of thoſe wives who are given by the Emperor in marriage ſucceed the father in his lordſhip and territories. If they are barren, or bring forth no male children, the kingdom, or the lordſhip, is generally transferred to another noble.

The nobles in this country have as many concubines as they chooſe, or can maintain. The number of their children is conſequently often very great, who have nevertheleſs no ſhare of their paternal inheritance, and ſometimes fall into beggary.

Whatever can be imagined as contributing to pleaſure and the ſupport of luxury is to be found in the apartments of their women. There are gardens, fiſh-ponds, arbours, ſummer-houſes half on ſhore and half over the water, all ſorts of land-birds and of water-fowl, muſical inſtruments, and ſuch like. Plays are repreſented; and feaſts and banquets conſtantly occur. They very ſeldom admit any men into them, and then only ſome of their neareſt relations. Theſe women's apartments are very carefully guarded. No woman, whether old or young, rich or poor, may have any converſation or connection with any man but the one to whom ſhe belongs. They muſt paſs their whole lives, or at leaſt a great part of them, in the ſtate of ſervitude to which they are condemned It is not only a criminal action, but even the bare ſuſpicion of it, that is puniſhed by death. Nevertheleſs, the women are very amiable, moſtly poſſeſſed of ſurpaſſing beauty and elegance of ſhape, and gifted with many captivating graces. With the greateſt humility and the moſt ready obedience they ſerve the King or the nobleman to whom they belong, whilſt he is in their dwelling. They anxiouſly attend to every thing that can afford him ſatisfaction. They talk, or are ſilent, laugh, or are grave, according to the humour which they perceive predominates at the moment in their maſter.

Their dreſs is of different coloured ſilk. Each, according to the rank they hold, or the poſt aſſigned them, wears an appointed colour. Some wear a red dreſs, with green

ſaſhes and ribbons; others a white one, with red trimmings; others again appear in yellow, with ſcarlet girdles and ſtrings. Almoſt all their dreſſes are embroidered, or adorned with golden figures, either painted, printed, or ſewn. The wives of all the nobles of every rank have their ſervants or ladies in waiting, moſtly daughters of nobles, who have had a cultivated education. They muſt bind themſelves for twenty, or at leaſt for fifteen years; and ſome do ſo for their whole lives.

All women, from the higheſt to the loweſt, are taught this leſſon, never to interfere in ſtate affairs or in any worldly matters: this leſſon is obſerved by them as an holy law. Hence they never dare hold any converſation with their huſbands on ſuch ſubjects, or even aſk them any queſtions. They would not only, not receive any anſwer, but it would be taken in very ill part; and there is nothing they are ſo fearful of as the diſpleaſure of their huſbands.

The men of this country ſay proverbially, that upon entering the apartments of the women, they leave all worldly cares and the remembrance of them, behind them upon the door-mat, and take them up again, when they go out; adding, that they viſit thoſe places for no other purpoſe than to drink deep from the full cup of the pleaſures of this life. In fact, nothing is ever heard there but ſounds of delight. New modes of ſtirring up the fire of love, and of ſatisfying the paſſion, are inceſſantly invented. New feſtivities are in conſtant preparation; every kind of muſical inſtruments are heard; ſinging, dancing, dramatic entertainments, in ſhort every thing which can pleaſe the taſte of the maſter is adopted and practiſed.

The reaſons which the Japaneſe adduce, for having adopted this mode of living with reſpect to their women, and that they do not allow any male ſtranger to ſet foot in their apartments, or to hold any intercourſe with them, or that they ſhould interfere in any kind of buſineſs, are expreſſed by them to be, becauſe they maintain that the woman is born to ſerve the man, to accommodate him in his pleaſures, to bear children, and to bring them up; and that having enough to do with thoſe occupations, they muſt not apply themſelves to any thing elſe. Furthermore they ſuppoſe, that by theſe means they prevent innumerable jealouſies, quarrels, wars, maſſacres, and a thouſand other inferior ills, which they maintain are almoſt the inevitable conſequences of a contrary mode of acting; ſuch as their anceſtors, to their ſore grief, experienced at the period when their women were not kept in ſuch ſtrict bands. They relate a thouſand inſtances of theſe, either regiſtered in their ancient hiſtories, or handed down to them by tradition, or commemorated by the drama. They have a long catalogue of wives, who have deceived, ruined, and even murdered their huſbands in thoſe times.

Either by education, or in conſequence of a fortunate temperament given them by nature, the women in Japan are faithful to their huſbands, and very modeſt. Some examples are given by Mr. Caron as occurring during the time of his reſidence there.

A nobleman of elevated rank in the kingdom of Fingo had a very handſome wife. The King falling in love with her, cauſed her huſband to be privately murdered. A few days afterwards he ſent for the widow to court, who, in the mean time, had obtained a knowledge of the King's crime and intentions. The Prince having declared his paſſion to her, and preſſed her to grant the completion of his deſires, ſhe anſwered him in the following terms; "I ought, O King, to account myſelf fortunate to have been able to pleaſe you, or to contribute any thing towards your happineſs. Yet I declare to you, that the moment you touch me, I will bite out my tongue with my teeth and cauſe my own death, unleſs you grant my previous requeſt. If you grant this requeſt, however, I promiſe to become your ſervant. Give me thirty days to mourn for my huſband, and to celebrate his funeral; and permit me at the end thereof, to

hold a feaſt on the tower of your palace, with all my relations, that I may take leave of them, and aſſure them of my regard." This requeſt, though it ſomewhat diſpleaſed the King, yet he could not refuſe it; nor could he conceive why ſhe deſired to hold this feaſt on the tower of his palace. However it was ſo; a feaſt was held there; the King was preſent, and indulged in eating and drinking, flattering himſelf that he ſhould ſhortly ſatisfy the deſires that raged in his boſom; the lady however roſe, and pretending to require a little freſh air; proceeded to one of the galleries of the tower at a little diſtance from the company, whence ſhe ſuddenly made a ſpring, and daſhed herſelf to pieces, in the preſence of the King and all the gueſts; preferring thus this violent death to a violation of her chaſtity.

A young ſervant-maid kneeling before a nobleman, whoſe ſervant ſhe was, and reaching out her hand to pour out ſome wine for him, had the misfortune to let an unlucky wind eſcape her. She was hereby ſo forcibly affected by ſhame, that ſhe was not only deprived of the power of riſing and leaving the apartment, but, drawing back her hand, and letting her face fall upon her boſom, ſhe covered her head with the ſlip of her dreſs, and ſeizing her right breaſt ſhe drew it up to her mouth, and ſet her teeth into it with ſuch a delirious force, that they remained clenched in her fleſh, until ſhe actually died from the emotion of ſhame that had ſeized her.

A certain nobleman having cauſed a number of handſome and well ſhaped young girls to be collected from amongſt the inhabitants of his territories, in order to put them to ſervice in the habitation of his wives, found amongſt them the daughter of a poor ſoldier's widow, who pleaſed him ſo much that he took her for his concubine; ſome time after, her mother ſecretly ſent to inform her that her poverty was ſo great that ſhe even wanted bread. Whilſt ſhe was reading her mother's letter the nobleman came into the apartment, and ſhe attempted to conceal the writing from him. But he, moſt likely entertaining ſuſpicious thoughts, became angry, and inſiſted upon knowing from whom the letter came, and by whom it had been brought. A feeling of ſhame on account of the poverty of her mother made her refuſe to ſatisfy him; but at length, ſeeing he was preparing to take the letter by force, ſhe folded it up, put it into her mouth, and attempting to ſwallow it, it ſtuck in her throat and choaked her, ſo that ſhe died incontinently. Anger and jealouſy made the nobleman inſtantly cut open her throat, and get the letter out of it; which was not ſo much damaged but that it could be read. He ſoon found that the unfortunate victim was innocent, and that the ſecret which ſhe had ſought to conceal at the expence of her life, was no other than the penurious ſituation of her mother. He was much affected by her death, and melting into tears, ſent for her mother to his palace, where ſhe was amply provided with all that was neceſſary or agreeable, and was yet alive, when Mr. Caron left the country.

As a further proof of the chaſtity and natural modeſty of the nation, it may be ſtated, that parents never indulge in light or looſe converſation in the preſence of their children, even not in any alluſions to marriage or its purpoſes, nor in many things of the kind that would be conſidered as perfectly harmleſs by us. If any thing of the kind happens to eſcape in an unguarded moment from any one in company, the young people directly riſe and leave the room.

The children love and reſpect their parents in an uncommon degree. They are firmly perſuaded that thoſe who fail in, or neglect, their duty to their parents, will be puniſhed by the gods. During the whole year they appropriate one day in every month to the memory of the deceaſe of their parents. On that day they neither eat fleſh, nor any thing that has received life; fruits and vegetables are then their only food.

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The revenues of the nobles arife out of the various products which their territories afford. Some lands yield corn; ſome gold and ſilver; others copper, iron, tin or lead; others again timber, hemp, cotton or ſilk. All theſe revenues are eſtimated at the real value, and are known to the Emperor, who appoints a chancellor or ſteward to each of them, upon the pretence, and for the purpoſes, as appear by the following form of appointment; "To our beloved and faithful; your affairs are extenſive and you have many ſubjects to govern. This has induced me to ſend to you an underſtanding and faithful perſon, who has been brought up under my roof, in order to give him to you for an aid. Make uſe of him, and demonſtrate thereby your gratitude for what I do for you." This emiſſary or ſpy from the court, is received with every imaginable demonſtration of joy. He is ſumptuouſly entertained; preſents are made to him; and in reſult every means is reſorted to to bring him over to the intereſt of the chief to whom he is ſent.

Thoſe who are employed by the Emperor for this purpoſe, are educated at court from their infancy, and have always ſerved him in one of the three chambers. He is therefore fundamentally acquainted with them, and conceives that he can implicitly rely upon them. He makes them ſwear, and ſign with their blood, to tranſmit information to the Emperor of whatever they ſee, be it of much or of little conſequence, of whatever they hear, and of whatever in any way comes to their knowledge reſpecting affairs of ſtate; as likewiſe to keep a daily regiſter of the meaſures and acts of the grandees to whom they are diſpatched. The Kings and nobles dare do or undertake nothing unknown to the chancellor, who in fact is more the real governor of their territories than themſelves.

Almoſt all the nobles entertain a certain number of men of underſtanding and experience, whoſe advice, given without any ſimulation or reſerve, they liſten to. Every evening they muſt repreſent to them any miſtakes into which they may have fallen during the day juſt elapſed; for it is a received maxim amongſt this nation, that no human being can know his own faults. They are convinced that thoſe who are called to the exerciſe of important dignities, and who have the direction over many things, often fall into error, by precipitation, by anger, by pride, or by too fond an attachment to pleaſure; and they prefer to be privately reminded of their faults than to be expoſed to the conſequences which might enſue from them, or to the obſervations to which they might give riſe in public.

The principal courtiers have their proper names; they are, however, in general, addreſſed by the name of the territories which they poſſeſs, or by the titles of dignity they enjoy: the place or caſtle at which they uſually reſide bears the ſame name as themſelves. Beſides this, men are moſtly diſtinguiſhed by three different names, at three different periods of their life. Infancy has its proper appellative, which it would be ridiculous, according to their ideas, to apply either to the age of adultneſs or to that of grey hairs. When they attain the age of manhood they change their name, taking one that is fitting; and the ſame occurs again in advanced life.

The Japaneſe, however, in general have alſo family names, which are derived from their anceſtors. Theſe they place before their familiar names, ſaying, that they exiſted before them in the world, and ought therefore to have precedence.

When a nobleman dies, from ten to thirty of his ſubjects or ſervants, according to the rank and power of the deceaſed, rip open their bellies, and accompany him to the grave. Thoſe who do this, have entered into an engagement to do ſo, and have given their words to that effect; for whenever it happens that their lord ſhews them any particular favour, or promotes them in his ſervice, they thus addreſs him, to demonſtrate their gratitude: "My lord and maſter! you have ſo many faithful ſubjects; what have I

done more than they, to deſerve the honour you have conferred on me? I cannot make you any return in any other way than by giving you back this body, which is already our own, and by promiſing you that it ſhall not exiſt longer than you do." To confirm the promiſe, they drink a beaker of wine together, which is a ſolemn ceremony amongſt the Japaneſe: engagements confirmed in that way cannot be broken.

The ripping open of their bellies is thus performed. They aſſemble their relations, and go all together to a pagoda. In the middle of it mats and carpets are ſpread upon which they ſit down, and partake of a farewell repaſt. They eat and drink heartily and gaily, as if nothing was the matter. After the repaſt, the man who means to die cuts open his belly croſs-wiſe, ſo that the entrails guſh out. Such as poſſeſs moſt courage afterwards cut their own throats, and immediately give up the ghoſt. There are nevertheleſs no fewer than fifty different modes of ripping uptheir bellies, which are cuſtomary amongſt them. He who preforms this operation with the greateſt courage and coolneſs, acquires the moſt fame, and is moſt admired and praiſed.

"All the pagodas are conſtructed of timber, and are elevated three or four feet above the ground. They are moſtly of a ſquare form, and from ten to forty feet acroſs. On each ſide ſtand ſteeples, likewiſe conſtructed of wood, carved and gilt. Theſe pagodas are in great numbers, but moſt of them are of a ſmall ſize. Every where are to be ſeen images, or repreſentations of dragon's heads, giants, and ſuch like, though moſtly without any proportion or regularity. The Japaneſe utter ſhort ejaculatory prayers before the pagodas; after which they throw their offerings, which conſiſt in ſmall pieces of copper money, into a ſort of box or cheſt."

When the principal nobles erect any lofty walls, either by the command of the Emperor, or for their own uſe, it ſometimes happens that ſome of their dependants beg the favour of being permitted to ſerve as a foundation, and that their bodies may be laid under the wall; for the Japaneſe have imbibed the idea, that a wall erected upon the body of a man, who has offered himſelf voluntarily for that purpoſe, is ſubject to no manner of accident. When the offer is accepted, the victim lays himſelf down in the trench dug for the foundation, and heavy ſtones are then lowered down upon him, which cruſh him to pieces.

"The perſons, however, who offer themſelves up in this manner, are ſlaves, who are treated very ill, and lead a wretched and penurious life; ſo that it is probable, that they, on that account, prefer rather to die in that manner than lead ſo miſerable a life."

The Emperor poſſeſſes a good number of large and well fortified caſtles. Thoſe of Oſacka and Jedo are the principal. In the territories of the Kings and nobles there are likewiſe large caſtles, and great cities, but the latter are not ſurrounded by intrenchments or walls.

All the ſtreets in the towns and cities are laid out nearly alike, and of the ſame length, namely, ſixteen ickiens, each ickien being three ells *. At the end of each ſtreet is a gate which is always ſhut at night, and ſometimes alſo, in caſe of neceſſity, by day. A watch is ſet every night, and the ſtreets are lighted by lanthorns. All roads are meaſured, and at the end of each league there is a ſtone, ſhewing the diſtances from the different places.

Both in the cities and in the villages there are two inſpectors appointed over each ſtreet, who have an eye over all that occurs in it, and are obliged to render an account

* This ſeems rather applicable to the breadth than the length. A Dutch ell is three-quarters of a yard. S. H. W.

thereof.

thereof. In order that ſome perſons may not appear before the magiſtrates in a manner, or upon motives, unbecoming the reſpect due to them, ſuperiors are appointed in every ſtreet to prevent this, who act as fathers, friends, arbitrators, or counſellors, and endeavour to ſettle diſputes in an amicable way. If this may not be, they then appear before the judges. In caſes of importance immediate reſort is had to their tribunal.

In many cities, wells of water, at ſmall diſtances from each other, may be obſerved in moſt of the ſtreets; which is a very neceſſary precaution, as the houſes being built of wood are very ſubject to accidents by fire; by which it often happens that entire ſtreets are conſumed.

Neither cities nor villages have any municipal rights or income; for each place has its own lord, who poſſeſſes there the ſovereign authority. Neither citizens, merchants, or nobles, pay any kind of taxes or impoſts, excepting alone for the ground upon which their houſes are built. This tax amounts to the value of from one to twenty gilders, according to the ſize of each houſe, and the extent of ground it occupies. Beſides which, every freeholder muſt furniſh for each arvas a workman or ſervant, and this occurs twice or thrice every month. The ſervice, however, that is required often does not laſt for one hour, and continues at moſt for half a day.

Each King or lord ſubſiſts upon the produce which he derives both from land and water. In the ſame manner the nobles under them, and the ſoldiers, live upon the produce of that portion of land which is appropriated to them by their lord. The merchant lives upon the profits of his profeſſion. The citizens and mechanics, from their vocations and labour. The peaſants, who are little better than ſlaves, ſubſiſt upon an allotted portion of the produce of the lands which they cultivate.

"The revenues, thus ariſing both from the land, and from the fiſheries, are beſtowed by the Emperor upon particular lords. He alſo diſpoſes of the produce of the whale-fiſhery. We may here remark, that the whales, of which in general from two to three hundred are caught by the Japaneſe, are nothing like ſo large in theſe ſeas as they are in Greenland. Their blubber is generally from four to eight inches in thickneſs, and is much intermixed with the fleſh, which is eaten by the inhabitants."

Every lord, or maſter, from the Emperor down to the meaneſt citizen, diſpenſes juſtice in his own affairs, territories, houſe or family. The Emperor has certain regents or magiſtrates in all his dependences, cities and villages, appointed to take cognizance of affairs regarding him. The nobles and the military enjoy the privilege, when they are condemned to death, of ripping open their bellies. Merchants, citizens, and perſons of inferior rank, receive their puniſhment from the hands of an executioner. Thoſe who follow mercantile purſuits are held in no manner of reſpect, but are on the contrary deſpiſed on account of the deceptions they practice in their trade, in which, only looking to immediate profit, they uſe all manner of tricks, craft, and lies. Nor are the citizens and mechanics in much eſtimation; they are deſpiſed on account of their inferior ſtation; the citizens, becauſe they are at the ſervice of the public, and mechanics, becauſe they ſubſiſt from the labour of their hands. The peaſants are very wretched; they labour very hard, and live very poorly.

The puniſhment of death is inflicted for the ſlighteſt crimes, particularly for theft; whoever has ſtolen even the value of one penny, has no pardon to expect. Whoſoever hazards any money in gambling loſes his life. Whoever kills another, whether on a ſudden, or by treachery, muſt give life for life. All crimes which are puniſhed by death by us, are equally ſo there. Every one muſt bear the puniſhment of his own crime.

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When, however, the offence is committed againſt the ſtate, puniſhment is inflicted upon the whole race of the offender. The fathers, the ſons, the brothers, all are condemned to death; all their property is confiſcated: the mother, the ſiſters, and the daughters, are ſold for ſlaves.

The property ariſing from confiſcation, whether in the immediate domains of the Emperor, or in the territories of the lords, does not fall either to the monarch or the lords; they have no manner of ſhare in it. Whatever is confiſcated comes into the hands of a receiver, who keeps an accurate account of the ſame; and it is appropriated to the erection or repairs of pagodas and bridges, to the keeping in repair of the high-roads, and to other ſimilar objects of public utility.

"Various modes of capital puniſhment are practiſed. In order to diſcover a theft the following proceſs is adopted. A ſmall flat and ſquare piece of iron, about a quarter of an ell ſquare, is heated red hot, and afterwards ſuffered to lie till it begins to look blue. It is then laid upon both the outſtretched palms of the accuſed, upon which have previouſly been laid one or two ſheets of very thin paper, painted with images of demons, which inſtantly catch fire; the accuſed then throws off the iron as ſoon as he can. If his hands are burnt or ſcorched, he is pronounced guilty; or if they remain unhurt he is acquitted. A man convicted of theft is firſt faſtened to a croſs in the following manner. To a bamboo of the thickneſs of a man's arm two ſticks are faſtened acroſs; the ſufferer is placed upon it, and tied by the neck, with a ſlip knot, to the bamboo; his hands, arms, and legs are then tied down to the croſs ſticks. Being thus placed, the croſs with the man upon it is ſet up an end. A man then comes forward provided with a pike, the point of which is armed with a ſharp flat piece of iron, a quarter of an ell in length. With this he pierces the body of the criminal, firſt penetrating on the right ſide up to the left ſhoulder, and then from the left ſide up to the right ſhoulder. Theſe ſtabs generally pierce the heart, ſo that the ſuffering of the criminal is ſhort. The other kinds of puniſhment which prevail in this country are all cruel in their ſort; and adapted, by the excitement of terror, to ſerve as examples to deter other malefactors."

In all places, and on all occaſions, the execution of juſtice is very ſevere. The Lord of Firando, not long ago, cauſed three young ladies out of his ſeraglio to be ſhut up alive in a large cheſt, the inſide of which was provided on all ſides with nails, leaving them to die in that moſt miſerable manner. One of them had entered into a too familiar intercourſe with a nobleman, but the other two had committed no other crime than that of having been privy to the amour, and not having divulged it. The nobleman ripped up his belly.

A huſband who finds his wife with another man in any apartment of which the door is ſhut, is allowed to kill them both, although no harm may have happened between them, as ſometimes, though ſeldom, is the caſe. If the huſband be not at home, or is in the field, the father of the wife, her ſon, her brother, or another relation, may exerciſe the ſame right, and repreſent the perſon of the huſband. Even a male ſervant belonging to the houſe may do the ſame. Hence inſtances of adultery occur very rarely. During the whole time that Mr. Caron reſided in that empire, only one inſtance of that crime came to his knowledge. The affair happened in the following way:

A certain Japaneſe, pretending to go a journey, returned very ſhortly after he had left his houſe, and found a man with his wife, whom he killed in the very act. He tied his wife to a ladder, and left her ſtanding upright the whole night. The next day he invited to dinner all their relations, both his own and thoſe of his wife, as well men

as women. Although this was contrary to the cuſtom of the country, as men and women are never invited to a feaſt at the ſame time, but always at different times; he requeſted that for that once they would depart from the cuſtom; and his deſire was complied with. The women being aſſembled in a ſeparate room, aſked ſeveral times for the miſtreſs of the houſe. The huſband's anſwer was always, that ſhe was buſy making ready, and would ſoon make her appearance, deſiring that they would in the mean time divert themſelves. Both men and wowen, however, being now met together in the dining-room, ſat down to table, often repeating, however, during the meal, the inquiry for the miſtreſs of the houſe. In the mean time, the huſband having left the room for a while, went and cut off the private parts from the corpſe of the adulterer, and laid them upon flowers in a box, the lid of which he ſhut down; then looſening his wife from her bands, he made her put on a winding-ſheet, and put the box into her hands, leading her to the company in that dreſs, and telling her, "Go and offer the company this dainty, and try whether the gueſts will ſay a good word for you, and will entreat me to forgive you." The woman, more dead than alive, as may eaſily be conceived, fulfilled her commiſſion, and fell upon her knees before the company. But no ſooner had ſhe opened the box and perceived the contents, than ſhe roſe to take flight, but her huſband, intercepting her, cut off her head. The gueſts were not a little diſturbed by this ſcene, and riſing from table, left the houſe and returned to their homes.

"Thoſe who travel to Jedo along the road called the Long Street, which is one hundred and thirty-ſix leagues long, are ſerved in the houſes where they ſtop for refreſhment by women, or ſlaves, as they call them. An interpreter aſks the traveller which of the women, whom he ſees, and who are all dreſſed in ſilk, he deſires to have to ſleep with him that night. The woman on whom his choice falls, willingly ſubmits. In Japan it is a regular cuſtom that, as ſoon as any veſſels enter a harbour, the hoſts or innkeepers repair to the commanders of the ſhips, and aſk them whether they deſire to have a concubine during the time they remain there. If the offer be accepted, the man brings forward a woman, and the conditions are ſettled as formally as if it were a marriage. Theſe women receive for their ſupport three, four, or ſix pence every day, and are allowed one or two ſilk dreſſes, which coſt twenty, twenty-five, or thirty gilders; one or two cotton dreſſes, doe-ſkin ſhoes, and other articles of ornament. To the parents or proprietor of the concubine a payment is made of ten, fifteen, or as high as thirty gilders. The agreement is celebrated by a feſtival, and the parties live together, during the appointed time, as man and wife."

The following are reckoned to be offences againſt the ſtate: the breach of any of the Emperor's ordinances and proclamations; the miſconduct of the nobles of the empire in the adminiſtration of the affairs committed to them by the Emperor; the embezzlement or improper appropriation of the revenues of the empire; the coining of counterfeit money; the raviſhment of another's wife or daughter; the forcible carrying away of women from the highlands to the lowlands. Not only the offender in theſe caſes, but his whole family, is liable to puniſhment. If the wife be an accomplice in the crime ſhe muſt alſo ſuffer death; but if ſhe be innocent of it, ſhe is quit by being ſold for a ſlave; for the women are not allowed to be put to death for the crime of another; it is only their own crimes for which they are liable to capital puniſhment. The uſual puniſhment on occaſions of the kind juſt mentioned are, according to the nature of the crime, burning alive; crucifixion, with the legs in the air and the head downwards; tearing into four quarters by bulls; and ſometimes being caſt alive into boiling water or oil.

A certain Japaneſe, who had contracted with one of the imperial governors to furniſh a certain quantity of carpenter's work and maſonry, having miſcalculated in his bargain, failed to complete it properly, but to hide it he had bribed ſome of the military and inſpectors, in whoſe department the contract was to have been executed. This having been diſcovered, the inſpectors were condemned to rip open their bellies, and the contractor to be crucified with his head downwards. He was a man of great deſert, and one who was much reſpected by the principal counſellors and courtiers of the Emperor; and although, according to law, no perſon may or dare be a petitioner in ſuch caſes, to excuſe thoſe who have committed crimes of that nature, yet the great inclination which was felt for the offender, and the compaſſion which his caſe excited, worked ſo powerfully upon the members of the council, that they ventured to throw themſelves at the Emperor's feet, and to ſolicit mercy for him. Behold the anſwer:

"I have heard your requeſt with diſpleaſure; but what offends me moſt is, to perceive by it, that your judgment has been ſo remarkably weakened. Ought not a man who has been guilty of ſo enormous a crime to die? And what is the motive which induces you to ſolicit me in his behalf? Have ye alſo let yourſelves be ſhamefully bribed by preſents or by money? Go, change your ſentiments; do not attempt to infringe the laws by diſarming juſtice. If there be any one amongſt you who is ſo much attached to money and riches, let him enter into my treaſury and ſatisfy his deſires. Enter, I ſay, unto ye all: ye have my leave." No one ventured to make a reply, but all retired abaſhed and confounded.

A peculiarity is obſerved in the infliction of capital puniſhments in Japan, which is worthy of notice. It happened, ſays Caron, in my time, what indeed is not a matter of rare occurrence, that a nobleman who had been appointed by the Emperor to the adminiſtration of a certain territory in the neighbourhood of Jedo, extorted from the peaſants a larger contribution than that at which the lands they cultivated were legally aſſeſſed. Scraping in this manner together more than he ſtood in need of for the ſupport of his eſtabliſhment, he ſaved money and became a rich man. The peaſants, at length, not being able to endure the oppreſſion under which they laboured any longer, preſented a petition and proved the allegations which it contained. Upon this, the nobleman was condemned, together with his whole family, to rip open their bellies. He had a brother in the weſtern territory, at about two hundred and fifty leagues diſtance, in the ſervice of the King of Tingo; an uncle at Zatſuma, twenty leagues further; a ſon in the ſervice of the Rajah of Kinocani; a grandſon in the eaſtern territory, one hundred and ten leagues from Jedo, at the court of the King of Maſſamne; another ſon in the ſervice of the governor of the caſtle of Quando; two brothers, who were ſoldiers in the imperial ſervice; and another ſon, the youngeſt of all, who lived near Jedo, and whom he had given to a rich merchant, who, having no other children, but daughters, had, even in his infancy, earneſtly begged to have the young man, with the intention of marrying him to one of his daughters; the Dutch were well acquainted with the merchant. All theſe perſons, living at ſuch wide diſtances from each other, ripped open their bellies, and died on the ſame day, and at the ſame hour.

In order to fix the day of execution, a calculation was made, how many days an imperial courier would require to travel from Jedo to Zatſuma, the moſt diſtant place where any of the relatives of the culprit reſided; and on what day of the month, and at what hour of the day, he could arrive there. It appearing, that that would be on the eighth day of the eighth month, orders were iſſued, that all the others ſhould execute the ſentence upon themſelves on that day exactly at noon; which was obſerved with the greateſt preciſion.

The merchant, whoſe daughter had married the youngeſt ſon of this noble criminal, died at Oſacka of grief at the death of his ſon-in-law, whom he had educated, and whom he tenderly loved. His daughter deſired alſo to rip open her belly, and die with her huſband; but ſeeing that her parents kept a watchful eye over her to prevent her, ſhe took the reſolution of declining to take any food or drink, and by that means put an end to her life, eleven days after the death of her huſband.

Theſe inſtances are ſufficient to teach us the dreadful effects of a deſpotic government, and by contraſt, the happineſs of thoſe nations whoſe lives and property do not depend upon the will of a tyrannical ſovereign, but are ſolely under the conſtraint of laws that do not operate but to the harm of thoſe who are really guilty. Extortionary avarice ought undoubtedly to be reſtrained and puniſhed, but, at the ſame time, a line of difference ought to be drawn between thoſe who are guilty of an infraction of the rights of others, and thoſe who have not participated either by act or will in the crime. Tyranny follows one road, and true civil liberty the other.

The Japaneſe ſhew a great degree of Stoiciſm in the hour of death, whether it be a natural or a violent one. Even the women appear actuated by an intrepidity, in other countries foreign to their ſex. They are ſometimes ſeen to ſuffer the cruelleſt tortures with great coolneſs. The pain of death is likewiſe denounced againſt the utterance of falſehood in particular caſes, eſpecially in ſuch, by which the magiſtrates are ſought to be deceived in the exerciſe of their judicial authority.

It is, however, neceſſary to obſerve, that all that has been ſaid on the ſubject of capital and other puniſhments is alone applicable to the inferior nobility, the military, the merchants, citizens, and peaſants. The puniſhments that are inflicted upon the Kings and upper order of nobility are different; their lives are not touched.

Forty leagues to the eaſtward of the coaſt of Jedo, there lies an iſland in the main ocean, which is only one league in circumference, and is called Faitſieſiina. The coaſt of it is precipitous; there is no bottom to be found around it, and there is no harbour; veſſels can therefore only touch at it in the following manner:

The firſt perſons who went thither were adventurers, who, on a perfectly calm day, by means of ſtraps and ropes faſtened round their bodies, found means to climb up the precipice. Thoſe who had aſcended the height in this manner, made uſe of thoſe ropes to haul up to the top timber and tools, which were faſtened to them by their companions, who remained in the barks. Provided with theſe materials and tools, they contrived to fix ſome beams in ſuch a way, and to ſecure them ſo well at one end, that the other jutting out from the rocks, were able to hold by ropes attached to them the barks below, and keep them lifted ſix or more feet above the water, leaving them in that ſuſpended ſituation. For the leaſt wind occaſions ſo heavy a ſwell againſt the rocks, that any veſſel remaining at the foot of them would be daſhed to pieces againſt them. The iſland is every where barren and craggy, and produces nothing but a few mulberry-trees. It is almoſt as difficult to approach the iſland, as it is to land people upon it.

The nobles of the firſt rank, who have committed any offence againſt the Emperor, or have drawn upon themſelves his diſpleaſure, are ſent in exile to this iſland. There are guard-houſes placed at different parts of the iſland, well provided with ſoldiers, who are ſtationed there to prevent any one from having any intercourſe with the exiled nobles, or from conveying any aſſiſtance to them, as the means of their eſcape. The garriſon is relieved every month, wind and weather permitting, at which times proviſions for the ſoldiers, and for the exiles, are ſent thither. Theſe proviſions are very bad, and are diſtributed in a very ſparing manner. Excluſive of a little rice, the

the wretches confined there only receive the bark of trees, and other ſtrange food, difficult to eat, and worſe to digeſt. Small huts are their abode, which are ſcarcely ſufficient to ſhelter them from the heats of ſummer or the colds of winter. They ſuffer very ſeverely in conſequence of their hard treatment. They are, moreover, obliged to collect the ſilk produced by the worms, which are bred here in conſiderable numbers, to prepare and ſpin it, and to weave as many pieces of ſilk ſtuff every year as are impoſed upon them for a taſk.

When the Emperor died in the year 1631, all the priſoners, in every part of the empire, not one excepted, were liberated, on the ſame day and hour. Each received a ſmall ſum of money, according to his neceſſities, in order to travel to the place to which he belonged.

The Japaneſe are neither very ſuperſtitious, nor are they over religious. They do not pray either in the morning or the evening, nor before nor after meat, nor on any fixed hours of the day. The moſt religious ſcarcely go to the pagoda more than once a month. They are ſometimes heard to utter the word Nammanda; which is the name of one of their principal deities.

The prieſts generally hold forth three times in a year; thoſe who are members of the ſect to which the prieſt belongs, aſſemble in the pagoda to hear him. The members of a certain ſect, when they are afflicted with ſerious or protracted diſeaſes, ſend for a conjuror, who continues with them for twenty-four hours, reading all the time, or rather making an unintelligible noiſe; for all that relates either to their religious worſhip or to medicine and other ſciences, is written in a learned and ſecret language, which is only known to thoſe who are initiated.

At the ſame time the number of pagodas in Japan is incredibly large. The prieſts reſide in them, from two to twenty in a community, according to the ſize of the buildings.

"The prieſts have their heads ſhaved. The uſual dreſs of their order has a great reſemblance to the linen frocks which the common people of South Holland wear. Upon feſtivals, however, they wear ſilk clothes, the upper part of which they throw over the arm, like the ſlips of a cloak."

Their occupation conſiſts in reading prayers before the idols, burying the dead, or being preſent at the burning of the bodies and the interment of the aſhes: this takes place with much ceremony.

"The feaſt of the deceaſed, called Bom, is celebrated very nearly in the ſame manner as the feſtival of All Souls in the Roman Catholic countries. The prieſts perform the ſervice every year on an appointed day, each in their rank, and in their own pagodas. They go in a row, one after another, in proceſſion, round a covered grave, chanting of litanies and a ſort of ſervice for the departed.

"Tombs are erected round the pagodas, and conſiſt of a ſtone-wall round the grave of one or two feet in height. Thoſe who viſit them from time to time ſtrew them with flowers, or with green branches, and pour a little water into a hole, which is made in one of the ſtones for that purpoſe, to which they put unboiled rice, which either the poor people, or the birds ſoon take away. Upon ſome graves is erected a ſtone poſt or pillar, with an inſcription, commemorating the name and rank of the perſon who lies buried there; but this is only the caſe with reſpect to the graves of people of ſome conſideration or wealth."

There are twelve different religious ſects amongſt the Japaneſe, out of which there are eleven of whom the prieſts eat nothing that has received the breath of life, or have any carnal connection with women. If any one of them tranſgreſſes this rule, and is legally

legally convicted thereof, he is buried with half his body out of the ground in the high road; and every paſſenger, who is not one of the nobility, is obliged to give him one cut with a ſaw acroſs his neck. This half-interred ſufferer may thus be three or four days before his torments are ended.

"Although the prieſts are not allowed to have any communication with women, they keep catamites; and this they do openly, without its being conſidered as wrong."

The twelfth ſect is the one that is held in the greateſt reſpect, and is the moſt celebrated by the learning of its members. The prieſts that belong to it are married. They may eat whatever has had life, whether land or water animals. Jeko is the name by which this ſect is diſtinguiſhed. It abounds more in ſuperſtitious practices than the others. The chief prieſts and heads of the pagodas belonging to this ſect receive no leſs honour than Kings. When the members of the ſect meet them, either on foot or in a ſedan, they fall down on their knees, and worſhip them.

"The Great Dairo fills, amongſt all theſe prieſts, the ſame ſtation as the Pope of Rome does with reſpect to the Roman Catholic clergy in the Chriſtian world. It is on this account that the Emperor is obliged to pay a viſit to him every three years *, at Miaco, and to pay homage to him by the offering of coſtly preſents. In this viſit the Dairo hands a beaker of wine to the Emperor, who, after drinking the wine, breaks the veſſel, and joins the pieces again together; which is conſidered as a ſymbol of ſubjection."

This ſect has more ſumptuous pagodas and richer prieſts than any of the others. Some of the clergy derive their incomes from lands appropriated to that purpoſe, either by the Emperor himſelf, or by the lords of the places where the pagodas ſtand. Others are maintained by the people. In the ſame manner as in Roman Catholic countries, every one has his own confeſſor, and a convent to which he directs his alms; ſo has each Japaneſe his particular pagoda, and favourite prieſt, in whom he places eſpecial confidence, and who experiences, above all others, his charity. It is in this, that their religion principally conſiſts; their alms or benevolence flow in no other channel; they are ignorant of any other religious merit.

The opinions and ceremonies of all theſe twelve religious ſects are different. Some believe that man is endowed with an immortal ſoul; that the body returns to earth, but that the ſoul at ſome future time is to return to this world, in order to lead either a happy or a wretched future life, according to its deſerts, in having conducted itſelf well or ill in its pre-exiſtent ſtate. The doctrine of the deſtruction of the world is unknown to them. Some believe that the world has exiſted from all eternity, and will continue eternally to exiſt. Some maintain that man does not poſſeſs any ſoul, that is, not an immortal ſpirit, and that he has therefore only to fear a worldly judge.

The principal and wealthieſt members of theſe ſects make uſe of their pagodas moſtly as places of entertainment and delight. As they are generally erected in the moſt agreeable ſituations, on pleaſant eminences, and ſurrounded by refreſhing ſhades, they make choice of them whenever they are deſirous of enjoying an excurſion or a party of pleaſure. They indulge in all manner of exceſſes in the preſence of their idols, and under the eye of their prieſts, who are not more ſparing in eating and drinking than their gueſts. Debauches of every kind are practiſed; and a number of courtezans are ſent for, whom they make uſe of in the preſence of the prieſts, who, in their turn, being forbidden the uſe of women, have recourſe to unnatural practices.

* In a former place it was ſaid every ſeven years; this is Hagenaar's account, the other was Caron's. S. H. W.

The

The Japaneſe are never heard to enter into any religious diſputes. Nor do the members of one ſect ever ſeek to make converts amongſt the others. Each remains in his own perſuaſion, without troubling others, or being troubled himſelf on points of faith.

" Hagenaar relates, that he ſaw men wearing ropes with knots in them, ſlung over their ſhoulders, whoſe eyes turned round in their heads, and who were called jammaboos, ſignifying as much as conjurors, or exorciſts. Any one who has laboured for a long time under a diſeaſe, ſends for one of the moſt celebrated jammaboos, who, after having ſpoken in a loud and vehement manner for a conſiderable time, appears to receive an anſwer in another voice, which all the perſons preſent hear without perceiving whence it proceeds, ſaying, ' Why do you torment and vex me ſo long? I am not he that does it, but ſuch or ſuch a one, your enemy, who ſent me to cauſe this evil to come upon you. Appeaſe him, and I will depart.'

" He further obſerves that, though he has travelled in many parts, he never ſaw ſuch magnificent idols as amongſt the Chineſe, who always put three together, painted moſt gaudily, and adorned like Kings with crowns; with always a black one amongſt them. They alſo put the images of three beautiful women together, of a fair complexion, and well-ſhaped limbs, moſt elegantly ſculptured.

" On the outſide of the city Oſacha, Hagenaar ſaw ſix pagodas, before which were placed three images of gigantic ſtature, with cheſts to receive offerings beſide them, into which ſome of the people caſt pieces of copper money. Through the middle of the ſmalleſt of theſe pagodas ran a rapid rivulet, which afterwards ſank into the earth. A few poor old women were obſerved throwing into the brook pieces of paper upon which ſomething was written; they muttered ſome prayers at the ſame time, in the ſame manner as the old women do at Rome, when they aſcend the conſecrated ſteps.

" At ſuch places, as barks and other veſſels muſt paſs cloſe by, in their paſſage round the coaſts and bays, the abode of a prieſt is erected on the points of land, or cloſe to the water, reſembling a peaſant's cottage, or rather, perhaps, a pigſtye, which is hung round with bits of painted paper, and looks like a little book-ſtall, or picture-ſhop in Holland.

" In a cove about half a league from the Dutch lodge at Firando ſtands a little wooden houſe, ſcarcely an ell high and an ell broad. Pregnant women go thither in pilgrimage, and pray in theſe words: ' Give me a ſon, and I will make you an offering.' By way of earneſt in beſpeaking the good offices of the power they worſhip, they leave a little rice as an offering. Theſe little houſes have a great conformity with the niches which the Roman Catholic Chriſtians make in the walls, along the high roads, or at the corners of ſtreets, for the reception of images, to which in like manner they pray and make vows."

All the prieſts and ſome of the nobility are ſtrongly attached to unnatural luſts; they do not make any ſin of this propenſity, and neither feel ſhame or remorſe on account of it.

The Chriſtian religion was formerly very much deteſted in this country. This is evident from the various very ſevere perſecutions which the profeſſors of it have ſuffered. At firſt, the believers in Chriſt were only beheaded, and afterwards attached to a croſs; which was conſidered as a ſufficiently heavy puniſhment. But when many of them were ſeen to die with emotions of joy and pleaſure, ſome even to go ſinging to the place of execution; and when, although thirty, and ſometimes one hundred were put to death at a time, it was found that their numbers did not appear to diminiſh, it was then

then determined to uſe every exertion to change their joy into grief, and their ſongs into tears and groans of miſery.

To effect this, they were tied to ſtakes and burnt alive; were broiled on wooden gridirons, and thouſands were thus wretchedly deſtroyed. But as the number of the Chriſtians was not perceptibly leſſened by theſe cruel puniſhments, they became tired of putting them to death, and attempts were then made to make the Chriſtians abandon their faith, by the infliction of the moſt dreadful torments which the moſt diabolical invention could ſuggeſt.

The women and girls were ſtripped naked, and compelled to crawl on all-fours through the ſtreets; after which they were violated in public by ruffians, and at length were thrown into tubs full of ſnakes, who were taught to inſinuate themſelves into their bodies. One's heart ſhrinks to hear of the many other abominable and inhuman cruelties which were committed, and the pen refuſes to record them.

The Japaneſe Chriſtians, however, endured theſe perſecutions with a great degree of ſteadineſs and courage; very few, in compariſon with thoſe who remained ſteadfaſt in the faith, were the number of thoſe who fainted under their trials, and abjured their religion. It is true, theſe people poſſeſs, on ſuch occaſions, a Stoiciſm and intrepidity of which no examples are to be met with in the bulk of other nations. Neither men or women are afraid of death. Yet an uncommon ſteadfaſtneſs in the faith muſt, at the ſame time, be requiſite to continue unſubdued in theſe trying circumſtances.

Once a year a general and ſtrict ſearch is made throughout all the territories of the empire. All the inhabitants are aſſembled in the pagodas, where they muſt ſign with their blood, that they are true Japaneſe, and not Chriſtians; or, if they are Chriſtians, they muſt abjure their faith. But this meaſure has not produced the effects which the Emperor expected from it; as not one year elapſes, in which ſeveral hundred Chriſtians are not put to death.

All theſe perſecutions and maſſacres have, in fact, conſiderably reduced the number of Chriſtians; and the court has directed, in order to diſcover thoſe that remain, that, if any one was found to be a Chriſtian, he ſhould be relieved from the puniſhment to which he would otherwiſe be liable, upon making a diſcovery of a fellow-Chriſtian; or, if he could or would not point out another, that then he ſhould ſuffer the penalty affixed to the profeſſion of his religion, namely, to be hung up with the head downwards. It is generally ſuppoſed, that this meaſure will be more efficacious for the extirpation of Chriſtianity, than all the puniſhments that have hitherto been deviſed.

An accurate regiſter is kept of thoſe Chriſtians who have ſaved their lives by treachery of this kind; and the ſtricteſt meaſures of precaution are obſerved that they may not abſcond. They are conſequently all known; it is known where they are; and they can be forthcoming as often as they may be deſired to appear.

Japaneſe, who were well informed, and experienced in affairs of ſtate, aſſured Mr. Caron, that there was no doubt, but the court had in view to deſtroy all the Chriſtians in one day, without ſparing one individual, as ſoon as an aſſurance could be obtained that none others were to be found in the empire; in the hopes, in that caſe, of preventing Chriſtianity from ever again rearing its head.

All the houſes in Japan are built of wood, and nothing but wood and charcoal is burnt in the fire-places. Hence fires are very frequent, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for entire cities to be conſumed by the flames. How large ſoever the quantity be of timber and wood which is requiſite for theſe various purpoſes in a country ſo thickly inhabited, yet no ſcarcity is ever experienced of the article; a proof that it is a country abounding in foreſts and in trees.

Each

Each houſe has a kind of magazine or warehouſe belonging to it, which is conſtructed ſo as to be proof againſt fire: articles of the greateſt value are ſtored or kept in them. All the houſes are elevated four feet from the ground, and are floored with deals, which are covered by mats cloſely joined together. The Japaneſe generally live in the lower apartments; the upper ſtory is principally uſed as a ſtorehouſe for proviſions, and for many other articles of inferior value. The parlours or ſtate-rooms, in which they receive their friends, are very neat and handſome.

"Tubs or veſſels full of water are placed on the top of moſt of the houſes, in order to ſerve, in caſe of need, to extinguiſh fires. All kinds of variegated woods, ſuch as red, marbled, or flowered, and camphor-wood, abound in this country, and are in common uſe."

The houſes of the nobles and of the military are ſeparated into two diviſions. On one ſide of the entrance are the apartments of the women, who are never ſeen, and who never make their appearance. On the other, are the apartments of the huſband; ſome of which are rooms in which he receives his friends and others, ſuch as are devoted to the occupations which his profeſſion, or office, require.

The wives of the citizens and merchants appear in public; together with their daughters and female ſlaves they attend to the domeſtic duties of the family. They are, however, never addreſſed but with great reſpect and politeneſs; and long or free converſations with them are very carefully avoided. Both the man who addreſſed and the woman who permitted ſuch would be diſhonoured, nay, perhaps, conſidered guilty of a crime.

Their principal articles of furniture are ſkreens, ſtrongly gilt and handſomely painted with various figures and devices. The walls are often covered with various repreſentations, or are neatly paſted with gilt or marbled paper, ſo artfully done as to ſeem as if the whole room was made of paper. All round runs a black varniſhed border.

There are ſome ſmall rooms or cloſets, which are only ſeparated from each other by very light ſliding-doors, alſo covered with paper, which may be taken away at pleaſure; and then the ſeveral ſmall rooms make only one large ſaloon.

At the upper end of the ſaloon is a painting, before which ſtands a vaſe of flowers; for flowers are in ſeaſon here almoſt throughout the whole year. At the lower end is a gallery leading down into a neat garden, adorned with artificial rocks and evergreen trees. The room in which company is uſually received looks into the garden.

They do not ſet off their houſes with japanned ware, boxes, or cheſts; theſe are placed in an interior apartment, to which none but their moſt familiar friends and relations have acceſs. Tea-equipages, paintings, elegant writing in frames, and ſcimeters of beautiful workmanſhip, are the articles of furniture in which they take moſt delight, and on which they expend moſt.

Both nobles and citizens receive their viſitors with great civility. They offer them ſeats, and preſent them with tobacco and tea. People of wealth and conſideration are entertained with wine, ſerved out in a varniſhed beaker. Politeneſs requires that the viſitors ſhould partake of the refreſhment ſet before them.

Banquets are always enlivened by ſongs, and the ſound of ſtringed inſtruments. It is a fortunate circumſtance that, in this country, no quarrels, and much leſs any fighting, takes place amongſt thoſe who have drank too much. Whenever any one finds himſelf overcome by exceſs of drinking, he leaves the company as well as he can, to ſleep away the effects of his intoxication.

Drinking parties are never held in the public taverns in Japan; they always take place in private houſes. Inns and taverns are indeed numerous, but they are only

appropriated for travellers and ſtrangers, who take up their temporary reſidence in them.

" What is called wine amongſt the Japaneſe is a decoction of rice, ſweetened with honey or ſugar, and fermented. It is very heating, and occaſions the head-ache; it has much affinity to mead. Tea is in great eſtimation here. The great people keep it in vaſes with narrow necks, and well cloſed with bladders or other coverings, in order to preſerve its ſtrength and fragrancy. The tea-leaves are ground in a little mill into a fine powder; and as much of it as can lie upon the point of a knife is put into a pot with boiling water. The infuſion is drank very hot, and is reckoned to be very wholeſome. The common people have a proverbial ſaying, the purport of which is, ' That man cannot but be healthy; he drinks much tea."

Courtſhip between young people before marriage is here unknown. Marriages are concluded between the fathers, or, if there be none alive, between the neareſt relations. If, however, a man does not like his wife, he may ſend her away, upon obſerving the neceſſary ſolemnities, and giving her a bill of divorce.

The men are unblushingly permitted to reſort to public proſtitutes; and they are likewiſe allowed to take ſeveral concubines. But the women, as has been already obſerved, muſt expiate the ſmalleſt familiarity with a man by death.

What has been juſt ſaid, however, with reſpect to divorces, only relates to the citizens, the merchants, and the loweſt rank of the military, but by no means either to the higher or the inferior orders of nobility. On account of the reſpect which they bear for the noble parentage of their wives, they are reſtrained from giving them a bill of divorce; and although they do not pleaſe them, they do not therefore ceaſe of maintaining them as their wives. It follows, however, in ſuch caſes, of courſe, that the concubines whom they keep are the objects of their affection, and engroſs their careſſes. It ſometimes happens that, when the Japaneſe huſbands are tired of their concubines, they return to their wives; but this is not often the caſe. The women are thus completely ſubjected to the will of the men, and can poſſeſs no property; whilſt the men enjoy perfect liberty in that reſpect, and do as they pleaſe. Hence, the women, in order to prevent the men from taking up any averſion to them, ſtrive by the ſtricteſt attention to acquire a knowledge of their humour and temper, to do whatever is pleaſing to them, and by that means to obtain their love and affection. Wives and concubines exert their powers of pleaſing in emulation of each other, but it too often happens that the latter are victorious in this warfare of female allurement.

Public ſtews, and public proſtitutes are permitted here. The women who derive their ſubſiſtence from this ſhameful ſource, are conſidered as the ſlaves of thoſe in whoſe ſervice they are. The reaſon alledged for the allowance of this, is, that each may have the means of ſatisfying his carnal deſires, without being led into the temptation of attempting the ſeduction of the wife or daughter of his neighbour. It is on account of the eaſy means thus applied to the ſatisfaction of animal deſire, that thoſe who purſue unlawful ways, meet with no mercy, but are killed without remorſe.

The children are educated with a great deal of tenderneſs and indulgence. They are very ſeldom beat, and ſome parents never make uſe of the rod. When they cry, or hurt themſelves, or even when their fractiouſneſs continues a whole night, they are always ſpoken to in a ſoothing manner, and no one has the heart to beat them, or even to ſcold them. The Japaneſe allege, that they do not yet poſſeſs ſufficient judgment to receive any benefit from chaſtiſement; that the period ought to be waited for, when an increaſe of years make their underſtandings open, and that they attain ſuffi-

cient experience to profit by ſuch ſevere remedies; and that, in the mean time, leſſons and exhortations ought to be the only means employed.

It is certainly a very pleaſing ſight to obſerve the modeſty and the ſenſe with which children of twelve years old, and even ſuch as are only ſeven, conduct themſelves. They act, ſpeak, and anſwer as if they were already full grown, and wholly otherwiſe than European children do. They are never ſent to ſchool before they are ſix, ſeven, or eight years of age; and their ſize and ſtrength are criteria by which their fitneſs for ſchool is judged. It is alledged, that at an earlier period, they are incapable of being taught; and that ſchools are then, with reſpect to them, not places where they aſſemble to imbibe learning, but to play, to hurt one another, and to impede each other in their learning; to teach each other their evil cuſtoms; and to acquire new and bad habits, which they would not otherwiſe have gained.

When the period arrives when it is cuſtomary to ſend them to ſchool, their inſtruction is commenced, not ſo much by force as by friendly advice. They are not taught to write till they ſhew an inclination to learn that art; nothing is done either to compel them to it, or to overcome any repugnance they may ſhew for it. In every reſpect, it is endeavoured to inſpire them with emulation, or a laudable ambition. Examples are laid before them. They are told that ſuch or ſuch a one had, by his improvements in learning, acquired much eſteem and celebrity, and had advanced his family in the world.

It is certain, that in children educated in this mode, the inſtructions given them ſink into their very marrow and blood, and that they naturally become virtuous, and attentive to the fulfilment of their duties; much more ſo than thoſe who are taught by the degrading influence of the rod and the ferula. But it muſt alſo be obſerved, that the Japaneſe are naturally obſtinate; force would have little effect to make them abandon their natural inclination. It is not even uncommon that ſchoolmaſters who have had recourse to caſtigation to teach their ſcholars their duty, have been murdered by their pupils.

"Children are never either ſwathed, or dandled about in Japan; immediately after a child is born, the midwife rubs its hands and feet with a kind of oil, and lays it down on the ground. The children of the country people are often ſeen ſtark naked in the coldeſt weather, crawling about upon their hands and feet."

When the father or mother of a family becomes old, and their children have attained years of maturity, the father diveſts himſelf of the management of the family, gives up his occupation, ſhop, or trade, and commits the whole of his affairs to his eldeſt ſon, to whom he at the ſame time gives up the principal apartment in his houſe, and conveys to him the greateſt part of his property; or if they happen to be wealthy people, he goes to reſide in another houſe. The property which he does not convey to his eldeſt ſon is retained for his other children.

Young women do not bring any portions with them in marriage. Rich people generally ſend, upon the wedding-day of their daughters, a ſum of money, according to their rank, to the bridegroom; but he ſends the money back again, with many expreſſions of gratitude. This is ordered ſo, that the women may not pride themſelves upon their dowers, or aſſume any authority in conſequence. Common people, or thoſe who are not very rich, ſometimes retain ſuch a preſent of money. It is a ſaying in this country, that a woman lives all her life under another's roof; for, in her youth, ſhe reſides with her parents; in her married ſtate, with her huſband; and in her old age, with her children.

The Japaneſe nation enjoy the reputation of being extremely honourable. The principle of their fidelity ariſes from their love of fame, upon which they are ſet above all things, and to which all their efforts are directed. None but thoſe who are loſt to every ſenſe of character, do any thing to prejudice or hurt another. To preſerve their honour they willingly lay down their lives. Numerous examples may be produced of this. The following may ſerve for one.

At the time when the guardian of Fideri, as has been before related, declared againſt him, the latter Prince had in his power as hoſtages, a queen, the wife of the King of Cocora, and her children, together with ſeveral other queens, and the wives of noblemen. The King of Cocora, who was then with Ongoſſchio, choſe his ſide. Fideri having learnt this, gave orders that the queen and her children ſhould, for greater ſecurity, be conveyed into the caſtle. The queen ſought to prevent this, ſaying to Fideri in the moſt reſpectful manner; "My Lord, I am a woman placed under the power and authority of the King my huſband, in the ſame manner as he is under your power and authority. Tranſmit your orders unto him, in order that he may ſend his to me, and thereby enable me to pay obedience to your commands." As ſhe was one of the moſt eminent ladies in the empire, it was a point of honour for her not to go out of her own houſe, which would even have reflected diſgrace upon the King her huſband. Fideri, however, highly offended at her preſumption, ſent word to her, that ſhe muſt remove if ſhe did not chooſe to be forcibly dragged from her home. Upon receiving this menace, and to avoid the diſgrace a compliance with the Prince's order would have brought upon her, ſhe came to the determination of rather ſacrificing her life than ſubmit to the infamy which etiquette would have attached to her in the contrary caſe. Perceiving that her oppoſition did not produce the deſired effect, ſhe entered into an apartment, together with her children, her nurſe, and her attendant women, who had alſo reſolved to accompany her to death; ſhe cauſed a great quantity of firewood to be brought into the room, and the floor to be ſtrewed with gunpowder. She then wrote, with her own hand, her will, and ſome elegiac verſes, which ſhe put into the hands of a faithful ſervant, whom ſhe commanded as ſoon as he ſaw the flames burſt out of her room to haſten away, and convey the writings ſhe had committed to his care to the King her lord and huſband. She then ſet fire to the apartment, and burnt herſelf with all her attendants, whilſt the ſervant acquitted himſelf of the duty laid upon him.

In another point of view they poſſeſs great fidelity and honour. When any one commits himſelf to their protection, ſoliciting them to defend his life and honour, they do ſo moſt honourably, and ſpend the laſt drop of their blood in fulfilling this truſt, without regarding their perſonal intereſt or ſafety, or that of their wives or children. The point of honour in this reſpect is ſo ſtrictly adhered to, and they carry their generoſity ſo far to aſſiſt a friend in need upon his ſolicitations that they never ſwerve from it, how great ſoever the danger be that may hang over them, how much ſoever their lives may be expoſed, or how viſible ſoever the imminent peril be which they encounter.

When ſeveral perſons are guilty of a mutual crime, and one of them is diſcovered and convicted, he willingly ſuffers himſelf to be tortured, and will rather die under the moſt excruciating torments than betray his aſſociates. The tortures that are inflicted are at the ſame time moſt cruel; no one is ever ſpared, and they do not terminate but with the life of the ſufferer. All, however, does not prevent him from remaining firm, and from enduring every anguiſh rather than break the promiſes he has made, and occaſion the death of his friends. The heavieſt and moſt heart-rending evils are conſidered as nothing, in compariſon with a ſtain upon their honour.

Almoſt all the trade of Japan is carried on by foreigners. Little can be diſpoſed of to the grandees, for the land yields in abundance, to them, all they want.

The foreign nations who carry on trade here, and who bring their merchandize to the annual fairs, are, in the firſt place, the Chineſe, who have, as is well known, from time immemorial, or rather from the period that Japan was firſt inhabited, traded hither. It is about one hundred years ago, that is, a little before the middle of the fifteenth century, that the Spaniards and Portugueze firſt traded to theſe parts. The Engliſh have alſo had a ſlight commercial intercourſe with Japan; but it continued for a very few years. The profits they derived from it were not adequate to their expectations. The natives of Siam and Cambodia likewiſe made their appearance here with their junks, but of late their trade has been materially reduced. Finally the Dutch got acceſs hither, about forty years ago, that is to ſay, ſhortly after the eſtabliſhment of the Dutch Eaſt India Company: their trade has never been interrupted.

All foreign articles of merchandize as well as a great many of thoſe of home production, are ſent to the great city of Miaco, which is an emporium for all kinds of goods. Merchants, brokers, factors, and agents from every quarter of the empire, reſort hither to diſpoſe of, or purchaſe, the various articles in which they deal. Goods are ſent thither from diſtances of two and three hundred leagues; and others again are forwarded thence to thoſe remote places. Horſes are employed for the conveyance of them, who muſt at times travel over mountains of difficult aſcent, and through vallies interſected by rocks and rivers.

"It was earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century that the Portugueze became acquainted with Japan, through the means of the Siameſe, Cambodians, and Chineſe. They experienced much ſatisfaction in trading thither, as they found a genial climate, a healthy air, a fertile country, and as much, if not more, money, that in any other known quarter of the Eaſt Indies. They likewiſe found a great degree of conformity in the public celebration of religion, with the ceremonies in uſe in the Romiſh Church. They hence laid themſelves out, with very fortunate effect, not only to extend their commerce, but likewiſe to increaſe the dominion of their religion. They had built very handſome churches in the province of Nangagarne; but the arrogance of the Caſtilian and Portugueze character ſoon drew down upon them the averſion of the natives. Their ſhips were ſeized and burnt, and their perſons were deſtroyed by the moſt dreadful maſſacres. In the year 1636 the Portugueze who had ventured to ſettle there again, were again expelled with their families, and interdicted from reſiding in the country in future. The occaſion of this was their being in the habit of annually ſending over a number of prieſts from Zemnar."

Trade is carried on in Japan not only in all kinds of articles of neceſſity, but alſo in ſuch as are only conducive to luxury and pleaſure. The foreign merchants import annually into the country between four and five thouſand peculs of raw ſilk, and an innumerable quantity of ſilk ſtuffs; full two hundred thouſand deer-ſkins, and upwards of one hundred thouſand other furs; a large quantity of flax, linens, red wool, long dreſſes, tutenague, quickſilver, medicinal drugs, cloves, pepper, muſk, ſapanwood, ſugar, china, camphor, borax, elephants' teeth, red coral, and a great variety of ſmall articles, chiefly of Chineſe manufacture.

It is here believed, that the Japaneſe were in the habit of travelling to China from the very earlieſt times that the country became inhabited; that they were in alliance with the ſovereign of that empire, and that the Emperors of Japan and China uſed to ſend annually ambaſſadors to each other. But the Japaneſe, who were familiarly received in China in great numbers, having at one time excited a diſturbance, it roſe to ſuch

ſuch a pitch that they deſtroyed an entire city, plundering it, raviſhing the women, killing a great part of the men, and committing all manner of exceſſes. The Chineſe, however, recovering from their diſmay, took ſuch meaſures of revenge, and obſerved their time ſo well, that they richly retaliated upon the Japaneſe by putting them all to the ſword. The Emperor of China taking into conſideration that a comparatively ſmall number of Japaneſe had been able to commit ſo bold an outrage, and that in the midſt of his dominions, was no leſs alarmed than aſtoniſhed. In conſequence he came to the determination to expel every Japaneſe from his empire, and to prohibit their entering it again for ever; cauſing at the ſame time a ſtone monument to be erected in commemoration of their wicked conduct, and upon which the ſentence of their perpetual interdiction was engraven in letters of gold. Beſides this, he cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued by which all his ſubjects were prohibited, upon pain of death, from navigating to Japan. In the commencement this order was more ſtrictly obſerved that it is at preſent; although, even then, as uſually happens in ſuch caſes, the Chineſe found means to elude the edict, by making falſe clearances, and pretending that they were bound to ſome other place. The contravention of this law was not only puniſhable by the death of the offender, but alſo by the confiſcation of both veſſels and cargoes. At this time, however, theſe things are not narrowly looked into in China.

Notwithſtanding this ſevere meaſure of the Chineſe Emperor, the ſovereigns of Japan have never interdicted the Chineſe from entering into their territories. They declared, that they would not return evil for evil, and that in fact the Japaneſe were to blame, and had given occaſion to the reſolutions that had been entered into in China.

"Intelligent Japaneſe affirmed to Hagenaar that the inhabitants of Japan were in reality deſcendants of Chineſe who had been baniſhed from their country, and had repaired to the iſlands which they now inhabit. That the occaſion hereof was, that many of the nobles of the court of the Emperor of China, having entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, it was diſcovered, and ſeveral of the principal conſpirators were ſeized and put to death; but as an immenſe number of people had taken part in this combination, the Emperor was ſatisfied with the baniſhment of the inferior claſſes; and that theſe exiles, together with ſuch of the chiefs as had ſaved themſelves by flight, took refuge and ſettled in theſe fertile and pleaſant iſlands."

"It was added that, after they had regulated their ſociety, they conſidered of the means of obliterating the memory of their origin, and of the occaſion of their conſtrained emigration to their preſent abode; that they deſired not that the world ſhould know that they came from China, and had been expelled thence on account of their miſdeeds. With this view, therefore, they changed their dreſs, language, and mode of writing, and accuſtomed themſelves to almoſt every thing that was the reverſe of what was cuſtomary in China. That this is the origin of the diſtinction that is obſervable between them and the Chineſe, and indeed between them and almoſt all other people in an innumerable variety of peculiarities; as well as of their deviation from certain cuſtoms which are common to all nations excepting the Japaneſe. It is hence that it is ſaid they differ, in particular, from the Chineſe in the mode of wearing the hair; which the latter wear very long, never cutting it, and tying it together at the top of the head; whilſt the Japaneſe ſhave the crown of their head quite bare till a little above the ears, tying the remainder of the hair round the neck, with a ſtrip of white paper."

After the Japaneſe were baniſhed from China, they navigated to Taïovan (Formoſa), whither the Chineſe brought their goods to trade with them. But a report of this intercourſe having been made to the Emperor of China, their admittance at Taïovan was equally prohibited.

About

About a hundred years after that prohibition, the Japaneſe began anew to frequent that iſland. They uſed to ſail with ſeven paſſports, from their Emperor permitting them to trade reſpectively to Taïovan, Tunquin, Cambodia, Siam, and other places. Theſe paſſports likewiſe included directions, according to which thoſe who viſited foreign parts were to regulate themſelves, in order to prevent the recurrence of events ſimilar to that which had taken place in China.

New circumſtances and other views afterwards induced the Emperor to withdraw theſe paſſports, and to prohibit all his ſubjects from undertaking any foreign voyage. Pride is ſuppoſed to have formed the baſis of this determination of the court. The honour and reputation of the Emperor are objects of ſo tender a nature, and he is ſo ſtrenuouſly devoted to maintain them, that he cannot bear any thing from foreigners that ſeems to throw the leaſt appearance of tarniſh upon them. From a principle of juſtice, beſides, he would not ſuffer his ſubjects to commit any act in a foreign land that might diſpleaſe the government there; as in fact happened about that time and afterwards, both at Taïovan and in the dominions of the King of Siam, who had taken upon himſelf to puniſh the delinquents.

Another reaſon of this prohibition is, that the Emperor will not allow any arms to be exported out of his dominions, nor that navigators ſhould uſe them to hurt or annoy the inhabitants of the places where they touch, whilſt it is ſcarcely poſſible for voyages to to take place without ſuch inſtances. So very ſtrict is the prohibition againſt the exportation of arms, that, whilſt Mr. Caron was in Japan, two Chineſe, father and ſon, were crucified, becauſe the father had only attempted to infringe this law; and five Japaneſe who had ſold the arms to him, without, however, having any knowledge of the intention of the Chineſe, were beheaded.

But another, and the moſt powerful, motive for prohibiting ſea-voyages, is the jealous apprehenſion, that thoſe Japaneſe who reſort to foreign countries, may acquire ſome inclination for the Chriſtian religion, and may cauſe it to make its appearance again in the empire.

The Japaneſe have, therefore, no foreign relations; and excepting their former embaſſies to China, have never ſent any ambaſſadors to other potentates. The King of Spain, the Pope of Rome, and the King of Siam, have, more than once, ſent ſplendid embaſſies to Japan, which have been received in a very friendly way; but the Emperor of Japan has never yet been able to reſolve upon anſwering theſe civilities by reciprocal demonſtrations of friendſhip.

Neither the Emperor nor any of the nobles derive any advantage from the operations of commerce, the profits of which belong ſolely to the merchants who are engaged in it. Their profits are, however, but ſmall, excepting it happens that a ſudden riſe takes place in the price of any article of which they may happen to be holders. The empire being very extenſive, and exceedingly populous, there are great numbers who lie in wait to take every advantage, and when there is therefore a penny to be got, there are at leaſt ten hands ſtretched out to catch it.

All the neceſſaries and the luxuries of life are produced in the empire. It yields gold, ſilver, copper, and lead in abundance; and furniſhes alſo cotton cloth, cotton, goatſkins, an annual quantity of full one hundred thouſand peculs of ſilk, and of between three and four hundred thouſand peculs of ſilk-cotton*, a great many deerſkins, timber, and all kinds of proviſions in much greater abundance than is requiſite for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants.

* The produce of the Bombax pentandrum.

"The

" The ſea-weed which grows upon the rocks, is a favourite article of food with them. It adheres to them in the manner of oyſters; and is collected at low water. The hills abound in a great variety of herbs; and the fields with very beautiful flowers, of which the great people make a good deal of work. They are likewiſe very fond of birding. There are ſome very experienced phyſicians, who can tell the nature of a diſeaſe by feeling the pulſe. Moſt medicines are adminiſtered in pills. The properties and the uſe of the bark are very well known. But they have very little knowledge of the treatment of wounds."

Only one language prevails throughout the whole empire of Japan; only one mode of dreſs; one kind of weight; and one ſpecies of coin; of the laſt, however, it is only the gold and ſilver coin that are uniform. The Caſiés, which are current in many different kingdoms throughout the Indies, are of various value. The variation in their currency induced the government to buy up all the caſies, and to iſſue in their ſtead other pieces of copper coin which are all equal in nominal value. They acted with perfect equity on this occaſion, as on many others, as they bought up this baſe coin above its nominal value, and by that means made every one eager to exchange it.

It has already been ſtated that Japan poſſeſſes a great abundance of horſes, bulls and cows, for they are never caſtrated; alſo deer and ſwine, together with other quadrupeds, both wild and tame, and all kinds of fowl.

There are very excellent and ſalubrious mineral ſprings and baths; impregnated with cupreous, nitrous, ſulphureous, ferruginous, and ſtannary particles; ſome are brackiſh and others freſh. Amongſt others there is one which riſes in a hole upon a high mountain. This cavity is ten feet in diameter at its mouth, and appears very dark on account of its depth. Within, as far as the eye can reach, it appears ſtudded with ſharp points jutting out and reſembling elephant's teeth.

Another of theſe ſprings burſts out at the foot of a mountain, not far from the ſea-ſhore. The water does not riſe in it without intermiſſion, but at intervals, and at regular times, that is to ſay, generally twice in twenty-four hours, when it continues riſing for an hour at a time. Yet when a warm eaſterly wind blows, it riſes three, and ſometimes four times in that period, and then likewiſe flows an hour at a time. When the hour of its riſing approaches, a ſound is heard as of a ſtrong wind, which appears to force the water upwards with ſuch violence that the heavy ſtones which lie at the mouth of the ſpring ſhake with the force. The water guſhes up three or four fathoms into the air with a report as loud as that of a great gun. The heat of this water is very great; it exceeds that of boiling water. The baſon into which it falls has been ſurrounded by a wall. It is conducted through this wall by ſpouts into the buildings erected for the curing of patients who reſort to this ſpring.

Although the language as well as the form of the letters or characters is widely different in China, Japan, Corea, and Tunquin, there is nevertheleſs a particular language and mode of writing, uſed by ſcientific men, which is learnt and underſtood by many in all theſe four extenſive countries.

The Japaneſe write with painting-bruſhes, and do it very expeditiouſly. A little time ſuffices to commit to writing whatever they command or deſire. They poſſeſs a peculiar promptneſs in expreſſing a great deal in a few lines. Their petitions, letters, and other writings, eſpecially thoſe which are deſtined to come into the hands of the magiſtrates and the nobles, are uncommonly ſhort, but convey the meaning of the writers, accurately and fully.

Though they do not keep accounts in the ſame manner as we do, yet they are very exact in their ſtatements of receipt and expenditure. They are very ready in calculating, which

which they do upon boards, by means of a little ſtick, to the end of which a piece of chalk is faſtened.

There are likewiſe libraries in Japan, but they are not ſo frequently met with as in Europe; for the inferior claſſes read very little. The chronicles and annals of the empire are preſerved in the palace of the Dairo, where they are continued. The Dairo himſelf, his nobles, and their wives, do not diſdain to commit to writing the events that occur in their time.

A COPY OF THE JAPAN DIARY:

Received per a Daniſh Ship, July 18, 1674, and given to Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL by Sir NATHANAEL HEARNE *.

Sunday, June 29, Anno Dom. 1673, aboard the Ship Return.

THIS day we had rainy weather, and the wind ſoutherly. In the morning about eleven of the clock, coming before Nangaſacque, there came off to us two or three boats, one with Japan, the other with Dutch colours; they haled us in Portugueze, aſking us who we were, and from whence we came? We anſwered them in Engliſh and Dutch, and told them we were Engliſh from Bantam; they would not come aboard us, but from the Japan boat they wiſhed us to come to an anchor, to forbear ſounding of trumpets, and firing of guns, which we complying with, they returned aſhore.

About two hours after there came nine boats from the ſhore towards us, in which were two principal men, one being called the governor, and the other the ſecretary, accompanied with one interpreter that ſpoke Portugueze, and four others that ſpoke Dutch, and ſeveral other perſons to the number of fourteen, which we entertained in the great cabin; being ſeated, the governor, by his interpreter, aſked me ſeveral queſtions; firſt, whether we were Engliſh? I told them yes, and that we came with licenſe from the King of England, for the Eaſt India Company to trade, and to have commerce with them, as we had ſeveral years before, now forty-nine years paſt; and that we brought letters from our King of England, and the Honourable Eaſt India Company, for His Imperial Majeſty of Japan; and alſo tendered them a copy of the articles, or privileges, granted to us, at our firſt entrance here, by the Emperor, in the Japan character, which they peruſed, and read, and could underſtand, aſking very much for the original or grant itſelf, with the Emperor's chop or ſeal, which I ſaid we had not, by reaſon it was delivered to the Emperor's council at our departure from Firando; they kept it, ſaying, they would deliver it to me again very ſuddenly: then they aſked if we had peace with Portugal and Spain, and how long our King had been married to the daughter of Por-

* From Kempfer's Hiſtory of Japan.

tugal, and what children ſhe had? To all which I anſwered, that we had peace with all nations, that our King had been married about eleven years, that he had no children by the Queen, that it is cuſtomary in our parts for Kings to marry with their equals to ſtrengthen their alliance, and for other reaſons of ſtate, and not with their own ſubjects; alſo I acquainted them of ſome preſents we had for His Imperial Majeſty, which ſeemed to pleaſe them: they aſked what religion we had? I told them the Chriſtian as the Dutch, not Papiſts; they aſked what goods we brought; I told them in general terms, wherewith they ſeemed content and went aſhore.

Two hours after they came again, and ſaid, that if we would be content to trade as the Dutch, we ſhould, but we muſt, according to the Japan cuſtom and manner, deliver our guns, and all other ammunition into their hands to be carried aſhore, with our two boats; that nothing ſhould be diminiſhed; that they would ſend to the Emperor, and upon receipt of his anſwer, we ſhould come aſhore and have a houſe; they brought boats to ride by us as guards, a-head and ſtern, and on both ſides (a ſmall diſtance from the ſhip), full of ſoldiers; then they took the names of every man aboard, and viewed every man; they brought a Dutchman with them to ſee if we were Engliſh, aſking every man if he were not a Portugal, or if he could not ſpeak that language. After taking an account of the quantity of bales of goods we had brought, and their ſeveral qualities, they aſked what ſhips came with us out of England, and concerning our ſtay at Pehoe and at Bantam? I told them one went for Tonqueen, the other returned for Bantam; then they demanded our ammunition, which was delivered them in part, as much as they could well carry; ſo taking our two boats with them they went on ſhore.

June 30th. Came on board the governor, ſecretary, and bonjoyſes, with the interpreters, and ſaid, ſince it was forty-nine years ſince we had been there, what was the reaſon of our ſo long abſence? I anſwered, that we had for about twenty years civil wars in England, and twice wars with the Dutch, and that it was no ſmall matter to reſolve upon ſo long a voyage, it being very difficult and dangerous. They aſked if we had any that had been here before aboard our ſhips? I told them not a man; then they ſaid how could you find the way into the harbour? I anſwered them we had ſea-draughts for our aſſiſtance, which ſeemed to content them. This morning they brought off boats with them, wherein they took the reſt of our powder and ſhot, with every particular man's arms, leaving nothing of that nature aboard, and viewing a double barrel gun, and ſome ſmall piſtols ſent for preſents by our honourable employers, they were well pleaſed with them and took them aſhore, ſaying they would ſhew them the governor, who would write to the Emperor the particulars of the curioſities we had brought. They wrote down exactly every thing they took aſhore, and compared their accounts together in the great cabin before the ſecretary; who approving thereof, with much courteſy took his leave, promiſing that with all ſpeed we ſhould have an anſwer from Jedo, and admittance to trade: I gave them thanks, and ſaid we no ways queſtioned their honourable performance; they ſaid they would not take our great guns aſhore, but leave them aboard for our conveniency.

July 1ſt. The governor and the interpreters came aboard again and examined me concerning the affairs of Tywan; to which I anſwered, that our interpreters there had told me, that in regard the governor of Nangaſacque this laſt year had put a price upon their goods, they intended not to come this year with any juncks. Being aſked whether they intended to ſet out their juncks and rob upon the coaſt of China, I anſwered that I knew of no ſuch intent: but the Dutchman that came with them the firſt day, told

them I had ſaid they did intend to rob at ſea, which I told them was an untruth, for I had ſaid no ſuch matter. Then they examined all our men over again by their names, to know their age and office, which they took; and deſired againſt next day they might have a particular account of every particular man's goods he had to ſell; how many pieces of each ſort; and likewiſe deſired the contents of the Honourable Company's bales, which I promiſed I would endeavour to get ready. They took the dimenſions of the ſhip, and maſts, yards, &c.; and ſaid if we wanted any thing from the ſhore we ſhould make a waft; and in caſe of the death of any perſon we ſhould not throw them overboard, but put out two wafts, and that they would come aboard with an interpreter; and again told us, they had ſent to the Emperor, and wiſhed us to be chearful and contented, and ſo departed.

2d. In the morning came aboard the interpreters with ſome gentlemen of the Emperor's, and deſired an account of the news we brought; I told them we had peace with all nations at home and abroad; that being in Bantam we had news from Surat, from the chief of our nation; that there were ſeventeen French ſhips upon or about the coaſt of Malabar; that it was ſuppoſed there might be a war between them and the Dutch, but the certainty we knew not. Then they deſired me to read a Dutch letter brought in our ſhip for the Dutch Chief here, from Tywan, which I did, and told them the contents were, that they had been a long time priſoners, and were in great want, and deſired the Dutch Chief to intercede for their liberty to the Emperor of Japan, the next treaty there might be betwixt the Chineſe and this empire; for they underſtood, as to matter of commerce, all was for the preſent laid by. They aſked if the letter did not mention they would not ſend any juncks this year to trade; I told them nothing to that purpoſe; and what I had told them, I had from our jurybaſſes, but was certain of nothing, all being but reports of the people; with this they departed.

This afternoon they came off and brought us ſome freſh fiſh, peaches, plums, eggs, radiſh, cucumbers, melons, gourds, ſix hens, a hundred ſmall loaves of bread, bought by the Dutch commodore, and rated all at a copang and a half, which was extraordinary dear, yet we paid them with many thanks. I aſked them leave to wear our colours, and ſound our trumpets, which they ſaid we might do; and at their departure we ſounded; I deſired them to loſe no time in ſending up to the Emperor; they told me they had ſent away two days before, and that we might reſt contented; they made no doubt but we ſhould have a kind reception, and with all ſpeed poſſible. We daily went to prayers, with ſinging of pſalms publickly upon the quarter deck.

Note, That all queſtions they put to us they did it in the Portugal language, and were anſwered in the ſame, or Spaniſh, and then put the ſame in Dutch again; and thus they conſtantly did, aſking one thing five or ſix times over, and every time had their anſwer for their more certain underſtanding; ſo that all perſons in theſe parts ſhould have one, if not both theſe languages.

4th. We made a waft, thinking they would have come from the ſhore aboard us, but they came not, we ſuppoſe they underſtood not the manner of our waft.

6th. This afternoon came aboard in two boats a bonjoyce with ſome others, and about ſix interpreters; they inquired of me concerning the Portugal religion, whether they were not called *Catholico Romano:* I told them yes, that they ſo termed themſelves; they aſked if they had not a woman-image, or print, called Sta. Maria and a man Sto. Chriſto, and whether they had not their images in reverence? and what other ſaints they had? I ſaid I had heard they had images of theſe too, which they worſhipped, but how many others they had I knew not, as not being of their religion;

they aſked what religion we had; I told them the reformed religion, ſo called in England, and in Dutch Ghereformeert; they aſking, whether we had any images as the Portugals had, I told them we had none; then aſking what worſhip we had, I told them by words, praying to God Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, above in the heavens, filling the world with his preſence; but that we had no images of him. They aſked, who that St. Chriſto was? I told them the Son of God; Who was Sancta Maria? I told them we called her the Virgin Mary; and that we made no addreſſes to her: They aſked how the Dutch did worſhip God; I told them as we who were Gherefornieert; and aſking how the Dutch called God and Chriſt? I ſaid Godt and Chriſtus: they aſked how we called the Portugal religion? I told them Roman Catholicks; by what name we termed thoſe that were of that religion? I told them papiſts or popiſhly affected; how the Dutch called them? *Papiſten and Rooms-Catholiicken, and Rooms Geſinde:* and what other names they gave them? I told them I was no Dutchman; but without queſtion they had other names for them, but all were to this effect: then aſking what the Portugals called us? I told them Hereyes, in Engliſh hereticks, in Dutch the ſame. It being Sunday we put our colours with St. George's croſs; they aſked why we put out our colours to-day, not having ſpread them before ſince our coming? I ſaid this was our Sunday, which came every ſeventh day, and it was our cuſtom ſo to do: they aſked again what way we worſhipped God? I ſaid by prayer every morning and even unto the great God of Heaven above; Whether the Dutch did the like? I told them I believed they did; with all which they ſeemed ſatisfied, and having aſked theſe queſtions ſix or ſeven times over, they wrote them down, together with my anſwers, and gave them me to ſign, which I did, although I underſtood not their character; all the interpreters firmed the ſame, and put their ſeals to it, and ſaid upon their words it was as they had aſked me; then wiſhing us not to throw any thing overboard by night, to keep our men ſober, and not to give them leave to go into the water to ſwim, and to forbear fighting; I told them we had no arms aboard; they ſaid not with knives; I replied it was not our cuſtom. I deſired them to ſend us ſome hogs, biſket, ſalt, fiſh, radiſhes, turnips, or other ſalleting, with one barrel of ſackee, (having formerly made a waft, and none came off to us, they ſaid they had not ſeen our waft), and promiſing to ſend us the next day what we wanted, they departed, not ſaying any thing againſt our uſual colours, having been aboard five hours and very troubleſome. The ſame evening, about an hour after, they returned aboard again, and ſaid that in our colours we now put abroad there was a croſs, how it came, that when we firſt entered the colours we then wore had no croſs in them, only ſtripes white and red? I anſwered, the colours we came in with, were new colours of ſilk made at Tywan, red and white without a croſs; becauſe the Chineſe had told us, they were great enemies to the croſs for the Portugals ſake, and that it would be better taken not to wear the croſs at our firſt entrance. They aſked to ſee the colours we came with: I ſaid it being a rainy day at our entrance, thoſe new colours were ſpoiled and were taken in pieces; yet they deſired to ſee them, which being brought, they were ſatisfied: then I ſaid theſe colours that we now wear were the right Engliſh colours, and had been worn by the Engliſh nation for ſeveral hundred years; and that when we were laſt at Firando they were worn by our Engliſh ſhips; and that the Dutch knew very well they were our colours, whom I deſired them to aſk for their ſatisfaction; they ſaid one of the interpreter's father had been interpreter to the Engliſh, and that he was ſtill living, and that they would inquire of him: moreover I ſaid, we did not wear the croſs as in worſhip or ſuperſtition, but as being worn by the

the Engliſh nation for diſtinction, and that the Portugal's colours and croſs were much different from ours; they aſked if ever England had been under the government of Portugal or Spain, and had received this croſs from them? I told them we never had been ſubject to either of them; but that it being ſo long ſince our firſt uſing them, I could not tell them certainly what was the cauſe of our firſt wearing them, being uſed by us time out of mind, and according as I read in hiſtory above ſix hundred years, and that our King was a monarch of three great nations, and far greater than the King of Portugal; with all which they ſeemed ſatisfied; all queſtions and anſwers were put in writing and ſigned by me; having been here ſome three hours they departed, promiſing to ſend us ſome proviſions to-morrow. This morning early we heard five ſhot from ſome ſhipping at ſea; the Dutch boats went out but could not get to the ſhips; two ſail were ſeen; we hoped they might be Engliſh.

7th. This morning about ſix of the clock entered the two ſhips that were off, they proved Dutch, each about two hundred tons, ſquare ſterned, manned, as they tell us, with one hundred and forty men between them, which is more than they uſually carry; they came from Batavia about forty days ſince; news we could not learn any as yet: we put out our Engliſh colours with the croſs in them, flag, ancient, and jack, at their entrance; about ten of the clock came aboard the interpreters with two chief men, and they told us that for the future, until other orders came from Jedo, they would not adviſe us to wear our colours with the croſs in them, it being ſo nigh the Portugal croſs, the generality of the people would take our croſs to be the Portugal croſs; any other colours we might wear, but not in the form of a croſs: this the interpreters adviſed us to obſerve from them as our friends, not that it was the command of the governor or Emperor, and by this means we might be aſſured of the Japanners friendſhip and of a trade; they promiſed us that to-morrow we ſhould have the freſh proviſions we had deſired; and taking a particular account of all goods for quantity and quality we had aboard, they went aſhore, telling us again that they expected within twenty days an anſwer from Jedo, and then we ſhould have an houſe and all other accommodation neceſſary provided to our content. About eight at night there came on board again two chief ſecretaries, and ſeven interpreters, and told me they had been examining the Dutch Chief concerning the news theſe two ſhips brought from Batavia, which was (as they were informed) that the Engliſh and French were joined together and made war againſt the Hollanders, who had taken a ſhip about Batavia from the Engliſh, and that the Engliſh had taken one about Ceylon, or the coaſt of Malabar, from the Dutch: then aſking me (that ſince the Hollanders and we had made peace five or ſix years ſince, and promiſed to aſſiſt each other, and were both of one religion) how it came to paſs that we fell out with the Dutch, and joined with the French, that was a Roman Catholick; I anſwered, that when we came from England all was in peace, and at our being at Bantam the like, and that we knew of no wars, more than what they now told me theſe two ſhips brought advice of, much leſs could I give any reaſon for the ſame, and that I did not believe what the Dutch reported, unleſs there came news from England or Bantam, to confirm it. Then they ſhewed me a paper ſigned by Mr. Martinus Cæſar, chief for the Dutch here, wherein he declared the aboveſaid news to be true, and hath promiſed the governor of this place, that notwithſtanding there was war between the two nations, that in this port both by water and land he and his men ſhould live peaceably with us, as likewiſe in any part of the Emperor of Japan's country, for ſuch were his commands; and therefore required of me to ſign the like paper, with promiſes that I and our nation ſhould live peaceably with the Dutch,

and

and not put any affronts upon them, which if we did as they desired, they told us, the Emperor would protect us (though but new comers into his country) as much as he should the Dutch; for which I returned him thanks, and made him the same promises, and signed to a paper in the Japan character according to their custom. This they several times repeated, that we should have the same friendship as the Dutch, although they had been here so many years, and we but newly come; but they expected our peaceable living both here and upon their coast; and that as soon as the Emperor's answer came from Jedo, they would provide all things ashore for our convenience and security. They required me to promise, that when the other ships came that we expected, they should do the like, which I did. I also proposed to them, that since there was war between both nations, they would let our ships depart first out of their ports, for the Dutch were like to be double the number of ships to us, and in case they went out first, in all probability they would lie in wait for us, and fight us at our going to sea; which proposition they said was but reason, and that upon receiving the Emperor's orders for our reception, we might propose that, or any thing else judged necessary. They staid aboard till midnight and so departed.

8th. This day they brought us from on shore some fresh provisions, viz. three small hogs rated twenty four tayle, some salt and fresh fish, some bisket, and one tub of sackee, containing four gallons, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ tayle; all our provisions amounting to $6\frac{3}{4}$ copangs, which we paid with thanks; every thing being excessive dear, contrary to what we were informed at Tiwan of this place; but we find the price of every small thing to be put down in writing by order of the government; and it being not fitting for us to refuse any thing they bring us for our relief, until we have admittance to trade, and a house ashore, we pay for every thing at the rates they put them at for compliance sake. The interpreters tells us that the Dutch pay the same rates.

10th. We made a waft, and soon after came off by our ship side in a small boat two interpreters; we desired them to come aboard, but they would not; we requested some hens and water, with some herbs and roots, which they promised we should have the next day. We enquired what news they had learnt from the Dutch ships concerning the engagements there had been, but could not get any satisfactory answer; they told us that upon arrival of the Dutch admiral they should know more; they told us likewise that there were but three Dutch ships more expected here this year, and so departed.

11th. They brought us some water and hens, with some radishes, cucumbers, &c. We paid three copangs for all, according to their account: as yet we could not receive any certain news of the ships that had been taken.

13th. These two last nights we had much wind and rain, and so excessive violent, that it was rather a tuffon than a storm, coming from the mountains in such violent gusts upon us, that although we ride with our best and small bower in the river where no sea goes, it being a mile round, both our anchors came home, and we were forced to let go our sheet anchor, the wind veering from the S. to the S. S. E. and S. E. but blessed be God we suffered no damage.

19th. Arrived a junck from Batavia, wanting from thence fifty days; the men were all Chinese, and colours Chinese; her lading being pepper, sugar, several sorts of callicoes, allejaes, &c. for account of particular Chinamen here at Nanguasacque. We enquired, but could not be informed, of certain news of the difference between us and Holland; they reported we might expect the Dutch Chief with three or four ships more in a few days from Batavia; they said they had spoken with two China juncks of Tywan, but heard of no war.

28. In

28th. In the morning about ten o' clock came on board our ſhip with three boats, the chief ſecretaries, and their banjoiſe, with ſeven interpreters, and four attendants. They told us, that they had received letters from the Emperor, whom they had acquainted with our being here, and with the intent of our coming to trade, upon account of our former friendſhip (all which as they were adviſed had been conſidered), but in regard our King was married with the daughter of Portugal, their enemy, they could not admit us to have any trade, and for no other reaſon. This they ſaid was the Emperor's pleaſure, and expreſs order, and therefore they could make no alteration in it: they likewiſe ſaid we muſt be gone with the firſt wind, nay, within twenty days. I replied, it was impoſſible for us to go until the monſoons changed. They aſked how many days we deſired. I replied forty-five days hence; I ſuppoſed the winds might be favourable. They ſaid, what proviſions we wanted to ſupply our occaſions we ſhould have, and ſeemed to give conſent to our ſtaying until the monſoons changed. They did expreſs themſelves to be very ſorry that we could not be admitted to trade. I ſeveral times alledged, that we had licence by our laſt articles to come here and trade, and that we had been nigh two years upon this voyage; wherefore I deſired again and again, that we might be admitted to ſell this ſhip's lading of goods. They ſaid they could make no alteration in what the Emperor had commanded; that his will was, that we muſt be gone, and come thither no more; for by reaſon of our alliance with Portugal, they would not admit of us. They told us we ſhould have our ammunition, &c. again, and ſo departed.

31ſt. We made a waſt, the interpreters came to us; we deſired ſeveral proviſions, as water, wood, rice, wheat, hogs &c. We told them we had no more money, and therefore deſired them to take payment for the proviſion we wanted in goods, offering Engliſh cloth, or China ſilks, ſuch as they beſt liked. They took notice of our requeſt and offer, and promiſed to return next day, and bring us ſeveral things; ſo we hopet to have relief, which God grant.

Our commander ſummoned his officers, and at a conſultation it was agreed, that all ſtanding cabins between decks ſhould be taken down; as alſo bulk heads, and two men to be reduced to one cheſt, and other proviſions and rummages to be made to clear our ſhip, againſt the day of engagement with an enemy; alſo finding ſeveral of our men to be diſcontented for want of proviſions, which we could not procure, and our voyage proving extremely long, we were fain to give them good words and large promiſes to make them amends, when we came where it was to be had, to prevent a mutiny, eſpecially in our condition; for we might not (by the Japanners orders) ſtrike our men for any crime, which we were more ready to obſerve, leſt they ſhould take any advantage againſt us: our lives, with ſhip and goods being in their power, and we deprived of all means to help ourſelves: we were full of troubles in our minds: God in his infinite mercy deliver us out of their hands.

Aug. 2d. Came aboard the interpreters again, and deſired a particular account of what we ſhould want weekly, during our ſtay here, and for ſix weeks proviſions to carry us from hence to Bantam, all which we put down in writing, and they promiſed to bring us weekly what we deſired; and for payment they would take what goods they had occaſion of that were China goods, but Engliſh goods they would have none.

6th. In the morning about ten o' clock came aboard the interpreters (whom we had expected with many a longing look, in regard of our want of proviſions), and brought us the particulars we had deſired; this being the firſt week we entered upon account with them, amounting in all to 111 tail 1 maſs, which being reduced into copangs, make 16¼ and 6 maſs, accounting each copang at 6 tail 8 maſs. I firmed a paper to

pay

pay them in ſuch goods as we had on board, when the governor ſhould deſire the ſame. They promiſed to bring us weekly the like quantity, during our ſtay here, and to provide for us according to our deſire, at our departure. They told us there was a ſhip ſeen at ſea ſome twenty leagues off, but they knew not what ſhe was, ſo we parted with much friendſhip and content. About two o' clock in the afternoon entered the ſhip they told us of, which we all made, at a diſtance, both ſeamen and others, to be the Experiment belonging to our honourable employers, and diſpatched by us from Tywan for Bantam the 19th of November laſt. To our great grief and diſcontent we ſaw our companion a priſoner, God knows what they have done with the ſhip's company, but to our apprehenſion ſhe was no ways damnified, ſo that the parting from us in time of peace, we judge her to have been ſurpriſed; the truth God knows, who we hope will keep us out of their hands.

8th. In the afternoon entered two Holland ſhips, or great fly-boats, about three hundred tons each, the firſt with a flag on the main-top, which ſhe kept aboard until ſhe camewithin ſight of the ſhip that wore the flag here before riding in the harbour. We put out a waft all this day, intending to deſire a boat of water, but none came a board of us.

9th. Our waft being out, the interpreters came by our ſide in a boat. I deſired ſome water, pumpkins, and gamons, which they promiſed us ſpeedily. They aſked us if we knew that Engliſh ſhip that the Dutch had brought in. I anſwered them ſhe was our companion out of England, and we had diſpatched her for Tywan. They ſaid all her men were priſoners at Batavia; that Samuel Barron and the junck were taken and carried to Batavia. Alſo they ſaid they had hanged ſome of our men at Batavia; that they had taken two Engliſh ſhips more at or near Ceylon, and four French ſhips; that now all the Dutch were come for this year, and ſo returned. God deliver us out of the hand of our enemies.

14th. Came all the interpreters, bonjoyces, deſiring to know what rarities we had aboard, and ſaid they would willingly buy them, not by order from the governor, but as from themſelves. Particular men ſhewed them what was at hand; but they put a ſmall price and eſteem upon every thing, and bought nothing; they ſpake of ſeveral of the Chineſe goods, which they deſired to be brought to hand againſt to-morrow, and they would return to ſee them, ſo departed.

15th. Came off in the morning the chief magiſtrate of Nanguaſacque and two ſecretaries of ſtate, attended with ſix of the Dutch interpreters, and two other interpreters, that told me, they had formerly been interpreters to the Dutch; both of them ſpoke and underſtood Dutch better than any of the other. They took a view of moſt of the rarities we had aboard, provided by our honourable employers, and belonging to particular perſons, and of all our China goods: after which they examined me concerning the ſtate of Europe, our King and his alliance, eſpecially by marriage and deſcent, concerning the courſe of the ſun, and moon, and ſtars, and tides, &c. with many other queſtions they had formerly put, and about the paper I formerly gave them in the Japan character, and whether any in England could write that, or the China character; to all which I anſwered the truth, and informed them of affairs, as briefly as I could. They told me that the Engliſh, French, and Biſhop (meaning, as I ſuppoſe, of Munſter) had taken three of the ſeven provinces under the States-General, aſking me whether I knew what places or caſtles they had taken. I anſwered, we knew nothing but what we heard from them; and that they very well knew, we having been nigh two years out of England. They took ſeveral rarities aſhore to ſhew the governor, and promiſed to return them. The two interpreters told me that it was for our good

they came aboard; ſo that we hope ſome good may come of this examination extraordinary. In the afternoon came aboard our weekly proviſions of food and water: the interpreters told us that Mr. Baron was not hanged, nor any Engliſh at Batavia, as had formerly been reported. They ſaid that there had been a fight between the Dutch and the Engliſh, and that we had taken and ſunk ten or twelve ſhips, and been the Dutch home again. We were glad to hear from our country, not having had any letters ſince our departure.

19th. The wind came eaſterly with guſts and rains, for five weeks of our time here. Generally we had ſoutherly winds, fair weather, and very much heat; we now expect (it being the moon's wane) alteration of weather.

22d. In the morning came in a fly-boat, about three hundred and fifty tons, from Batavia, wanting from thence forty-one days: they report, that there was no other news from Holland than what formerly they brought. They ſaid Coxinga of Tywan's juncks were roving upon the coaſt of China, taking what they could.

25th. Came off the interpreters, and acquainted us, the wind being northerly, we muſt make ready to be gone within one or two days, and deſired to know what we wanted, which we told them, and fitted our ſhip for ſail.

26th. In the morning came aboard two ſecretaries of ſtate, and the magiſtrate of Nanguaſacque, with the uſual interpreters. They brought in ſeveral boats all the proviſions of wood, water, rice, &c. that we wanted. We made up all our accounts, and agreed and ſigned them an acquittance in full for what we delivered them; and having adjuſted accounts, the ſecretaries examined me again, with ſeveral queſtions formerly anſwered, concerning our country and King, Holland and France, &c. But they aſked now one queſtion more than formerly, which was; ſince it was forty-nine years ſince our being here, cauſed, as I had told them, by the civil wars, which we had nigh for twenty years, and twice wars with the Dutch, and in all that time having trade with Bantam, why we did not come for Japan, as well as for Bantam? I anſwered, that the trade between England and Bantam was chiefly continued for pepper, which was bought yearly with what was ſent out of England, and returns made immediately, which could be done with a ſmall ſtock; but the trade for Japan could not be carried on from England directly, but required a ſettlement in ſeveral places in India, as Tonqueen, Siam, Cambodia, and Tywan, which ſeveral factories required a ſtock of twenty tons of gold, which our Honourable employers had reſolved to ſet apart, to furniſh the trade with ſuch commodities as were proper for this market; which being ſo conſiderable a ſum (beſides the employment of many ſhips,) it was no ſmall matter to reſolve upon ſo great an adventure, which required time, and peace, and other matters for their encouragement, which until now they had not found convenient; and theſe, I ſuppoſed, were the reaſons inducing our Company now to proſecute this voyage: they ſeemed contented with this anſwer. After they told me, the wind being come fair, and they having furniſhed us with what we required for our maintenance of life, and for the carrying on our voyage for Bantam, which was according to the Japan courteſy, we muſt be gone from hence the next day. We ſhould have our boats ſent us, and all our ammunition, and we muſt depart peaceably without ſhooting off any guns in the juriſdiction of the Japan Emperor, which I promiſed we would perform. I aſked whether we might wear our colours. They ſaid we might wear any colours that had no croſs in them, our croſs being offenſive to them for being nigh the Portugal croſs. Then aſking, whether we might return hither after the death of our Queen? they anſwered, poſſibly we might, if

the Dutch and ſeveral Chineſe did ſatisfy the Emperor, that we were not in amity with Portugal; but he could not aſſure us we ſhould have admiſſion; our ſureſt way was not to come; for this Emperor's commands (according to the Japan ſaying) were like unto ſweat that goeth out of a man's hands and body, which never returned in again; the Emperor's commands admit of no alteration. They aſked, why we of the reformed religion did admit of marriages with the Romaniſts, becauſe the female uſually draws the inclination of her huſband to her religion. I anſwered, it was uſual in Europe, and each party adhered to their opinions, without any alteration as to the generality of the nation. I deſired ſome anſwer in writing, to ſhew our Honourable employers in England, for their ſatisfaction. They anſwered, they had no order from the Emperor to give any, and that it was ſufficient what we had received verbally. They aſked, if our agent at Bantam had the power of the Dutch general at Batavia; and what his name was; and how many Engliſh were uſually in Bantam? I anſwered, that over the Engliſh at Bantam the agent had the chief command; and as to the number of Engliſh, they were more or leſs as ſhipping came in; that the Dutch uſually made wars in India with ſeveral nations, and fortified themſelves in all parts; that we were peaceable, and came chiefly for trade. They promiſed me, that none of thoſe ſix Dutch ſhips ſhould ſtir out of port theſe two months, and they hoped we ſhould in leſs time be at Bantam; and that we ſhould miſs our enemies; and wiſhed us a happy voyage, and many years of life; ſo giving them many thanks for their continual favours, wiſhing them long life and happineſs, we parted, with much outward courteſy and ſeeming reluctancy, for our not being admitted by the Emperor to ſettle a trade here. God grant us protection whereſoever we ſhall be forced to go from hence, for the ſecurity of the Honourable Company's eſtates, our lives and liberties. We have had a troubleſome life here under the ſevere commands of this people.

27th. In the morning, about ſeven o'clock, came aboard the old ſecretary, whom they now called the ſecond perſon, with another great man, and ſeveral interpreters; with them came all our ammunition and boats. They told me, the wind being fair, we muſt be gone; and ſaid, we ſhould have our boats and all things reſtored to us, which they ordered to be delivered, excepting our powder, and that we ſhould have when we were out of the harbour; ſaying, the Dutch and Chineſe had their arms all delivered them without, but we ſhould have all but the powder delivered to us preſently, for our better ſatisfaction and diſpatch. They told me, I ſhould give order immediately to weigh our anchors, which I did, and about ten o'clock we were under ſail; they charged us not to ſhoot any guns off, neither in harbour nor at ſea, ſo long as we were upon the Japan coaſt; and, in caſe the wind came contrary, and we were forced back, we ſhould endeavour to come for Nanguaſacque, and at our entrance to fire no guns; if we did, we muſt expect they would treat us as enemies, and all the country had order to eſteem us as ſuch, in caſe we fired any guns. I promiſed to comply with their commands, and returned them many thanks for all their favours and aſſiſtance we had received, and that being got out we would ſtand for the coaſt of China; then wiſhing us a good voyage, they returned to their own boats, and ſaid, they would ſee us out of their port. The wind being but little, we could not get out, which they ſeeing, they ſent for Japan boats, and towed us out with about forty boats. We put out a pennant from the main-top of red and white, and no other colours. About three o'clock we were got ſome four miles from Nanguaſacque; the wind being contrary, they told us we might come to an anchor, as the Dutch did, and when the wind came fair, we muſt be ſure to be gone immediately; they would leave our powder in boats with two interpreters,

interpreters, and a guard to ſee us out at ſea; and then again wiſhing us a good voyage, they returned, taking the moſt part of their boats and guards with them, which were very numerous, being, by eſtimate, at leaſt five thouſand men, beſides ſpectators, that came out of the country and town to ſee us depart.

28th. In the morning, about two o'clock, came aboard the interpreters, and told us the wind was fair, and we muſt be gone. We told them we were ready, and would weigh anchor by break of day, but being ſtrangers, deſired we might have day before us; they delivered us our powder, and we were under ſail about five o'clock, with a ſmall gale at north-eaſt. We took our leaves; and, God be praiſed, got out of their clutches, to our great joy and content of mind, having been three months in their port, in continual fears.

During the time we were in port (by what they told us) there came this year twelve juncks in all, viz. eight from Batavia, two from Siam, one from Canton, one from Cambodia, and ſix Dutch ſhips of the Company's. They had not any from Tywan, by reaſon the year before they put the price upon their ſugar and ſkins; and ſo they intend to do with all other people, for whatſoever goods ſhall be brought to their port; which if they do, few will ſeek after their commodities upon ſuch unequal terms.

SIMON DELBOE.
HAMOND GIBBEN.
WILLIAM RAMSDEN.

THE HISTORY OF JAPAN.

By ENGELBERT KEMPFER, M.D.
Phyſician to the Dutch Embaſſy to the Emperor's Court;

And tranſlated from his original Manuſcript, in the German Language, never before p.

By J. G. SCHEUCHZER, F.R.S.
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CHAP. I. — *Of the Empire of Japan in general, as to its Situation, and the Largeneſs of its ſeveral Iſlands.*

THIS empire is, by the Europeans, called Japan. The natives give it ſeveral names and characters. The moſt common, and moſt frequently uſed in their writings and converſation, is Nipon, which is ſometimes in a more elegant manner, and particular to this nation, pronounced Nifon, and by the inhabitants of Nankin, and the ſouthern parts of China, Sijppon. It ſignifies "the foundation of the ſun;" being derived from *ni*, "fire," and in a more ſublime ſenſe, "the ſun," and *pon*, the "ground, or foundation of a thing."

There are ſtill ſome other names and epithets, which are ſeldom mentioned in converſation, but occur more frequently in their writings. Such are for inſtance; 1. Tenka, that is, "the ſubceleſtial empire;" as if it were the only one exiſting under heaven. Hence the Emperor is called Tenkaſama, "the ſubceleſtial Monarch." In former times, this name was peculiar to the empire of Japan alone; but ſince commerce hath made known to them ſeveral other countries, they now condeſcend to honour them alſo with the ſame epithet, particularly ſuch whoſe inhabitants are admitted and tolerated among them. Thus the call the empire of China, To Sin Tenka; the United Provinces of the Netherlands, known to them by the name of Holland, Hollanda Tenka. 2. Fino Motto, is much the ſame with Nipon, and ſignifies, properly ſpeaking, "the root of the ſun," *fi*, being the ſun, and *motto*, a root; *no*, is only a particle, by which theſe two words are combined together. 3. Awadſiſſima, is the original name of this country, and is as much as to ſay, a "terreſtrial Scum Iſland;" *awa*, ſignifying ſcum, *dſi*, the earth, and *Sſima*, an iſland. This name is grounded upon the following fabulous tradition, recorded in their hiſtories, of the origin and firſt creation of the ſeveral iſlands, which compoſe this mighty empire; which in former times, for want of communication with other countries, was looked upon by the natives, as the only inhabited part of the globe. In the beginning of the creation, the ſupreme of the ſeven firſt celeſtial ſpirits, (of which more in the ſeventh chapter of this book,) ſtirred the then chaos, or confuſed maſs of the earth with a ſtaff, which, as he took out, there dropped from it a muddy ſcum, which running together, formed the Japoneſe iſlands; one of which, of the fourth magnitude, ſtill retains this name, being particularly called Awadſiſſima. 4. D Sin Kokf, or Camino Kuni, "the Country or Habita-

* Our author's account being often prolix and tedious, only the moſt intereſting portions are extracted, and arranged in a ſequence of chapters.

tion

tion of the Gods." For by *Sin* and *Cami* are denoted the gods which were particularly and originally worſhipped in Japan; and both *kokf* and *kuni* ſignify a country. 5. Akitſima, or according to the common pronunciation, Akitſuſſima, is another name given to this country of old, and frequently to be met with in their chronicles and legends. 6. Tontſio, "the true morning." 7. Sio, all, viz. all the ſeveral iſlands ſubject to the Emperor of Japan. 8. Jamatto, which name is alſo given to one of its provinces. Several others, as Aſijwara, Aſijwara Kokf, Qua, or Wa, and ſome more I forbear mentioning, to avoid being too tedious on ſo trifling a ſubject.

The empire of Japan lieth between 31 and 42 degrees of northern latitude. The Jeſuits, in a late map of China, made and corrected by their aſtronomical obſervations, place it between 157° and 175° 30′ of longitude. It extends to north-eaſt and eaſt-north-eaſt, being irregularly broad, though in the main, pretty narrow in compariſon to its length, which from one end of the province Fiſen, to the extremity of the province Oſiu, is ſuppoſed to be two hundred German miles in a ſtraight line, all the further diſtant coaſts and iſlands, though ſubject to the Japoneſe Emperor, not reckoned.

It may, in different reſpects, be compared to the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; being much after the ſame manner, though in a more eminent degree, divided and broke through by corners and forelands, arms of the ſea, great bays and inlets, running deep into the country, and forming ſeveral iſlands, peninſulas, gulfs, and harbours. Beſides, as the King of Great Britain is ſovereign of three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland, ſo likewiſe the Japaneſe Emperor hath the ſupreme juriſdiction of three ſeparate large iſlands. The firſt and largeſt is called Nipon, from the name of the whole empire. It runs lengthways, from eaſt to weſt in the form of a jaw-bone, whoſe crooked part is turned to the north. A narrow channel, or ſtreight, full of rocks and iſlands, ſome inhabited, ſome uninhabited, parts it from the ſecond, which is next to it in largeneſs, and which, from its ſituation, lying to the ſouth-weſt of Nipon, is called Saikokf, that is, "the Weſtern Country." It is alſo called Kiuſiu, or, "the Country of Nine;" being divided into nine large provinces. It hath one hundred and forty-eight German miles in circumference; and, according to the Japaneſe, it hath one hundred and forty of their own miles in length, and between forty and fifty in breadth. The third iſland lies between the firſt and ſecond. It is near of a ſquare figure; and being divided into four provinces, the Japoneſe call it Sikokf, that is, "the Country of Four," viz. provinces. Theſe three large iſlands are encompaſſed with an almoſt inconceivable number of others, ſome of which are ſmall, rocky, and barren, others large, rich, and fruitful enough to be governed by petty Princes, as will appear more fully by the next chapter, wherein I propoſe to lay down a more accurate geographical deſcription of this empire.

All theſe ſeveral iſlands and dominions, compoſing the mighty empire of Japan, have been, by the eccleſiaſtical hereditary monarch Siuſiun, divided into Gokiſitzido, as they are called by the Japaneſe, or ſeven large tracts of land, in the year of Chriſt 590. Many years after, in the year of Chriſt 681, Ten Mu divided the ſeven chief tracts into ſixty-ſix provinces, appointing ſo many lords of his court to command and govern them, as Princes, or his lieutenants. Two more iſlands, Iki and Tſuſſima, formerly belonging to the kingdom of Corea, having been conquered in the laſt century, and added to the empire of Japan, there are now in all ſixty-eight provinces. Both theſe diviſions of the Japaneſe empire, though they ſubſiſt till now, yet through the miſery of time its ſixty-eight provinces have been ſince their firſt conſtitution torn into ſix hundred and four leſſer diſtricts. In the firſt and happieſt ages of the Japaneſe monarchy, every

Prince enjoyed the government of the province, which he was entruſted with by the Emperor, in peace and tranquillity. The miſeries of enſuing times, the frequent quarrels and contentions, which aroſe among the chief branches of the Imperial Family about the ſucceſſion to the throne, by degrees involved the whole empire into blood and confuſion. Its Princes eſpouſed different parties, and no ſooner were arms introduced among them, as the moſt powerful and ſureſt means to make up their diſſenſions, but every one endeavoured thereby to maintain himſelf in the poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, whoſe government he was owing entirely to the Imperial bounty: ſuch as had not been provided for by the Emperor took care to provide for themſelves. The Princes divided their hereditary dominions among their ſons, who, though poſſeſſed of but one portion of their father's eſtate, would not be behind them in grandeur and magnificence. What wonder then, if the number of princedoms and dominions went on perpetually increaſing. The Emperors of the now reigning family, uſurpers themſelves of the throne of which they are poſſeſſed, think this great diviſion of the provinces of the empire no ways detrimental to their government, but rather conducive to make them the better acquainted with the true ſtate of their riches and revenues; therefore, far from reducing them to their former ſtandard, they ſtill tear and divide them more and more, as they pleaſe, or as their intereſt requires, of which there are ſome late inſtances. The province of Tſikuſen was not long ago divided into two governments, Janagawa and Kurume, and the Prince of Tſikungo had orders from court to ſurrender part of his dominions to the Prince of the two iſlands above-mentioned, Iki and Tſuſſima, who till then had nothing in poſſeſſion upon the continent of Japan.

The borders of this empire are its rocky, mountainous coaſts, and a tempeſtuous ſea, which by reaſon of its ſhallowneſs admits none but ſmall veſſels, and even thoſe not without imminent danger, the depth of moſt of its gulfs and harbours being not yet known, and others, which the pilots of the country are better acquainted withal, unfit for harbouring of ſhips of any conſiderable bulk. Indeed, it ſeems Nature purpoſely deſigned theſe iſlands to be a ſort of a little world, ſeparate and independent of the reſt, by making them of ſo difficult an acceſs, and by endowing them plentifully, with whatever is requiſite to make the lives of their inhabitants both delightful and pleaſant, and to enable them to ſubſiſt without a commerce with foreign nations.

Beſides the ſeveral iſlands and provinces already mentioned, there are ſome further diſtant countries, which do not, properly ſpeaking, belong to the empire of Japan; but either acknowledge the ſupremacy of the Emperor, or live under his protection. Of theſe I think it neceſſary to give ſome preliminary account before I proceed to a more particular deſcription of the Japaneſe empire itſelf. They are, 1. The iſlands of Riuku, or Liquejo, the inhabitants of which ſtyle themſelves ſubjects, not of the Emperor of Japan, but of the Prince of Satſuma, by whom they were ſubdued and conquered. 2. Tſioſin, is the third and loweſt part of the peninſula of Corea, which is governed, in the name of His Imperial Majeſty, by the Prince of Iki and Tſuſſima. 3. The iſland Jeſo, which is governed for the Emperor by the Prince of Matſumai, whoſe own dominions make part of the great province Osju.

I. The Liquejo iſlands, as they are ſet down in our maps, or the iſlands of Riuku, as they are called by the inhabitants, muſt not be confounded with the *Inſulæ Leuconiæ*, or the Philippine Iſlands. They lie to the ſouth-weſt of the province Satzuma, which is ſituate upon the continent of Saikokf, and the neighbouring iſland Tana, or Tanagaſima, and according to our maps, reach down almoſt to the 26° of northern latitude. If we believe the Japaneſe, they are ſo fruitful as to yield the rice-harveſt twice a year. The inhabitants, which are for the moſt part either huſbandmen or fiſhermen, are a

good-natured, merry ſort of people, leading an agreeable contented life, diverting themſelves after their work is done with a glaſs of rice-beer, and playing upon their muſical inſtruments, which they for this purpoſe carry out with them into the fields. They appear, by their language, to be of Chineſe extraction. In the late great revolution in China, when the Tartars invaded and poſſeſſed themſelves of that mighty empire, the natives retired in great numbers, and were diſperſed all over the Eaſt Indies. Not a few fled to theſe iſlands, where they applied themſelves chiefly to trade, being well ſkilled in navigation, and well acquainted with thoſe ſeas. Accordingly, they ſtill carry on a commerce with Satzuma, and go there once a year. Some centuries ago, theſe iſlands were invaded and conquered by the Prince of Satzuma, whoſe ſucceſſors ſtill keep them in awe by their bugios, or lieutenants, and ſtrong garriſons, though otherwiſe, by reaſon of their remoteneſs from Satzuma, the inhabitants are treated with much regard and kindneſs; for they are obliged to give their Sovereign only one-fifth part of the produce of their country, whilſt his own natural ſubjects, the Satzumeſe, are taxed at two-thirds. But beſides what they pay to the Prince of Satzuma, they raiſe a contribution among themſelves, to be ſent by way of a preſent, once a year, to the Tartarian Monarch of China, in token of loyalty and ſubmiſſion. They have, like the Tunquineſe and Japaneſe, a Dairi of their own, or an eccleſiaſtical hereditary Monarch, to whom they pay great reſpect, ſuppoſing him to be lineally deſcended from the gods of their country. He reſides at Jajama, one of the chief of theſe iſlands, ſituate not far from the iſland Oſima, which is of the ſecond magnitude.

II. Corey, or Coræa, is a peninſula, which ſtands out from Tartary, running towards Japan, oppoſite to the coaſts of China. It hath been, as the Japaneſe relate, divided of old into three provinces. That which is loweſt, and neareſt to Japan, is by the Japaneſe called Tſioſijn; the ſecond, which makes up the middle part of the whole peninſula, Corey, and the third and uppermoſt, which confines upon Tartary, Fakkuſai. Sometimes the name of either of theſe provinces is given to the whole peninſula. The natives, according to the account of the Japaneſe, are of Chineſe extraction. They ſerved often and under different maſters. Their neighbours, the Tartars, ſometimes entered into alliances with them, at other times, they invaded and ſubdued them. Mikaddo Tſiuu Ai, Emperor of Japan, perſecuted them with war; but he dying before he could put an end to this enterprize, Dſin Gu, his relict, a Princeſs of great parts and perſonal bravery, purſued it with the utmoſt vigour, wearing the arms of the deceaſed Emperor, her huſband, till, at laſt, ſhe made them tributary to Japan, about the year of Chriſt 201. Sometime after they entered into freſh alliances with their neighbours, the Tartars, and ſo continued unmoleſted by the Japaneſe, till Taiko poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſecular throne of Japan. This valiant Prince, reading the hiſtories of his empire, found it recorded, that the Coreans had been ſubdued by one of his predeceſſors, and made tributary to Japan: as in the meantime he was but lately come to the throne, he doubted not, but that he ſhould get time fully to ſettle and to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion thereof, if he could ſend ſome of the moſt powerful Princes of the empire abroad upon ſome ſuch military expedition, and by this means remove them from court and country. He, therefore, gladly ſeized this opportunity, and reſolved to renew and ſupport his pretenſions to the kingdom of Corea, and through this kingdom, as he gave out his main deſign was, to open to himſelf a way to the conqueſt of the great empire of China itſelf. Accordingly he ſent over ſome ambaſſadors to Corey, to deſire the natives to acknowledge the ſupremacy of the Japaneſe Emperor, and to give tokens of their loyalty and ſubmiſſion. But the Coreans, inſtead of an anſwer, killing the Emperor's ambaſſador, by this hoſtile act gave him juſt reaſon to proſecute them with

with war. Accordingly a numerous army was ſent over, without further delay, under the command of ſuch of the Princes of the empire, whoſe preſence he had the moſt reaſon to be apprehenſive of. This war laſted ſeven years, during which time his generals, with much ado, broke at laſt through the ſtrong oppoſition made by the natives, and their allies the Tartars, and, after a brave defence, made the country again tributary to Japan. Taiko dying about that time, and the army returning, Ijejas his ſucceſſor, ordered that they ſhould, once in three years, ſend an embaſſy to court, to acknowledge his ſovereignty. Since that time, they relapſed by degrees under the domination of the Tartars, and drove the garriſons left by the Japaneſe down to the very coaſts of the province Tſioſijn, the only thing they have now remaining of all their conqueſts in Corea. As things now ſtand, the Emperor of Japan ſeems to be ſatisfied, for the ſecurity of his own dominions, to be maſter of the coaſts, the care and government whereof he committed to the Prince of the iſlands Iki and Tſuſſima, who keeps there a garriſon only of fifty men, under the command of a captain, or bugjo, as they are here called. And the inhabitants are ordered to ſend an embaſſy to court, and to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy only once at the beginning of every new Emperor's reign. The coaſts of Corea are about forty-eight Japaneſe water leagues, or ſixteen German miles, diſtant from the iſland of Tſuſſima, and this as much from the continent of Japan. Numbers of rocks and ſmall iſlands lie between them, which though they be for the moſt part uninhabited, yet the Japaneſe keep ſtrong garriſons in ſome of the chief, to watch what ſhips ſail by, and to oblige them to ſhew what commodities they have on board, as claiming the ſovereignty of thoſe ſeas. The commodities brought from Tſioſijn are the beſt cod, and other fiſh, pickled; walnuts, ſcarce medicinal plants, flowers and roots, particularly the ninſeng, ſo famous for its excellent virtues, which grows in great plenty in the provinces of Corea and Fakuſai, as alſo in Siamſai, a province of the neighbouring Tartary; this plant, though it be found elſewhere, yet that growing in the provinces aboveſaid, is believed far to excel others in goodneſs and virtues. The natives have alſo ſome few manufactures. Among the reſt, a certain ſort of earthen pots, made in Japij and Niuke, two Tartarian provinces, were brought over from thence by the Coreans, which were much eſteemed by the Japaneſe, and bought very dear. But of late, it was ordered by the Emperor, that there ſhould be no more imported for the future. The boats made uſe of by the Tſioneeſe are very bad indifferent ſtructures, which one ſcarce would venture further than Tſuſſima.

III. Jeſo, or Jeſogaſima, that is, "the Iſland of Jeſo," is the moſt northern iſland the Japaneſe have in poſſeſſion out of their own empire. It was invaded and conquered, as I was informed in Japan, by Joritomo, the firſt Cubo, or ſecular monarch, who left it to the Prince of Matſumai, (a neighbouring iſland belonging to the great province Oſiu,) to be by him governed and taken care of. Sometime after, the inhabitants, weary of a foreign government, fell upon the garriſon the Prince of Matſumai left there, and killed them all to a man. This act of hoſtility no ſooner reached that Prince's ears, but he ſent over a good army, with three hundred horſe, to demand, and, in caſe of refuſal, to take ample ſatisfaction, and to chaſtiſe the rebels. But the Prince of Jeſo, to prevent further miſchievous conſequences, ſent over an embaſſy to Matſumai; and, to take off all ſuſpicion of his having had any intelligence or hand in the affair, he delivered up twenty of the ringleaders, which were executed, and their heads impaled, upon the coaſts of Jeſo. This act of ſubmiſſion entirely reconciled him to his ſuperiors, but the natives being ever ſince looked upon as a ſtubborn and tumultuous people, ſtrong garriſons are conſtantly kept upon the ſouthern coaſts of this iſland, to put it out of their power ever to attempt the like; and the Prince is obliged to ſend once a

year

year an embaſſy to Matſumai, with preſents to the value of one mangokf. This iſland lies in 42 degrees of northern latitude, to the north-north-eaſt, right oppoſite to the great province Ooſiu, where its two promontories Sugaar and Taajaſaki, running out very far into the ſea, form a large gulf, which directly faces it. The paſſage over to this iſland is ſaid to be of one day, and it is not to be made at all times, by reaſon of the currents, which run ſtrongly, ſometimes to the eaſt and ſometimes to the weſt, though otherwiſe it be but forty Japaneſe water leagues, and in ſome places not above five or ſix German miles diſtant from the coaſt of Japan. It is ſaid to be as large as the iſland Kiuſiu, but ſo thoroughly full of woods and foreſts, that it produces nothing which might be of uſe to the Japaneſe, beſides ſome pelts and furs, which even the inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of Japan have no occaſion for. Nor do the Jeſoans bring over any thing elſe but that, and the famous fiſh karaſaki, which is catched in great plenty about the iſland, and which the Japaneſe reckon a great dainty, boiling and eating it like cod. As to its figure, I could not gather any thing poſitive, neither from the accounts I had from the Japaneſe, nor from the maps I met with in the country, they differing much from each other. Some repreſent it very near round, others make it of a very irregular figure, with large promontories, gulphs, and bays, the ſea running in ſeveral places ſo far up into the country, that one might be eaſily induced to believe it compoſed of ſeveral different iſlands. I am apt to believe, that the country diſcovered by de Vries, to the north of Japan, was part of this iſland. I took notice that in ſome of the Japaneſe maps, the ſouth-weſt and larger part is called Matſuki; but it was, generally ſpeaking, ſo indifferently drawn, that I ſhould be at a loſs to determine, whether it be an iſland by itſelf, or joined to the reſt. According to the account the Japaneſe give of the inhabitants, they are a ſtrong but ſavage people, wearing long hair and beards, well ſkilled in the management of bows and arrows, as alſo in fiſhing; the greateſt part living almoſt wholly on fiſh. They deſcribe them further, as very dirty and naſty, but the truth of this accuſation is not ſo ſtrictly to be relied on, ſince they, the Japaneſe themſelves, are ſo extremely nice and ſuperſtitious in frequently waſhing and cleaning their bodies, as to have found the very ſame fault with the Dutch. The language of Jedſo is ſaid to have ſomething of that which is ſpoke in Coræa.

Behind this iſland, to the north, lies the continent of Okujeſo, as it is called by the Japaneſe, that is, Upper or High Jeſo. That there is ſuch a country is not in the leaſt queſtioned among geographers; but they have not as yet been able to determine, whether it confines on Tartary or America, conſequently where they are to place the Streight of Anian, or the ſo long wiſhed-for paſſage out of the North Sea into the great Indian Ocean, ſuppoſed that there be ſuch a one, or whether it is cloſely joined either to Tartary or America, without any intermediate ſtreight or paſſage at all. I made it my buſineſs, both in my travels through Muſcovy and Perſia, and during my ſtay in Japan, to enquire with all the diligence I was capable of, into the true ſtate of thoſe northern countries, though, in the main, to very little purpoſe, having hardly met with any thing worth the notice of the public. At Moſcow, and at Aſtrakan, I ſpoke to ſeveral people, which either in their travels through Siberia and Kataya into China, or during their ſtay in Siberia, whither they had been baniſhed by the Czar, and lived many years, picked up what few and uncertain information they could, but could learn nothing farther, but that the Great Tartary is by an iſthmus, or neck of land, joined to a neighbouring continent, which they ſuppoſed to be America; and from thence concluded that, in all probability, there is no ſuch thing as a communication between the Icy Sea and the Indian Ocean. In a map of Siberia, which was made and cut upon wood, by one who was baniſhed thither, and the names of the places

marked in Sclavonian characters, there were ſeveral conſiderable promontories, which from the eaſtern coaſts ſtood out into the ſea, one of which, too great to be brought upon the table, was cut off at the edge. He that ſhewed me this map, told me at the ſame time, that according to the accounts which could be procured from the Tartars living in thoſe parts, this very promontory is nothing but an iſthmus, which runs towards a neighbouring large continent, on which it confines, but that it is compoſed of high, rough, and almoſt inacceſſible mountains, and that in his opinion, if ever there hath been a paſſage there, for the firſt inhabitants of the world to get over into America, and to people that continent, ſuch another undertaking would be at preſent utterly impoſſible. This map of Siberia, ſuch as it was, is extremely ill done, and without any ſcale of diſtances, or degrees of longitude or latitude, was yet the firſt which could give the Czar of Muſcovy ſome, though very imperfect, notions of the great extent of his Tartarian dominions to the north. And it is from the ſame, my particular friend, the ingenious Mr. Winius, who was by the Czar appointed inſpector-general over the apothecaries and druggiſts ſhops in Muſcovy, made the firſt rude ſketch of his map of Ruſſia and Tartary, which he afterwards conſiderably corrected and augmented by ſeveral accounts procured from different parts, and withal reduced to the neceſſary degrees of longitude and latitude. He was not a little aſſiſted in this undertaking by Mr. Spitſhary, Greek and Latin interpreter at the court at Muſcovy. This learned and induſtrious man was, by the then reigning monarch of Ruſſia, ſent his ambaſſador to the Emperor of China, with ſecret orders and inſtructions to ſpare neither trouble nor expences, to get himſelf acquainted with the true ſtate, ſituation, and extent of the Czar's dominions. Accordingly he went to Pekin through the northern parts of Ruſſia and Tartary and having diſpatched his buſineſs at the court of China, returned through the ſouthern provinces, and came back to Moſcow about the year 1680. During my ſtay at the court of Moſcow it ſo happened, that he was to be our interpreter. which brought me much acquainted with him, and fed me with no ſmall hopes of learning ſomewhat new and more particular, than was hitherto known, about the ſtate of thoſe countries; but I found him too diſtruſtful and ſecret, and very unwilling to communicate what obſervations he had made upon his journey. The late illuſtrious Nicolaus Witſen, L. L. D. and Burghermaſter at Amſterdam, a perſon to whom the public is greatly indebted, met with much better ſucceſs in his own enquiries, for in his laſt embaſſy to the court of Muſcovy he did, by his extraordinary good conduct, great learning and affability, inſinuate himſelf ſo far into the favour of the Czar, and the grandees of his court, that whatever accounts they had procured from all parts of Ruſſia, were without reſerve communicated to him, which enabled him to compoſe that excellent and accurate map of all the Ruſſian empire, and the Great Tartary, with its mountains, rivers, lakes, cities and provinces, for the moſt part till then unknown; a work which by reaſon of its great uſefulneſs could not but highly oblige the curious. But however accurate this map of Doctor Witſen's was, which afterwards proved very uſeful to Mr. Iſbrand Ides, in his journey by land to China, where he went ambaſſador, yet the full extent of the eaſtern coaſts of Siberia, and the Great Tartary, remains as yet undetermined, and we are ſtill in the dark, as to what relation they bear to the neighbouring continent, which is probably that of Oku Jeſo.

The Japaneſe on their ſide are ſo little acquainted with the ſtate and extent of that country, which lies behind the iſland Jeſo Gaſima, and which is by them called Oku Jeſo, that they ſay it is only 300 Japaneſe miles long; but what authority they have to ſupport this aſſertion, I cannot tell. A ſhip having ſome years ago been accidently caſt upon the coaſts of that continent, they met among the rude and ſavage

ſavage inhabitants, ſome perſons clad in fine Chineſe ſilk, by which may be very probably conjectured ſome communication the natives have with the neighbouring Daats, or Tartary; at leaſt that theſe countries are not very remote from each other. A jonk, which was ſent thither on purpoſe upon diſcovery, about the year 1684, returned after having been three months upon her voyage, and brought the very ſame account. An experienced Japaneſe pilot, who was well acquainted with the ſeas about Japan, as having been every where round this empire, upon my enquiry could give me no other ſatisfactory anſwer, but that between Japan and Jeſogaſima, the currents run alternately, ſometimes eaſt, ſometimes weſt, and that behind Jeſogaſima, there is only one, which runs conſtantly, and directly north, whence he concluded, that near Daats, ſo they call Tartary, there muſt be ſome communication with another ſea to the north. A few years ago another imperial jonk was ſent out in queſt of thoſe countries. They ſailed from the eaſtern coaſts of Japan, and after many troubles and incommodities endured between 40 and 50 degrees of northern latitude, they diſcovered a very large continent, ſuppoſed to be America, where having met with a good harbour, they ſtaid there during the winter, and ſo returned the next year, without any the leaſt account of that country, or its inhabitants, excepting only that it run further to the north-weſt. Since that time it was reſolved at the court of Japan to be at no further pain or expence, about the diſcovery of thoſe countries. I was little the better for conſulting the Japaneſe maps of thoſe ſeas, though I ſaw ſeveral of them in different places, as at Jedo, in the palace of Tſuſſimano Cami, governor of Nagaſaki, in the temple of Symmios near Oſacca, and in ſeveral other temples. They all repreſent a large continent, which ſtands out from the Great Tartary, and extends itſelf behind the iſland Jeſogaſima, reaching about 15 degrees of longitude further eaſt than the eaſtern coaſts of Japan. A large ſpace is left empty between it and the neighbouring America. The country itſelf is divided into the following provinces, marked with their common writing characters, Kaberſari, Orankai, Sitſij, Feroſan; and Amariſi. Between the two laſt provinces is marked a conſiderable river, which loſes itſelf into the ſea behind the iſland Jeſo, to the ſouth-eaſt. But as all their maps are very indifferently done, without any ſcale of diſtances or degrees, and as beſides the names of the provinces above-mentioned are only in their canna, or common writing, and not, as other more authentick records, in their ſiſi, or ſignificant characters, I ſhall leave to the reader's own judgment to determine, how much there is to be depended upon them. And this is all I could learn in Japan about the ſtate of thoſe countries which lie to the north of this empire.

Before I leave off this general geographical deſcription of the Japaneſe empire, I muſt not forget to mention two other iſlands, which lie further off to the eaſt, or eaſt-north-eaſt, of the coaſts of Oſiu, at leaſt at one hundred and fifty miles diſtance, but as the Japaneſe pretend, belong to their empire. They have given them very high ſounding names, the ſmaller, more northern, and more remote from Japan, being called Ginſima, the Silver Iſland; the larger, and nearer Kinſima, the Gold Iſland. They keep their ſtate and ſituation very ſecret from all foreigners, chiefly the Europeans, for as much as their rich names have already tempted them to go in queſt thereof. The King of Spain having been informed that they lie weſtward of America, in that part of the world, which by the Pope's diviſion was aſſigned to him, as all thoſe lands, which ſhould be diſcovered from the eaſt, were to the King of Portugal, ſent out a very expert pilot to look for them about the year 1620. But this voyage proved unſucceſsful. The Dutch attempted the ſame at different times with no better ſucceſs. They fitted out one ſhip for that purpoſe at Batavia in 1639, and two others in 1643,

which had orders to go further, and to attempt the diſcovery of the coaſts of Tartary and America. The voyage of theſe two ſhips, one of which was called Breſken, the other the Caſtrecoom, proved very unfortunate. For beſides that they ſuffered much by ſtorms, the captain of the Breſken having hazarded himſelf on ſhore, with ſome of his ſhip's company, in a port of Japan lying under the 40 degree of northern latitude, they were all ſeized upon, put in irons, carried priſoners to Jedo, and ſo barbarouſly treated, as if their intention had been to betray or to invade the empire.

About the year 1675, the Japaneſe accidently diſcovered a very large iſland, one of their barks having been forced there in a ſtorm from the iſland Fatſiſio, from which they computed it to be three hundred miles diſtant towards the eaſt. They met with no inhabitants, but found it to be a very pleaſant and fruitful country, well ſupplied with freſh water, and furniſhed with plenty of plants and trees, particularly the arrack-tree. which however might give room to conjecture, that the iſland lay rather to the ſouth of Japan, than to the eaſt, theſe trees growing only in hot countries. They called it Buneſima, or the iſland Bune, and becauſe they found no inhabitants upon it, they marked it with the character of an uninhabited iſland. On the ſhores they found an incredible quantity of fiſh and crabs, ſome of which were from four to ſix feet long.

Fatſiſio, I juſt now had occaſion to mention, or Fatſiſio Gaſima, which is as much as to ſay, the Eighty Fathom Iſland, is the moſt remote iſland the Japaneſe have in poſſeſſion ſouthward. It lies under the ſame meridian with Jedo, and is reckoned to be about eighty Japaneſe water leagues diſtant from the continent of Japan, being the furthermoſt of a long row of ſmall iſlands, almoſt contiguous to each other. It is the chief iſland, where the great men of the Emperor's court, when out of favour, are uſually confined, purſuant to a very ancient cuſtom, and kept priſoners on a rocky coaſt, from the extraordinary height of which the whole iſland hath borrowed its name. As long as they continue on this iſland, they muſt work for their livelihood. Their chief amuſement is weaving, and ſome of the ſilk ſtuffs wrought by them, as they are generally men of ingenuity and good underſtanding, are ſo inimitably fine, that the Emperor hath forbid under ſevere penalties, to export or to ſell them to foreigners. This iſland, beſides it being waſhed by a rough tempeſtuous ſea, is ſo well guarded by nature itſelf, than when there is ſome proviſion of the common neceſſaries of life, or ſome new priſoners to be brought in, or the guard to be relieved, the whole boat, with all the lading, muſt be drawn up, and again let down by a crane, the coaſts being ſo ſteep and rocky, as to admit of no other acceſs.

CHAP. II. — *The Diviſion and Sub-diviſion of the Empire of Japan into its ſeveral Provinces; as alſo of its Revenue and Government.*

In the general geographical deſcription of Japan, which I have laid down in the preceding chapter, I took notice that this empire hath been divided into ſeven great tracts of land, which were again ſub-divided into ſixty-eight conſiderable provinces, and theſe into 604 ſmaller diſtricts, or counties, as one might call them. I proceed now more particularly to conſider the largeneſs, extent, fertility, produce and revenues of each province, as I found them in a Japaneſe deſcription of this empire, publiſhed in Japan, by the title of Sitzi Joſſu.

But before I proceed to a particular conſideration of the ſeven large tracts of land, which the Empire of Japan hath been divided into, and of their ſeveral provinces, I ſhall take notice of the Gokinai, or Gokinai goka Kokf, that is the five provinces of the Imperial revenues, ſo called, becauſe all the revenue of theſe five provinces is particularly

particularly appropriated for the ſupport and maintenance of the Imperial court. They amount to 148 mans, and 1200 kokſs of rice. The reader is deſired to obſerve in general, that all the revenues in this country are reduced to theſe two meaſures in rice. A man contains 10,000 kokf, and a kokf 3000 bales or bags of rice. Theſe five Imperial provinces are, 1. Jamaſijro, otherwiſe Sansju: it is a large and fruitful country. Its length from ſouth to north is a hundred Japaneſe miles; and there are ſeveral good towns and other places of note within its compaſs. It is divided into eight diſtricts, Otokuni, Kadono, Okongi, Kij, Udſi, Kuſſe, Sakanaka, and Tſukugi. 2. Jamatto, or Wosju, is likewiſe a very good country, and much of the ſame length with the former, going from ſouth to north. It had formerly ſeveral places of note within its compaſs, which are at preſent reduced to a very ſmall number. It is divided into fifteen diſtricts, Soono Cami, Soonoſimo, Feguri, Firole, Katzu-Dſiau, Katſunge, Okuno Umi, Utz, Joſino, Uda, Sikino Simo, Sikino Cami, Takaiidz, Tooidz, and Jammanobe. 3. Kawatzij, or Kaſiu, a tolerably good country, about two days journey in length, and divided into fifteen diſtricts. Niſtori, Iſikawa, Fukaitz, Jaſkabe, Ookake, Tukajatz, Kawatz, Sarara, Umbarada, Katanno, Wakaje, Sibukaja, Sick, Tanbokf, and Tannan. 4. Idſumi, or Sensju, is a very large country, but indifferently fruitful. Its length is an hundred Japaneſe miles from ſouth to weſt. It is bordered on one ſide by the ſea, on the other by a ridge of high mountains. It is plentifully ſupplied with fiſh by the neighbouring ſea: it produces alſo ſome buck-wheat, rice, peaſe and beans, though but few, and not of the beſt ſort. It hath but three ſmaller diſtricts, Ootori, Idſume, and Fine. 5. Sitzu, otherwiſe Tſinokuni, and Sisju. It hath two days journey and a half in circumference. It is the furthermoſt country weſtwards on a large gulph. The ſouthern parts of it are very warm, but the northern colder, and abound more in what they call gokokf, which are the five chief ſorts of peaſe eat in this country. It affords alſo ſome fiſh, and ſalt, and is in the main a very good country. It is divided into thirteen diſtricts, Sij Jos, or Symmios, Katatz, Fingaſſinai, Niſijnari, Jatſan, Simaſimo, Simakami, Teſijma, Kawanobe, Muko, Awara, Arima, and Noſje.

I proceed now to the ſeven large tracts of land, which the Japaneſe empire hath been divided into by the Emperor Siuſiun.

I. The firſt is Tookaido, that is, the ſouth-eaſtern tract. I have obſerved above, that the ſaid ſeven large tracts have been by the Emperor Tenmu further divided into ſixty-eight provinces, the five provinces above mentioned included, to which ſome hundred years after two more were added. The Tookaido conſiſts of fifteen of theſe ſixty-eight provinces, which are 1. Iga, otherwiſe Isju, which is limited on the ſouth, and eaſt by the ſea. To the north it is ſeparated from the neighbouring provinces by a ridge of high mountains. It is a hot country, but indifferently fruitful, producing ſome plants, trees, and bamboos. It is divided into four diſtricts, Aije, Namanda, Iga, and Nabari. 2. Iſie, otherwiſe Sesju, is three days journey long, going from ſouth to north. It is almoſt wholly encompaſſed by the ſea, but extremely fruitful, with an agreeable variety of hills and plains. It is divided into fifteen diſtricts, Quana, Aſaki, Suſuka, Itſiſi, Aanki, Taato, Niſikiſſima, Goſaſuma, Inabe, Mije, Ano, Itaka, Watakei, Ino, and Taki. 3. Sſima or, Siſio, is but a ſmall province, which one may travel acroſs in half a day's time. It is a very barren country, but the neighbouring ſea ſupplies it plentifully with fiſh, oyſters, ſhells, and the like. It hath but three diſtricts, Tooſij, Ako, and Kameſima. 4. Owari, otherwiſe Biſiu, is an inland country, entirely ſeparate from the ſea, but one of the moſt fruitful provinces of the whole empire, and richly ſtocked with inhabitants. It is three days journey long, going from ſouth to north, and divided into nine diſtricts, Amabe, Nakaſſima, Kaquuri, Nirva, Kaſſungale,

Kaſſungale, Jamada, Aitſi, Tſitta, and Tooſijnoſſima. 5. Mikawa, otherwiſe Miſiu, is a very barren and poor country, with too many ſhallow rivers and ponds, which are very prejudicial to the growth of the gokokf. It is one day's journey and a half long, going from eaſt to weſt, and divided into eight diſtricts, Awoumi, Kamo, Nukada, Batz, Fori, Jana, Tſitarra, and Akumi. 6. Tootomi, otherwiſe Jensju, a very good and fruitful country, and one of the pleaſanteſt provinces for a curious variety of hills, rivers, fertile plains, towns and villages. Its length is ſuppoſed to be two days journey and a half, going from eaſt to weſt, and it is divided into fourteen diſtricts, Fammana, Futz, Fuuſa, Aratama, Nangakami, Nagaſſimo, Sutz, Jammana, Kikoo, Faifara, Tojota, Jamaka, Sanno, and Jwata. 7. Surunga, or Siusju, deſerves likewiſe to be commended for the variety of its towns, villages, hills, and fruitful plains. It is of the ſame length with Tootomi, going from eaſt to weſt, and divided into ſeven diſtricts, Tſta, Maſiaſu, Udo, Itabe, Rofarra, Fuſij and Suringa. 8. Kai, otherwiſe Kaiſiu, and Ksjoohu, is a flat country, and abounds in rice, fields and paſturage, plants and trees. It breeds alſo ſome cattle, chiefly horſes. It is two days journey long from ſouth to north, and divided into four diſtricts, Jamanaſſiro, Jaatzſiro, Coma, and Tſur. 9. Idſu, or Toosju, a long peninſula, being almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea. It affords a large quantity of ſalt, and all ſorts of fiſh, and is reckoned in the main a tolerable good country. It is pretty mountainous, with ſome flat ground, and ſome few rice-fields. It hath but three diſtricts upon the continent of Nipon, Takato, Naka, and Camo, whereto are added two neighbouring iſlands, Ooſima, and Firkaſima. 10. Sangami or Sooſiu, is three days journey long; a flat and barren country, which affords hardly any thing for the ſuſtenance of human life, but tortoiſes, fiſh and crabs from the ſea, beſides a good quantity of timber out of its large woods. It is divided into eight diſtricts, Aſikaranno Cami, Aſikaranno Simu, Ooſimi, Juringi, Ajikoo Takangi, Camakura, Mijura, and Jeſima. 11. Muſaſi, or Buſiu, a very large province, having five days journey and a half, in circumference. It is a flat country, without woods and mountains, but very fruitful, abounding in rice, gokokf, garden-fruits, and plants. It is divided into twenty-one diſtricts, which are Kuraggi, Tſukuki, Tama, Tatſinbana, Kaikura, Iruma, Toſma, Fijki, Jokomi, Saitama, Kodama, Tſibu Sima, Fabara, Faſiſawa, Naka, Kami. Adats, Tſitſubu, Jebara, Toteſima, and Ooſato. 12. Awa, otherwiſe Fooſiu, a middling good country, with mountains, hills, rivers, and plains, affording both rice and corn; it is tolerably well inhabited and plentifully ſupplied by the neighbouring ſea with fiſh and oyſters, whoſe ſhells the inhabitants make uſe of to manure their ground. It is one day's journey and a half long from ſouth to north, and divided into four diſtricts, Fekuri, Awa, Aſaima, and Nakaba. 13. Kadſuſa, otherwiſe Koosju, is three days journey long, going from ſouth to north, a tolerable good country, though not without high rough mountains: great numbers of the inhabitants get their livelihood by weaving of cannib, or hempſtuffs, which they underſtand very well. It is divided into eleven diſtricts, Sſuſſu, Amafa, Itſuwara, Umingami, Foiko, Mooki, Iſſimi, Farinib, Nagawa, Jammanobe, and Muſſa. 14. Simooſa, otherwiſe Seosju, is ſaid to be three day's journey long going from ſouth to north, a mountainous country, indifferently fruitful, but abounding in fowls and cattle. It is divided into twelve diſtricts, Kaddoſika, Tſibba, Imba, Sooma, Sasjuma, Iuuki, Tooda, Kooſa, Unagami, Katori, Fannibu, and Okanda. 15. Fitats, or Sjoo, a very large province; my author makes it almoſt ſquare, and ſays that it is three days' journey long on each ſide. It is but a middling country, as to its fruitfulneſs, but produces a great quantity of ſilk-worms and ſilk, of which there are ſeveral manufactures eſtabliſhed there, as there are alſo ſome other things, the inhabitants being a

very induſtrious people. They likewiſe carry on a trade with cattle. It hath eleven diſtricts, Nijbari, Makaije, Tſukkumba, Kawaats, Sſida, Umbaraki, Namingata, Naka, Kuſſi, Taka, and Iengoko. Iengoko ſignifies a diſtant country, by which is probably meant ſome neighbouring iſland. The revenues of theſe fifteen provinces of the firſt large tract called Tookaido, amount in all to 494 mankokf.

II. Tooſando, that is, the Eaſtern mountainous tract, hath eight large provinces within its compaſs, which are 1. Oomi, an extraordinary good and fruitful country, with variety of mountains, hills, rivers, and fruitful fields, producing both rice and corn, and affording to the labourer a thouſand fold reward, (according to my Japaneſe author's way of expreſſing the fruitfulneſs of this country.) It hath three days journey and a half in circumference, and is divided into thirteen diſtricts, Singa, Karimotto, Ius, Cammoo, Kanſaki, Inungami, Sakatta, Jetz, the upper and lower Aſſai, Imito, Takaſſima, Kooka, and Jooſitzumi. 2. Mino, or Dioſiu, is not inferior to the former, neither in an agreeable variety of hills and plains, nor in fertility, producing plenty of rice, corn, and gokokf, and other neceſſaries of life. It is three days journey long from ſouth to north, and divided into eighteen diſtricts, Iſijntſu, Fufa, Awadſi, Ikenda, Oono, Mottos, Muſſijroda, Katakata, Atſumi, Kakumi, Iamangata, Muggi, Guundsjo, Camo, Cako, Tokki, Jenna, and Taki. 3. Fida, otherwiſe Fisju, falls far ſhort of the two former, both in largeneſs, and fertility. Its utmoſt extent from ſouth to north doth not exceed two days travelling. It abounds in woods and foreſts, and yields a great quantity of fire-wood, and timber for buildings. It hath but four diſtricts, Ofarra, Maſijnda, Ammano, and Araki. 4. Siñano, otherwiſe Sinsju, a very cold country. Salt and fiſh are very ſcarce here, becauſe of its great remoteneſs from the ſea; and it is not well provided with cattle, by reaſon of its few paſtures. It is otherwiſe tolerably fruitful, and produces a good quantity of mulberry-trees, ſilk, and cannib, of which there are ſeveral good manufactures eſtabliſhed there. It is ſaid to be five days journey long from ſouth to north, and is divided into eleven diſtricts, Midſutz, Takaij, Fanniſſina, Tſiſagatta, Sacku, Ina, Sſuwa, Tſikumma, Atſumi, Sara, and Sijna. 5. Koodſuke, otherwiſe Dſiosju, is four days journey long, going from eaſt to weſt, a warm and tolerable good country, producing plenty of mulberry trees, though the ſilk they yield, is not of the beſt ſort, and the ſtuffs brought from thence but coarſe. It is divided into fourteen diſtricts, Uſſui, Aaſſa, Sſikanne, Sſetta, Sai, Nitta, Kattaoka, Soora, Gumma, Kanva, Tago, Midorino, Naba, and Jammada. 6. Simoodſuke, or Jasju, is three days journey and a half long, going from eaſt to weſt, a tolerable good country, not very mountainous, but rather flat, with abundance of paſture-ground and rice-fields, which plentifully ſupply it with graſs, rice, corn, and the gokokf. It hath nine diſtricts, Aſkara, Janada, Aſo, Tſuga, Taka, Sawingawa, Suwooja, Naſu, and Mukabe. 7 Mutſu, or Oosju, is by much the largeſt province in Japan, being full ſixteen days journey long from ſouth to north. It is an extraordinary good and fruitful country, and wants nothing for the ſupport of human life. This whole province was formerly ſubject to one prince, together with the neighbouring province Dewa, of which more hereafter. It is divided into fifty-four (and according to others fifty-five) diſtricts, Sijrakawa, Kurokawa, Juwaſi, Mijaki, Aitz, Nama, Oda, Aſaka, Adatz, Sibatta, Karida, Tooda, Natori, Sinnobu, Kikkunda, Sibanne, Aſſonuſa, Namingata, Iwadewaga, Kawatz, Fitzungi, Takano, Wattari, Tamadſukuri, Oonato, Kami, Sſida, Kuriwara, Jeſan, Jeki, Miſawa, Nagaooka, Tojone, Monowara, Ooſika, Gunki, Kaddono, Faſikani, Tſungaru, Uda, Iku, Motojes, Iſbara, Taidſi, Sikamma, Inaga, Siwa, Iwaſaki, Kimbara, Kadſinda, Datte, Socka, Fei, and Kiſen. 8. Dewa, otherwiſe Usju, is five days journey long, a very good country, abounding in good paſture-

paſture-ground, plants, and trees. It is ſaid to have the Spring fifteen days earlier than other provinces. It belonged formerly to Osju, but is now a ſeparate province, divided into twelve diſtricts, Akumi, Kawanobe, Murajama, Oitama, Ookatz, Firaka, Tangaira, Diwa, Akindatauri, Senboku, Mogumi, and Jamamottu. All the revenues of theſe eight provinces amount to 563 mangokf, according to the old rentals, but at preſent they are conſiderably improved.

III. Foku Rokkudo, that is, the northern tract, hath ſeven provinces within its compaſs: 1. Wackaſa, otherwiſe Siakusju, is one day's journey and a half long, going from ſouth to north. It is limited to the north by the ſea, which plentifully ſupplies it with fiſh, crabs, tortoiſes, and the like. It hath ſome iron-mines, and is divided into three diſtricts, Oonibu, Ooi, and Micatta. 2. Jetſiſſen, otherwiſe Jeetsju. Its length, from ſouth to north, is of three days travelling. It is very mountainous towards the ſouth, but more flat and fruitful to the north, with abundance of good paſture-ground, where the inhabitants breed plenty of cattle. It produces alſo cannib, mulberry-trees and ſilk, and the gokokf very plentifully. It is divided into twelve diſtricts, Tſuruga, Nibu, Imadats, Aſijba, Oono, Sakai, Kuroda, Ikingami, Takakida, Jooſdſida, Sakagita, and Naandsjo. 3. Kaga, otherwiſe Kasju, is two days journey and a half long, going from eaſt to weſt, a tolerable good country, yielding as much of the gokokf as is neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of the inhabitants. Some ſilk manufactures are carried on here, and it affords the beſt vinegar, ſacki, and ſoja, which are exported into other provinces. It hath four diſtricts, Jenne, Nomi, Iſikawa, and Kanga, to which ſome add Kaboku. 4. Noto, otherwiſe Seosju, is a ſort of a peninſula, almoſt wholly encompaſſed by the ſea, and on this account plentifully ſupplied with fiſh and crabs. It hath ſeveral iron-mines, but not much good ground, and the gokokf ripen conſiderably later than in other provinces. It is two days journey and a half long, going from eaſt to weſt, and is divided into four diſtricts, Bagui, Noto, Fukeeſund, and Sſus. 5. Jeetsju, otherwiſe Jaeſsju, hath three days journey in circumference, a tolerable good country, pretty well ſupplied with gokokf. A particular ſort of earthen pots is made here. It affords alſo ſome wood, which is made uſe of particularly for bridges. It is divided into four diſtricts, Tonami, Imidſu, Mebu, and Nijkawa. 6. Jetſingo, otherwiſe Jeesju, a large province, having ſix days journey in circumference. It is very mountainous to the ſouth, otherwiſe tolerably fruitful, producing ſilk, cannib, and the gokokf, though not of the beſt ſort. It is divided into ſeven diſtricts, Kabiki, Kof, Miſſima, Iwoodſi, Cambara, Nutari, and Iwafune. 7. Sado, or Sasju, a pretty large iſland of three days journey and a half in circumference, ſituate to the north of Japan, juſt over againſt the two provinces Jeetsju and Jetſingo. It is a very fruitful iſland, plentifully ſupplied with corn, rice, and gokokf. It hath alſo ſome woods and good paſture-ground. The ſea affords fiſh, and crabs. It is divided into three diſtricts, Umo, Soota, and Camo. The yearly revenue of theſe ſeven provinces amounts to 243 mangokf.

IV. Sanindo, that is, the "Northern Mountainous, or Cold Tract," conſiſts of eight provinces: 1. Tanba, otherwiſe Tansju, is two days journey long, a middling good country, producing plenty of rice, beſides ſeveral ſorts of peaſe and pulſe. It affords alſo ſome fire-wood, and is divided into ſix diſtricts, Kuwada, Funaji, Taki, Amada, Fingami, and Ikarunga. 2. Tango, otherwiſe Tansju, is one day's journey and a half broad, going from ſouth to north, likewiſe a middling good country, where ſilk and cannib may be had at a very eaſy rate. It is plentifully ſupplied by the ſea with fiſh, crabs, and the like. It is divided into five diſtricts, Kaki, Joki, Tango, Katano, and Kumano. 3. Taſima, otherwiſe Tansju, is two days journey long, going from

eaſt to weſt, a middling good country, much like the two former, and divided into eight diſtricts, Aſami, Jabu, Idſu, Ketta, Kinnoſaki, Flangaka, Sitzumi, and Mikummi. 4. Imaba, otherwiſe Insju, is much of the ſame length and degree of fruitfulneſs with Taſima. It is limited to the north by the ſea, and on the ſouth by a ridge of mountains It hath ſeveral manufactures of coarſe ſilk ſtuffs, and is divided into ſeven provinces, Togomi, Jagami, Tſidſu, Oomi, Takagufo, Ketta, and Konno. 5. Tooki, otherwiſe Fakusju, is two days journey and a half long, going from ſouth to north, a middling good country, producing plenty of gokokf, cannib, and ſilk, of which laſt there are ſeveral good manufactures carried on here. It is divided into ſix diſtricts, Kawamura, Kume, Jawata, Aneri, Oomi, and Fino. 6. Idſumo, otherwiſe Unsju, is two days journey and a half broad, going from eaſt to weſt, almoſt wholly encompaſſed by the Corean ſea, after the manner of a peninſula. It is a very fruitful country, producing variety of trees, graſs, and plants. It hath alſo ſome manufactures of coarſe ſilk ſtuffs. It is divided into ten diſtricts, Iju, Nomi, Semane, Akiſika, Tattenni, Jadſumo, Kanto, Ijis, Ninda, and Oofara. 7. Iwami, otherwiſe Sekisju, is two days journey long, going from ſouth to north, a middling good country, producing plenty of cannib, and affording ſome ſalt. The inhabitants give twice as much a year to their Prince as they do in other provinces. It is divided into five diſtricts, Tſikama, Naka, Oots, Mino, and Canoab. 8. Oki, otherwiſe Insju, an iſland erected into a province, and ſituate in the Corean ſea, oppoſite to the coaſts of that peninſula. It is a very barren country, producing a few gokokf. It hath two days journey in circumference, and is divided into five diſtricts. All the yearly revenues of theſe eight provinces amount to 123 mangokf.

V. Sanjodo, that is, "the ſouthern mountainous, or warm tract," is compoſed of eight provinces, which are, 1. Farima, otherwiſe Bansju, hath three days journey and a half in circumference, a very fruitful country, producing in plenty all manner of neceſſaries. It hath ſeveral manufactures of ſilk-ſtuffs, paper, and cloth. It is divided into fourteen diſtricts, Akas, Kata, Kamo, Inami, Sikama, Iwo, Akato, Saijo, Sitz, Kanſaki, Taka, Mitzubo, Iſſai, and Itto. 2. Mimaſaka, otherwiſe Sakusju, is three days journey long, going from eaſt to weſt, a middling good country, affording as much fruits, plants, victuals, and cloth, as is neceſſary for the ſupport of its inhabitants. It is obſerved as ſomewhat remarkable, that this province is leſs ſubject to winds than any other in the empire. It is divided into ſeven diſtricts, Aida, Katzunda, Tomaniſi, Tomaſigaſi, Khume, Ooka, and Maſuma. 3. Bidſen, or Bisju, hath three days journey in circumference, a middling good country, producing plenty of ſilk. Its ſoil is pretty warm, and the produce of the fields and gardens are obſerved to ripen earlier than in other provinces. It is divided into eleven diſtricts, Koſuma, Waki, Iwanaſi, Ooku, Akoſaka, Kandatz, Minne, Ooas, Tſitaka, Tſingoſima, and Kamoſima. 4. Bitsju, otherwiſe Fiſin, is one day's journey and a half long, going from eaſt to weſt, a very good country, plentifully ſupplied with all the neceſſaries of life. The gokokf and cannib in particular are extremely cheap here. It is divided into nine diſtricts, Utz, Kaboja, Kaija, Simomitz, Aſſanguts, Oda, Sitzuki, Teta, and Fanga, to which are added two iſlands, Saburoſima, and Joriſima. 5. Bingo, otherwiſe Fisju, is ſomewhat more than two days journey long, going from ſouth to north, a middling good country, plentifully ſupplied with rice and gokokf, which are likewiſe obſerved to ripen here much earlier than they do elſewhere. It is divided into fourteen diſtricts, Abe Futſitz, Kamijſi, Aſuka, Numaſimi, Bonitz, Aſijda, Kooni, Mikami, Camidami, Mitſuki, Jofio, Sirra, and Mijwara. 6. Aki, other Gesju, is two days journey and a half long, going from ſouth to north, a mountainous and barren country. Upon the coaſts they make ſalt. Corn, rice, and gokokf will hardly grow here, but it abounds with woods and

foreſts, which afford plenty of muſhrooms. It is divided into eight diſtricts, Numada, Takaita, Tojoda, Sada, Cammo, Sabaku, Aki, Takamija, and Iku Kuſſima; which laſt is the name of a place particularly famous in this province. 7. Suwo, or Seosju, is three days journey long, going from eaſt to weſt, a middling good country, abounding chiefly in plants and good paſture ground. The coaſts afford as much fiſh, crabs, ſhells, and other ſubmarine ſubſtances as any other province whatever. It is divided into ſix diſtricts, Ooſima, Kuka, Kumade, Tſino, Sawa, and Jooſki. 8. Nagata, otherwiſe Tſiosju, is two days journey and a half long, from eaſt to weſt, a middling good country, limited to the ſouth and weſt by the ſea, to the north by a ridge of mountains. It produces gokokf, fiſh, crabs, and other neceſſaries, twice as much as there is requiſite for the maintenance of the inhabitants. It is divided into ſix diſtricts, Atſa, Tojora, Mine, Ootz, Amu, and Miſijma. The whole yearly revenue of theſe eight provinces amounts to 270 mangokf.

All the ſeveral tracts of land, provinces and diſtricts, hitherto mentioned, belong to the great iſland Nipon. I proceed now to the ſecond iſland, which is next to Nipon in largeneſs, and which is by the Japaneſe called Kiusju, the Weſtern Country, and Saikokf, the Country of Nine. This offers to our view the

VI. Great tract of land, called Saikaido, that is, the Weſtern Coaſt Tract. It is compoſed of nine large provinces: 1. Tſikudſen, otherwiſe Tſikuſiu, is from ſouth to north four days journey long, a middling good country, producing both corn and rice. It hath ſeveral Chinaware manufactures, and is divided into twenty-four diſtricts, Sima, Kama, Jaſſijka, Noſima, Mikaſa, Monagatta, Onka, Muſiroda, Fonami, Sara, Naka, Caſſija, Siaka, Muſima, Ito, Muſijro, Vutz, Kurande, Nokoſima, Sinotz, Kaſakura, Kamitzkaſakura, Kokuf, and Taſſai. 2. Tſikungo, otherwiſe Tſikusju, is, from ſouth to north, five days journey long, a tolerable good country, producing corn, rice, and peaſe in great plenty; the coaſts afford fiſh, crabs, and ſhells. A great deal of ſweetmeat is made here, and exported into other provinces. It is divided into ten diſtricts, Mijwara, Mij, Ikwa, Mi, Mike, Kandſima, Simodſima, Jammacando, Jammaſeta, and Takeno. 3. Budſen, or Foosju, is four days journey long from ſouth to north, a tolerable good country, particularly famous for producing extraordinary good medicinal plants. Great numbers of ſilk manufactures are carried on in this province, ſome of which the Prince takes in part of payment for his revenue. It is divided into eight diſtricts, Tangawa, Sakku, Mijako, Nakatz, Tſuiki, Kamitzki, Simotzki, and Uſa'. 4. Bungo, otherwiſe Foosju, is three days journey long, middling fruitful. It affords ſilk from its mulberry-trees, cloth, hemp, gokokf, and ſome ſcarce medicinal plants. It is divided into eight diſtricts, Fita, Kees, Nawori, Oono, Amabe, Ookata, Faijami, and Kuniſaki. 5. Fidſen, otherwiſe Fisju, is from ſouth to north full five days journey long, a good and middling fruitful country, beſides the produce of corn and rice, plentifully ſtored with fiſh and fowls. It hath alſo ſome cloth manufactures, and is divided into 11 diſtricts, Kickij, Jabu, Mine, Ooki, Kanſoki, Saaga, Maatſura, Kiſſima, Fuſitz, Kadſuraki, and Takaku. 6. Figo, otherwiſe Fisju, hath about five days journeys in circumference, a middling fruitful country, affording plenty of firewood, and wood for building, as alſo corn, peaſe, fiſh, crabs, and other neceſſaries, as much as will ſupply the want of the inhabitants. It is divided into fourteen diſtricts, Tamana, Jamaga, Jamamatto, Kikutz, Aſo, Takuma, Kuma, Aida, Maſiki, Udo, Jaadſiro, Koos, Amakuſa, and Aſskita. 7. Fiugo, otherwiſe Nisju, is about three days journey long, a poor country, mountainous, and producing hardly what corn, rice, and fruits are neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of its inhabitants; ſome few mulberry-trees grow there. It is divided into five diſtricts, Uſki, Koiju, Naka, Mijaſaka, and Morokata. 8. Ooſumi, otherwiſe Gusju, is from eaſt to weſt two days journey long, a ſmall but fruitful

fruitful province, plentifully ſupplied with all the neceſſaries of life, particularly ſuch as the ſea affords. There is a great quantity of paper made here, and ſome few ſilk ſtuffs. It is divided into eight diſtricts, Ooſumi, Fiſingari, Kuwabara, Soo, Sijra, Kimodſuki, Komadſij, and Kumagge, to which is added the neighbouring iſland Tanegaſima. 9. Satzuma, or Satzju, is much of the ſame length with the former, middling fruitful, producing chiefly mulberry-trees and hemp. It hath a few cloth manufactures, but the cloth is very good. It can furniſh other provinces with hemp. It is divided into fourteen diſtricts, Idſumi, Takaki, Satzuma, Feki, Iſa, Ala, Kawanobe, Jene, Juumaki, Fire, Fani, Jamma, Okinokoſima, and Koſskiſima. The yearly revenue of theſe nine provinces amounts to 344 mangokf.

An iſland of the third magnitude, which lies between the two former, and is by the Japaneſe called Sikokf, that is, the Country of Four, viz. Provinces, together with the neighbouring iſland Awadſi, ſituate to the north-eaſt of Sikokf, and the great province Kijnokuni, which ſtands out from the continent of Nipon, make up the ſeventh large tract of land, which is by the Japaneſe called

VII. Nankaido, that is, the Tract of the Southern Coaſts. It is compoſed of the ſix following provinces: 1. Kijnokuni, otherwiſe Kisju, is four days journey and a half long, going from ſouth to north, a flat and barren country, waſhed by the ſea on three ſides, and producing neither corn and rice, nor peaſe and pulſe. It is divided into ſeven diſtricts, Ito, Naka, Naguſa, Amabe, Arida, Fitaka, and Muro. 2. Awadſi, an iſland of about a day's journey in length, in the main, very barren, affording however, cloth, fiſh, and ſalt, as much as there is neceſſary for the maintenance of the inhabitants. It hath but two diſtricts, Tſina and Mijwara, to which are added two of the chief neighbouring iſlands, Muſſima and Jeſima. 3. Awa, otherwiſe Asju, is two days journey long, a middling good country, ſomewhat mountainous, and plentifully ſtored with cattle, fowl, fiſh, crabs, and ſhells. It is divided into nine diſtricts, Mioſi, Ojen, Nafingaſi, Naniſi, Katſura, Naka, Itano, Awa, and Mima. 4. Sanuki, otherwiſe Sansju, is three days journey long, going from eaſt to weſt, a middling good and fruitful country, with variety of rivers, mountains, and fields, producing rice, corn, peaſe, and pulſe. The ſea affords plenty of fiſh and crabs. This province is famous for having given birth to ſeveral great and eminent men. It is divided into eleven diſtricts, Owutſi, Samingawa, Miki, Mino, Jamada, Kanda, Ano, Utari, Naka, Tado, and Kako. 5. Ijo, otherwiſe Josju, is two days journey long, a middling good country, mountainous in ſome parts, flat in others, ſome of the fields being ſandy, others producing rice, hemp, mulberry-trees, graſs, and plants. Some ſalt is made upon the coaſts. It is divided into fourteen diſtricts, Nij, Sucki, Kuwamira, Ootz, Kaſafaja, Nooma, Tſike, Otſumi, Kume, Fuke, Jio, Kita, Uwa, and Uma. 6. Toſa, otherwiſe Tosju, is two days journey long, going from eaſt to weſt, a middling good country, ſupplied with plenty of peaſe and pulſe, wood, fruits, and ſeveral other neceſſaries of life. It is divided into ſeven provinces, Toſa, Agawa, Taka, Oka, Fata, Nanaoka, Kataſima and Kami. The yearly revenue of theſe ſix provinces amounts to 140 mangokf.

There remain ſtill two other iſlands not hitherto mentioned, which were conquered, and annexed to the empire of Japan, in the late war with the inhabitants of Corea. They are called Iki Tſuſſima, both their names being put together, and have now a Prince of their own, having been formerly ſubject to the Prince, or petty King of Satzuma. The firſt of theſe two iſlands is Iki, otherwiſe Isju; it is a days journey long, and hath two diſtricts, Iki, and Iſijda. The ſecond iſland is Tſuſſima, otherwiſe Taisju; this is ſomewhat larger than the former, and likewiſe divided into two diſtricts, Akata, and Simoakata, that is, Upper and Lower Akata. The fruitfulneſs of theſe iſlands is ſaid not to be very conſiderable, but they ſay that ſome foreign curioſities are to be ſeen

there, and the number of idols worſhipped by the inhabitants is much talked of. The yearly revenue of theſe two iſlands amounts to 3 man, and 5000 kokſ.

The whole revenue of all the iſlands and provinces belonging to the great empire of Japan makes up in all a yearly ſum of 2328 man, and 6200 kokf, according to the account above given. My Japaneſe author, however, puts it only at 2257 mangokf.

Though it be not a proper place here to enter into particulars concerning the government of the Japaneſe empire, its provinces, and diſtricts, yet for the better underſtanding of my hiſtory, it ſeems neceſſary, that, before I proceed any further, ſomewhat ſhould be ſaid on this head. The whole empire, in general, is governed by the Emperor, with an abſolute and monarchical power; and ſo is every province in particular, by the Prince who, under the Emperor, enjoys the government thereof. The preſent Kubo, or ſecular Monarch, is Tſinajos, fourth ſucceſſor, and great grandſon of Jejaſſama, firſt Emperor of the now reigning family, who uſurped the throne upon the lawful heir, and reigned about the beginning of the ſixteenth century. Tſinajos hath the character of a ſevere but juſt and prudent monarch. He inherited from his anceſtors, along with the crown, an abſolute and unlimited power over all his ſubjects, from the meaneſt extraction up to the higheſt rank. Even the greateſt Princes and lords of the empire, are ſo far his vaſſals, that he can diſgrace, exile, and deprive them of their lives and dominions, as he pleaſes, or as he thinks the peace and welfare of the empire requires, or their crimes deſerve.

Particular provinces are governed by hereditary Princes, called Daimio, which ſignifies "high-named;" that is, Princes and lords of the higheſt rank. Some of theſe have found means by force of arms to enlarge their dominions. Thus, the Prince of Satzuma made himſelf maſter of the two neighbouring provinces, Ooſumi and Fiugo, and the Prince of Canga of the neighbouring province Noto; on which account, theſe two Princes are ſaid to be the moſt powerful in the empire.

The lords of ſmaller diſtricts are called Siomio, "well named," lords of an inferior rank. Their dominions, whether they be iſlands, as Goto, Firando, Amakuſa, Matſaki, and ſeveral others, or ſituate upon the continent of the three chief iſlands compoſing the empire of Japan, are mentioned in the liſt of the ſixty-ſix great provinces, each under that province whereto they belong, or in which they lie. All the Siomio are ſo far ſubject to the Emperor, that they are allowed but ſix months ſtay in their hereditary dominions. The other half year they muſt ſpend in the Imperial capital, Jedo, where their wives and families are kept all the year round, as hoſtages of their fidelity.

Some of theſe ſmaller diſtricts are imperial demeſne, or crown lands, either, becauſe they have been appropriated of old for the ſupport of the crown, or becauſe in ſucceſs of time, as occaſion offered, they were taken from their hereditary poſſeſſors by way of puniſhment, and annexed thereunto, it having been always one of the chief political maxims followed by the Emperors of Japan, to maintain themſelves in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, by ſplitting large dominions into ſeveral ſmall ones, and by endeavouring, by all poſſible means, to weaken the power and authority of the Princes of the empire. The largeſt of theſe crown lands are governed by what they call, bugios, acting in the nature of lieutenants, the ſmaller ones by daiquans, as they are called, or ſtewards. All the revenues muſt be brought into the Emperor's exchequer.

CHAP. III. — *The Author's Opinion of the true Origin and Deſcent of the Japaneſe.*

IT hath been the conſtant opinion of moſt European geographers, that the Japaneſe are originally of Chineſe extraction, deſcended from the inhabitants of that mighty empire. This opinion is grounded upon the following two ſtories, which were brought

out of the Eaſt by European travellers. The firſt is: It once happened in China that ſeveral families conſpired againſt the Emperor. Upon diſcovery of the plot, it was ordered, that all thoſe who had any hand in it, ſhould be put to death without mercy. But the number of accomplices being ſo extenſive, that at laſt the executioners themſelves grew weary of ſhedding ſo much blood; the affair was again laid before the Emperor, who thereupon reſolved, that their ſentence of death ſhould be converted into tranſportation and baniſhment into the neighbouring, then rude and uninhabited, iſlands of Japan, which they peopled, and thereby became the progenitors of that numerous and powerful nation they are now inhabited by. The ſecond ſtory hath been reported as follows: One of the Emperors of China unwilling to part with his empire, and all that grandeur and power he was poſſeſſed of, within the ſhort term human life is limited to, endeavoured to find out, if poſſible, ſome univerſal medicine, which could make him immortal; on this account, he ſent expert and able men into all parts of the world. Among the reſt, one of his chief phyſicians perſuaded him, that the proper ingredients for ſuch a medicine were, to his knowledge, to be met with in the neighbouring iſlands of Japan; but that they were of ſo tender and ſingular a ſtructure, that they would wither, and loſe their virtues, if touched by any other but chaſte and pure hands. And, the better to execute this deſign, he propoſed that three hundred young men, and ſo many young women, all of a ſtrong and healthful conſtitution, ſhould be carried over thither, which accordingly he did himſelf, though far from having any real intention to ſatisfy his Sovereign, but rather out of a deſire to eſcape his tyranny, to ſettle in happier climes, and to people theſe then uninhabited iſlands. As to the firſt of theſe two ſtories, Linſchoot is the author of it; but he not acquainting his reader, what authority he had for it, or how he came by it, and there being not the leaſt mention made, neither in Chineſe nor Japaneſe hiſtories, of any ſuch conſpiracy, it deſerves no credit, but ought to be entirely rejected as forged and fabulous. But as to the ſecond, the coming over of a Chineſe phyſician, with ſo many young men and young women, the fame is not at all denied by the Japaneſe; nay, far from it, they ſtill ſhew a place upon Khumano, (ſo they call the ſouthern coaſts of the provinces,) Kijnokuni, and ſome neighbouring provinces, where he landed and afterwards ſettled with his gallant colony; and the remains of a temple, which was there erected to his memory, for having brought over to them from China good manners, and uſeful arts and ſciences. As to the occaſion of his coming over, it is recorded in Japaneſe hiſtories, that there was great ſearch made after an univerſal medicine, during the reign of the Emperor Si, or Sikwo, or, as the vulgar pronounce it, Sino Sikwo. This Emperor was one of the three Chineſe Neros, Sinoſko, Ketzuwo, and Thuwo, whoſe memory will be for ever abhorred. He not only governed his empire with unparalleled tyranny, but lived with the greateſt pride, and moſt profuſe magnificence imaginable, of which there are ſeveral remarkable inſtances mentioned in the hiſtory of his life. He cauſed once a large ſpot of ground to be dug up for a lake, and having ordered it to be filled with Chineſe beer, he ſailed over it in ſtately barges. He cauſed a ſtately palace, named Kojaku, to be built for his reſidence, the floors whereof were paved with gold and ſilver, and the whole building of ſuch an extent, that the Emperor Kooll, who uſurped the throne upon his grandſon, whom he put to death, with all the Imperial family, having ſet it on fire, it burnt in the aſhes for the ſpace of three months; which memorable event gave birth to a proverb, whereby the Japaneſe expreſs the ſudden changes, and ſhort duration, human grandeur and happineſs are liable to. It was this Emperor who, out of a ſtrong deſire for ever to enjoy the empire, ordered that great ſearch ſhould be made after a medicine, which could render him immortal. If it be therefore under his reign,

reign, the above ſaid phyſician went over into Japan with his colony, it muſt be granted to the Japaneſe, that they came by much too late to be the progenitors of their nation, which was then already governed by Koken, their eighth monarch; for the arrival of the Chineſe was in the ſeventh year of the reign of Koken, 453 years after Synmu, firſt Emperor of Japan, and 209 before the birth of our Saviour, the very ſame year in which Sinoſikwo died in the fiftieth year of his age. Since therefore theſe two ſtories are by no means a ſufficient proof, that the Japaneſe nation is deſcended from the Chineſe, it will not be amiſs to enquire, whether it be not poſſible to aſſign it another more probable origin.

It is unqueſtionably true, that languages, and their proprieties, are as ſure and certain marks, as perhaps it is poſſible to produce, whereby to diſcern, and trace out, not only the true origin of a nation, but likewiſe to find out, how in proceſs of time it increaſed, by being, as it were, incorporated with other nations. Of this moſt European nations afford us evident proofs. Thus, for inſtance, we may eaſily find by the language alone, that the Polanders, Bohemians, and Muſcovites, are of Sclavonian extraction; that the Italians, French and Spaniards deſcend from the Romans; that the Germans, Low Dutch, Danes, and Swedes, are the offspring of the ancient Goths. Nay, we may go ſtill further, and aſſert, that the languages alone of ſeveral nations, and proper conſiderations thereupon, will qualify and enable us to form probable conjectures, what revolutions happened among them, whether, and what neighbouring nations they were conquered by, as alſo, whether, and how from time to time they increaſed by freſh ſupplies and colonies from foreign parts: for it may be laid down as a conſtant rule, that in proportion to the number of ſtrangers who come to ſettle and live in a country, words of the tongue ſpoke by them will be brought into the language of that country, and by degrees, as it were, naturalized, and become ſo familiar to the natives, as if they had been of their own growth. The number of German, French, and Daniſh words, in the Engliſh language, doth it not evidently prove, that England was ſucceſſively conquered by the Danes, Lower Saxons and French. Not even the Latin tongue was able to preſerve its purity, but Greek words were freely, and in great number, adopted into it, after the Romans became maſter of that country, then the ſeat of learning and politeneſs. The language now ſpoke in Tranſilvania hath a conſiderable mixture both of the Latin and neighbouring Hungarian. The language of the inhabitants of Semigallia, (a ſmall country near Ruſſia,) is compoſed of the Lettiſh, Sclavonian and Latin. The ſame obſervation holds true in other parts of the world, as well as in Europe. John de Barros in his Decades, and Flaccourt in his Hiſtory of Madagaſcar, aſſure us that the language ſpoke by the inhabitants of that large African iſland, is full of Javan and Malagan words, as remaining proofs of the trade and commerce which theſe two nations, about two thouſand years ago the richeſt and moſt powerful of Aſia, had carried on with Madagaſcar, where they ſettled in great numbers. The language ſpoke in the peninſula Crimea, or Taurica Cherſoneſus, in Aſia, ſtill retains many German words, brought thither, as is ſuppoſed, by a colony of Goths, who went to ſettle there about eight hundred and fifty years after the deluge. The late Mr. Buſbeq, who had been imperial ambaſſador at the Ottoman Porte, collected and publiſhed a great number of theſe words in his fourth letter; and in my own travels through that country I took notice of many more. If we were better acquainted with the languages of the Javans, Ceyloneſe, Malabarians, Siamites, and other Indian nations, they would doubtleſs enable us to trace out their origin, mixture with their neighbours, and the revolutions that happened among them. But to apply what hath been ſaid nearer to our purpoſe, I may venture to affirm, that if the Japaneſe language was to be thoroughly, and

moſt rigorouſly examined into, we would find it entirely pure, and free from all mixture with the languages of their neighbours, at leaſt to ſuch a degree, as would give room to conjecture an original deſcent from them. By their neighbours I mean chiefly the Chineſe, who inhabit the eaſtern maritime provinces of that empire, and carry on a commerce to Japan. They ſpeak three different languages, according to the three chief provinces they belong to, which are Nanking, Tſiaktsju, and Foktsju. Now a native of Japan doth not underſtand one word of either of theſe languages, excepting the names of a few things which were brought by the Chineſe into Japan along with the things themſelves, and which conclude no more for an original deſcent of the Japaneſe from China, than ſome few Portugueze words, as pan, palma, bolan, cappa, fraſco, bidou, tante, and a few more, ſtill left there, would be allowed a ſufficient proof, of the Japaneſe being originally deſcended from the Portugueſe. Nor was the number of Chineſe, who came from time to time to ſettle in Japan, ever conſiderable enough to occaſion any remarkable alteration in the mother-tongue of the Japaneſe, though they could and actually did communicate and introduce among them the arts and ſciences, which had long before flouriſhed in China, nay even the knowledge of the learned and ſignificant character-language of that country, which is likewiſe received in Corea, Tunquin, and other neighbouring kingdoms, much after the ſame manner as the Latin is in moſt European countries. But beſides, there are two other eſſential proprieties of a language, I mean the conſtruction and pronunciation, in the Japaneſe language ſo entirely different from that of the Chineſe, that there is no room left to think that theſe two nations gave birth to each other. And firſt as to the conſtruction and way of writing, the Chineſe ſet their characters one below another in a row, without any intermediate particles to connect them: the Japaneſe indeed do the ſame; but the genius of their language requires beſides, that the words and characters ſhould be ſometimes tranſpoſed, ſometimes joined together by other words and particles, particularly invented for this purpoſe, and which are ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that even in reprinting the books of the Chineſe, they muſt be added, to enable their people to read and to underſtand them. And as to the pronunciation, that alſo is vaſtly different in both languages, whether we conſider it in general, or with regard to particular letters, and this difference is ſo remarkable, that it ſeems the very inſtruments of voice are differently formed in the Japaneſe, than they are in the Chineſe. The pronunciation of the Japaneſe language, in general, is pure, articulate and diſtinct, there being ſeldom more than two or three letters (according to our alphabet) combined together in one ſyllable; that of the Chineſe on the contrary, is nothing but a confuſed noiſe of many conſonants pronounced with a ſort of a ſinging accent, very diſagreeable to the ear. The ſame difference appears with regard to particular letters. Thus, the Chineſe pronounce our letter H. very diſtinctly, but the Japaneſe can give it no other ſound, but that of an F. Again, the Japaneſe pronounce the letters R and D, very diſtinctly, of which the Chineſe, particularly thoſe of Nanking, always make an L, even ſuch as are otherwiſe well ſkilled in the European languages. I could give ſeveral other inſtances of this kind, and further ſhew, that, what hath been obſerved of the difference between the Chineſe and Japaneſe languages, holds equally true with regard to the languages ſpoken in Corea and Jedſo, compared with that of the natives of Japan; but it is needleſs to give the reader, and myſelf, ſo much trouble, the rather, ſince nobody ever pretended to draw the original deſcent of the Japaneſe from either of theſe two nations.

Another argument againſt the deſcent of the Japaneſe from the Chineſe, I could draw from the difference of the religion of both nations. If the Japaneſe were a colony of the Chineſe, they would have doubtleſs brought over from thence, into the uninhabited

habited iſlands of Japan, the religion and worſhip of their anceſtors, and propagated the ſame upon their poſterity. But this appears quite otherwiſe. The old, and probably, orginal religion of the Japaneſe, which is by them called Sintos, and the gods and idols, worſhipped by its adherents, Sin, and Came, is peculiar only to this empire, nor hath it ever been admitted of, nor their gods acknowledged and worſhipped, nor the religious way of life of the Japaneſe followed by the Chineſe, or indeed any other heathen nation. It was beſides the only one eſtabliſhed in Japan during a ſucceſſion of many ages. For the foreign pagan doctrine of Siaka, which the Japaneſe now call Bupo, or Budſdo, and the gods, which it commands to worſhip, Buds and Fotoge, though ever ſince its early beginnings it met with uncommon ſucceſs, and ſpeedily ſpread over the beſt part of Aſia, yet it was not introduced into Japan till ſixty-ſix years after our Saviour's nativity, under the reign of the Emperor Synnin, when it was brought over from Corea. And although afterwards, through the connivance of the Japaneſe monarchs, it was ſucceſsfully propagated by ſeveral miſſionaries, who came over from China, and the neighbouring kingdoms, and ſpeedily ſpread all over the empire, yet it never could prevail ſo far, as to baniſh the reſpect and veneration for the old religion of their anceſtors out of the minds of a conſtant and ſtedfaſt nation. On the contrary, the more the Bupo doctrine got ground, the more pains were taken for the preſervation of the Sintos worſhip, by embelliſhing the ſame with new gods, temples, feſtivals and fables.

What hath been inferred from the difference of religion againſt the original deſcent of the Japaneſe from China, could be further ſupported by the wide difference there is between the characters anciently uſed by both nations, I mean the groſs and rude common characters, as they call them, of the Japaneſe, and the ſimple and plain images of the Chineſe. But this being an argument of leſs moment, I will not inſiſt upon it, and only mention in a few words two other remarkable differences.

And firſt I could plainly ſhew that the Japaneſe greatly differ from the Chineſe, in their civil cuſtoms and way of life, as to eating, drinking, ſleeping, dreſſing, ſhaving of the head, ſaluting, ſitting, and many more. Secondly, the very inclinations of the mind are remarkably different in both nations. The Chineſe are peaceable, modeſt, great lovers of a ſedate, ſpeculative, and philoſophical way of life, but withal very much given to fraud and uſury. The Japaneſe on the contrary are warlike, inclined to rebellions and a diſſolute life, miſtruſtful, ambitious, and always bent on high deſigns.

By what hath been hitherto obſerved, it appears plainly, that the Japaneſe are an original nation, at leaſt that they are not deſcended of the Chineſe. The difficulty now remaining to be cleared up, is, how, and from what parts of the world, to trace out their true original deſcent. In order to this we muſt go up higher, and perhaps it is not inconſiſtent with reaſon and the nature of things, to aſſert, that they are deſcended of the firſt inhabitants of Babylon, and that the Japaneſe language is one of thoſe, which ſacred writs mention, that the all-wiſe providence hath thought fit, by way of puniſhment and confuſion, to infuſe into the minds of the vain builders of the Babylonian tower. This at leaſt ſeems to be the moſt probable conjecture, whatever way they went into Japan, or whatever time they ſpent upon this their firſt peregrination. Nay, conſidering the purity of the Japaneſe language, I may purſue my conjectures, and further affirm, that they cannot have ſpent much time on their firſt journey to Japan, foraſmuch as we cannot ſuppoſe, that they made any conſiderable ſtay in any one country, or with any one people then exiſting, without granting at the ſame time, that in all probability they would have adopted ſome words of the language of that nation into their own, of which yet it would be found upon examination to be entirely free, contrary to what we

we find in all European and moſt Eaſtern languages, known to us, which ſeem to have been from their very beginning ſo thoroughly mixed and confounded, that there is ſcarce any but what hath ſome words of another though never ſo remote. If then our Japaneſe colony did reach that part of the world, which divine Providence aſſigned for their future abode, as ſoon as the Chineſe, Tunquineſe, and other neighbouring nations did theirs, it muſt be ſuppoſed that they fortunately fell in with ſuch a road, as could with ſafety and ſpeed bring them to the eaſtern extremities of Aſia, from whence there is but a ſhort paſſage over to Japan. In order therefore to trace out what road it is probable they took, we muſt conſider the firſt Babylonians in the condition they were in, after that dreadful confuſion of languages, wholly diſappointed from going on with their vain deſign, and brought to the fatal neceſſity to part with each other, and to be diſperſed all over the world. And in order to this let us ſuppoſe, firſt, That among the different parties there aroſe in all likelihood a ſtrong emulation to chuſe for their future abode ſuch countries as were not only fruitful and delightful, but thought to be leſs expoſed to the invaſion of other parties, either becauſe of their commodious ſituation towards the ſea, or between large rivers, and high mountains, or by reaſon of their great diſtance. And in this regard it is highly probable, that ſuch countries, as were very remote, but ſituate under a temperate climate, became not the laſt inhabited. This ſeems to be the caſe of the empire of Japan, whoſe remoteneſs, as well as its fruitfulneſs, and pleaſant ſituation, between 30 and 40 degrees of northern latitude, could fully anſwer all the expectations of a firſt colony. But, ſecondly, let us ſuppoſe, that the chief care of theſe firſt colonies, in their ſearch for a country fit for their habitation, muſt needs have been to follow ſuch roads, and tracts of land, where in the mean time, they could be provided with the neceſſaries of life. This intention could ſcarce be anſwered more effectually than by travelling, either along the ſea-coaſts, or, and with more probability, along great rivers and lakes, where they could be ſupplied with fiſh for their own nouriſhment, with ſweet water to quench their thirſt, and where they were like to meet with good paſture ground for their cattle, till at laſt they alighted at a country, where they thought they could ſettle with ſafety and convenience.

If, therefore, the dreadful confuſion of tongues at Babylon, brought its inhabitants, as indeed it muſt have done, to an indiſpenſable neceſſity to part one with another, and to be diſperſed all over the world, ſuch parties as ſpoke the ſame language, keeping together, and ſettling in what country they beſt liked, we may take it for granted, that not a few went towards the neighbouring Black and Caſpian Seas, and that by this means the country of Hircania, which is ſituate between the Caucaſus and Caſpian ſhores, as the beſt and moſt delightful ſpot of Perſia, became firſt inhabited, as did ſoon after the neighbouring fruitful countries, ſituate between the Black and Caſpian Seas. Such as intended, or thought it expedient, to purſue their journey further, met here with two different ways, one up the rivers Tanais and Wolga to the north, the other along the eaſtern ſhores of the Caſpian Sea into Aſia. It is foreign to my preſent purpoſe to ſhew what became of the former. And as to thoſe that went along the eaſtern Caſpian coaſts, they muſt have at leaſt reached to the mouth of the great river Oxus, or Dſiehuun, where it diſcharges itſelf into the Caſpian Sea, and if we ſuppoſe that they followed that river up to its ſource, it was then no very difficult matter for them to penetrate into the very midſt of India, where they muſt have ſoon met with the ſource of the rivers Indus and Ganges, and going down the different branches of it, got into Indoſtan, Bengala, Pegu, Siam, and other neighbouring kingdoms, much eaſier and ſafer, than if they had been obliged to travel over the barren, and ſtill uninhabited Maharounian mountains, or to croſs the large deſarts of Siftuun and Saableſtuun.

Even to this day, travellers going from Iſpahan to Candahar chuſe rather to go through Meſhed, a journey of 375 miles, than to take the ſhorteſt road, which is but 250 miles, acroſs theſe wild and dangerous deſarts. But to return to the Caſpian Sea, before I carry off our Japaneſe Colony from thence on their journey to Japan, I muſt beg leave to make a ſhort digreſſion in favour of a famous and valiant nation of the Turks, or Turcomans and Uſbeks, as they are now called, which ſettled upon its eaſtern and north-eaſtern coaſts. Turk ſignifies a ſhepherd, and Turkeſtaan, a ſhepherd's country. Juſbeek is as much as to ſay, hundred lords, which ſeems to imply, that the country of Uſbeck was once governed by ſo many Princes. Both nations have the ſame language, the ſame religion, the ſame manners and cuſtoms, and muſt therefore be looked upon as originally one, on which we may deſervedly beſtow the glorious epithets of being a mother of many nations, a nurſe of illuſtrious heroes, and a ſtem of mighty monarchs. They ſpread from the north-eaſtern coaſts of the Caſpian Sea, between 40 and 50 degrees of northern latitude, as far as the borders of Kitaija. Their way of life anſwered to their name; for during many centuries they lived together in hordes, and ſmall common-wealths, wandering from place to place with their cattle, wherein their chief riches conſiſted. Of theſe Turks, or Turcomans, are deſcended the Dageſtaan and Nagajan Tartars, the Tartarian inhabitants of the kingdom of Caſan, the Boſcarian Tartars, the inhabitants of the province of Mogeſtan in Perſia, and ſome other Tartars, which dwell in that kingdom under tents. The Kiſilbacs, or noblemen, and great families in Perſia, value themſelves mightily upon their being of Turcoman extraction. There are likewiſe deſcended of them the Crim Tartars, which live between the Dniper and Danube, upon the coaſts of the Black Sea, as alſo thoſe Tartars, whom the great conqueror Sinchiſcham (a Prince, who well deſerved a Plutarch, or Quintus Curtius, to write the hiſtory of his life, conqueſts and heroic actions) ſent out upon an expedition into Poland, and who, not meeting with all the expected ſucceſs, choſe rather to ſtay, and to people the then as yet uninhabited Pontus, than to return without honour and victory. I muſt ſilently paſs over many other branches of the ſame race, which fell by degrees under the dominion of ſome neighbouring, chiefly northern, nations with whom they were in ſucceſs of time ſo thoroughly mixed and incorporated, that even the very footſteps of their original deſcent would have been loſt, were it not for ſome few remains of their former language. I will only add, that the famous Tamerlan was an Uſbekian Scythe, and that the Ottoman Emperor, the great Mogul, and the King of Sopra, are all of Turcoman extraction. Thus much of the Turks and Uſbecks. In order now to come nearer to our purpoſe, I will avoid ſpeaking of thoſe companies, which went along the river Inike, or from the ſource of the river Obij down the ſame towards the Tartarian Ocean, and became the firſt progenitors of the Tartarian nations living in thoſe parts. Nor will I pretend at preſent to determine, what way the Chineſe colony took in their journey to China. It is only ſix months travelling from the coaſts of the Caſpian Sea to the borders of China. Jagen Andaſen in his voyage to China in 1647, did not ſtay longer. Two Tartarian merchants, whom I converſed with at Aſtracan, and who had been ſeveral times in China, gave me the following account of their journey thither. They went from Aſtracan over the Caſpian Sea, (which they took to be 200 miles long, and 150 broad), to Seratſijk, in 15 days, from thence by land to Urgentz, the reſidence of an Uſbekian Prince, in 5 days, from thence to Bochau in 15 days, travelling through a wild large deſart: from Bochau there are two different ways, whereof travellers may chuſe which they pleaſe. The one going over Chaſger was then infeſted with rovers, ſo they took to the other, which acroſs a well inhabited country brought them to Taaſkend in 14 days, thence to Oxiend in 7 days, thence to Kaaſker the capital of Turkiſtaan, and the chief

chief town between Buchara and Katai, in [this number was omitted in the original] days, thence to Tſutſijk the firſt frontier town of Kattai in 30 days, thence to Hamtſijk in 5 days, thence to the great wall of Kattai, Chatai, or China, in 60 days, travelling through a well inhabited country, and laſtly from the great wall to Cambalu, or Peking, the capital of China, and reſidence of the Chineſe Emperor, in 10 days, completing the whole journey within ſix months time. A Calmuckian merchant of the retinue of a Calmuckian Prince's ambaſſador to the King of Perſia, whom I knew at Iſpahan, where he offered me for ſale the root taichuun, that is great yellow root, or rhubarb, which he had brought himſelf out of China, gave me the journal of his voyage from Mienkiſilaag to the great wall of China, thus. He went from Mienkiſilaag to Dſiem in 20 days, from thence to Gilgaas, where they croſs a large river, in 15 days, from thence to Torkai in a few days, thence to Milantſij in 10 days, thence to Toktan in 10 days, thence to Tſienrehſu in 5 days, thence to Iſijel in 10 days, thence to Kalah in 4 days, thence to Balane in 6 days, thence to Karbokatai in 10 days, thence to the great wall of China in 9 days, travelling through a deſart and uninhabited country, where he met only a few Tartarian ſhepherds dwelling under black tents. Mienkiſilaag ſignifies, in the country language, hundred winter-quarters, or reſting places. It is an iſland ſituate on the eaſtern coaſts of the Caſpian Sea, near 45 degrees of northern latitude, and the reſidence of Ajukeh, the Prince of the Calmuckian Tartars living in thoſe parts, who expelled the Turks, or Turcomans, out of their country, and forced them to depart even from the Caſpian ſhores. After all I think it no ways probable, that the firſt Chineſe went into China through ſuch deſart and barren countries, where travellers are oftentimes neceſſitated to carry the neceſſary proviſions of water and victuals along with them. I am more inclined to believe, that their journey was more to the ſouth, and perhaps along the north ſide of the Imaaſian mountains, where the country is very fruitful, with rich paſtures, and plenty of ſweet water, and fiſh, and other neceſſaries of life, and where they were like to meet either the ſource, or elſe ſome of the branches, of the large river Croceus, which could conveniently and ſafely bring them into the very heart of China.

But now, at laſt, it is high time to make a ſtep backwards, and to fetch the firſt Japaneſe colony from the Caſpian ſhores, where we left them above, on their journey to Japan. If we ſuppoſe, that for ſome time they travelled along the eaſt, and north-eaſtern coaſts of the Caſpian Sea, till they came to the iſland Mienkiſilaag, and that thence they followed up ſome of the rivers, which there diſcharge themſelves into the ſaid ſea, we will find, that by this means they got into a large and fruitful country, extending itſelf far eaſtwards, and very proper, by reaſon of its happy ſituation and great fertility, for the leiſurely and eaſily purſuing of their journey. Conſidering this it will not appear improbable further to ſuppoſe, that having once met with ſo good and pleaſant a country, where there was no want of proviſion for them and their cattle, they reſolved to keep to it, avoiding to enter the hot, deſart, and barren provinces, now inhabited by the Turkeſteaans, on one, or on the other ſide to go down the rivers Iſtiſi, Jeneſi, Silinga, and others, which ariſe thereabouts, and would have brought them to the leſs agreeable and cold northern countries. Thus, moving on inſenſibly eaſtward, they perhaps diſcovered in time the lake of Arguun, whence ariſes a large river of that name, and continuing their journey along the ſaid river, for very near an hundred German miles, they muſt have neceſſarily met there another much more conſiderable river, called Amuur, which runs E. S. E. and could, in a journey of about 200 German miles, bring them to the eaſtern coaſts of Aſia into the then uninhabited peninſula Corea, where the ſaid river loſes itſelf to the eaſtern ocean. Perhaps

haps alſo, if our travellers went down the river Jeniſi, for about 150 German miles, to 55 degrees of northern latitude, they might have there diſcovered a much more commodious and pleaſant way to the river Amuur, which hath been of late very advantageouſly followed by the Muſcovites in their journeys to China. But as to the whole plan of this journey, I muſt refer the reader to the accurate and excellent map of Ruſſia, and the great Tartary, which the late illuſtrious Nicholaus Witzen, LL. D. Burghermaſter at Amſterdam, and ſometimes the States Ambaſſador to the Ruſſian court, publiſhed in 1687, and thereby ſo highly obliged the curious, that he juſtly deſerves the honours due to diſcoverers of unknown worlds. This map was afterwards corrected in ſome places, and abridged by Mr. Iſbrand Ydes, who prefixed it to the account he imparted to the world of his journey through Tartary into China.

Having once brought our Japaneſe colony as far as the peninſula Corea, it will be no difficult matter, conſidering the nearneſs of Nagatto, the furthermoſt province, lying weſtwards on the continent of the great iſland Nipon, to bring them over thither, and this the rather, becauſe of the ſeveral iſlands which lie between Corea and Nagatto, in an almoſt continued row, particularly the two larger ones, Iki and Tſuſſima: for it is but reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a colony, which had courage enough to venture ſo far upon their firſt peregrination, and which had been often neceſſitated not only to have recourſe to lakes and rivers, but frequently to croſs the ſame, had natural curioſity enough left, in ſtill and fair weather, to go out in canoes or boats, ſuch as then probably they made uſe of, upon diſcovery of the ſtate and extent of the Corean Sea, and the neighbouring iſlands; and that having by this means diſcovered the continent of Nipon, they reſolved to go over thither, which they might eaſily do, even in ordinary fiſhing-boats, and to chooſe that country for their future abode. Now, if any body knows how to bring them hither through the Eaſtern Tartary and the country of Jeſo, (which way perhaps the American colonies went), ſafer and ſpeedier, I am very willing to ſubmit. Meanwhile I do not think it probable, that our Japaneſe colony made any conſiderable ſtay upon theſe weſtern coaſts of Nipon. Their innate curioſity and travelling humour, and perhaps alſo the fear of being followed and diſturbed by other parties, muſt needs have prompted them to travel up the country, till they came to its ſouthern extremities, and particularly into the province Iſje, which by reaſon of its fruitfulneſs, good air, and remoteneſs from the weſtern coaſts, fully anſwered all the expectations of a ſecure and pleaſant abode. I am the more inclined to believe, that they firſt ſettled in this province, ſince their poſterity ſtill look upon it as the place where their anceſtors dwelled, and as ſuch honour it with frequent pilgrimages and other acts of devotion. Thus far my conjectures, for as ſuch only I deliver them, concerning the true original deſcent of the Japaneſe nation.

Before I put an end to this chapter, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of the increaſe of this firſt Japaneſe colony, after they had once taken the reſolution to ſtay, and to people the country, where doubtleſs for ſeveral ages, before any conſiderable improvements were made in agriculture, and other arts and ſciences, they led a ſimple and indigent life, living on their cattle, on what the earth produced of plants, roots, and fruits, and the ſea afforded of fiſh and crabs. It was unqueſtionably and chiefly owing to themſelves, that in proceſs of time they became ſo numerous and powerful a nation, and the preſent inhabitants of Japan muſt be looked upon in general, as deſcendants of thoſe, who, after the confuſion of languages at Babel, came over and ſettled in theſe iſlands. But on the other hand it cannot be denied, but that from time to time new colonies were ſent over thither, chiefly from China and Corea, and perhaps alſo from ſome other neighbouring countries. The Japaneſe themſelves make frequent

mention in their hiſtories of learned Chineſe, who brought over into Japan their books, and the knowledge of uſeful arts and ſciences, though not till the latter ages, when the Japaneſe monarchy was already become a powerful empire. And indeed ſince ſo few foreign words have been brought into the Japaneſe language, that it is hardly viſible, that there hath been any alteration at all made in it, and ſince the religion and old cuſtoms ſubſiſt till now, it appears plainly, that whatever foreign colonies did from time to time voluntarily, or by chance, come over into Japan, their number muſt have been very inconſiderable with regard to the bulk of the Japaneſe nation.

Conſidering further, that the iſlands of Japan are encompaſſed with a dangerous and ſtormy ſea, it is highly probable, that from time to time ſhips coming from foreign countries ſtranded upon the Japaneſe coaſts, and that, if any of the ſhip's company were fortunate enough to ſave their lives, they choſe rather to ſtay in Japan, and to ſettle among the natives, than to truſt themſelves again to the mercy of the ſea, and to run the hazard of a perilous return into their own country. Though navigation by this time be highly improved, yet the like accidents ſtill happen very frequently, and there is hardly a year but ſome ſhips are forced upon the coaſts of Japan, coming ſometimes from countries either ſo remote, or ſo entirely unknown, that ſcarce any conjectures can be made about them, neither by the ſhape, nor the language and cuſtoms of the ſhip's company. Several remarkable inſtances of ſuch accidents are recorded in Japaneſe hiſtories. The Japaneſe having ſome centuries ago accidentally diſcovered the iſland Genkaiſima, ſituate to the north of Japan, found it inhabited, as their hiſtories relate, by Oni, that is, black devils, which they proſecuted with war, and having purged the iſland from this vermin, as they call it, they peopled it with a colony of their own. It is highly probable, that theſe blacks had been forced upon the coaſts of this (then uninhabited) iſland in a ſtorm. It is further obſerved in the hiſtory of this war, that they wore long hairs ſpread over their ſhoulders, and that they had a ſtrange ſort of houſehold goods, as among the reſt high European hats. As to the Japaneſe calling them devils, we need not in the leaſt wonder at it, conſidering either their black colour, or the natural pride of the Japaneſe nation, which ſo far deſpiſes all other countries, as to call them Umakokf, that is, the countries of devils. Otherwiſe, what countrymen theſe blacks had been, is not very difficult to conjecture, by their wearing long hair, by their furniture, and ſome other circumſtances; and I don't believe to impoſe upon any body, if I aſſert that they have been Malagans. It is well known, that the Malagans to this day are extremely fond of their own hair, and delighted with wearing it of a conſiderable length, beyond any other of the black nations of Aſia. Beſides, they had in former times by much the greateſt trade in the Indies, and frequented with their merchant ſhips, not only all the coaſts of Aſia, but ventured over even to the coaſts of Africa, particularly to the great iſland of Madagaſcar. The title, which the King of the Malagans aſſumed to himſelf, of Lord of the winds and ſeas to the eaſt and to the weſt, is an evident proof of this, but much more the Malagan language, which ſpread moſt all over the eaſt, much after the ſame manner, as formerly the Latin, and of late the French, did all over Europe. The high hats, which were found among the houſehold-goods of theſe blacks, muſt have been brought out of Europe, they having never been fabricated any where elſe. It was an ancient cuſtom of moſt eaſtern Princes (which ſubſiſts till now in the kingdoms of Cambodia, Siam, Pegu, and ſome others) to preſent their prime miniſters of ſtate, and chief favourites with ſuch hats, as tokens of their particular favour, and they alone had the privilege of wearing them, as ſingular badges of honour. They were formerly brought out of Europe by land to Ormus, and from thence exported all over the eaſt by the Malagans, Armenians, and other trading

trading nations; but after the Portugueze had diſcovered a new way to the Indies, round the Cape of Good Hope, they exported them from Europe (where they are now out of faſhion) directly by ſea. Now, whether there was not among theſe black inhabitants of Genkaiſima, ſome great man, who received theſe hats from his Prince, or whether they fell by ſome other accident into their hands, is not material to enquire. There is alſo mention made in Japaneſe hiſtories of black inhabitants, who were found in ſome of the iſlands lying to the ſouth of Japan, and who in all probability muſt have been, either Malagan merchants, or elſe inhabitants of ſome of the Molucca iſlands, who having been forced thither in a ſtorm, and finding them uninhabited, reſolved to ſtay and to people them. Not long before my arrival, and during my ſtay in Japan, ſeveral ſhips ſtranded upon the coaſts coming from remote and unknown countries. In this caſe all the ſhip's company, as well thoſe that remain alive, as the bodies of ſuch as are drowned, when thrown on ſhore, and all the ſhip's tackle, and the boat, if any, muſt be brought up to Nagaſaki, as the place appointed for a general inquiry into maritime affairs. The governors of this place examine into all the moſt minute circumſtances of the unhappy accident, with that care and jealous circumſpection, which is peculiar only to this nation, and in order to diſcover, if poſſible, what country the ſhip came from, and what language thoſe that ſaved their lives ſpeak, this examination is ſometimes made in preſence of the Dutch reſident, who did me the favour, upon theſe occaſions, to carry me along with him. It is a duty incumbent on every Prince of the empire, to take care, in caſe any ſhips ſtrand upon the coaſts of his province, that they be ſent up, as aforeſaid, to Nagaſaki, which is commonly, out of reſpect for the Emperor, done with great expence. Not long ago a jonk coming from Manilhas, on board which were ſome Topaſſians, a ſort of black Chriſtians, was wrecked upon the coaſts of Satzuma. Moſt of the ſhip's company were drowned, ſome died on ſhore, and only three were brought up alive to Nagaſaki, the laſt of whom died there in priſon, after having taken ſome phyſic, ordered him by a Japaneſe phyſician. Of another ſhip, which ſtranded upon the ſame coaſts, only three black ſailors were ſaved, which could not pronounce one diſtinct word, beſides that of tobacco; after having lain for ſometime in priſon, they were delivered to us, to be tranſported on board our ſhips. Another ſhip was brought to Nagaſaki, which had been forced upon the northern coaſts of Japan, without any body on board. The odd uncommon ſtructure of this veſſel, and the remains of three Chineſe characters upon the ſtern, made the Japaneſe conjecture, that it came from the extremities of Jeſo. Not long ago another ſhip periſhed upon the coaſts of the iſland Riuku, and only two of the company were ſaved, which were brought firſt to Satzuma, and from thence to Nagaſaki, with a convoy of eight barges, which muſt have put the Prince of Satzuma at the expence of ſome thouſand rixdollars. They were well ſhaped comely perſons, and had their heads ſhaved much after the manner of the Polanders, no beards, and three holes in each ear. They ſhewed by their decent and civil behaviour, and free, but modeſt, appearance, a tolerable education, and a good clear underſtanding, by endeavouring to give the Japaneſe ſome notions of the number, ſituation and largeneſs of the iſlands, from whence they came, which they did by putting ſtones of different ſizes upon a table, calling each by its name; among the reſt, that iſland, where they lived themſelves, was by them called Patan. We had reaſon to apprehend, that the good underſtanding and quick apprehenſion they ſhewed, when under examination, would be the occaſion of their impriſonment for life at Nangaſaki. If we believe the Japaneſe, there is another unknown nation, and very different from theirs, as to their cuſtoms, ſhape and language, which inhabits the iſland Kubiteſima, one of the moſt northern iſlands belonging to Japan.

They deſcribe them as Pygmies, and from thence call the whole iſland the Pygmy Iſland. What extraction they be of, and how they came to inhabit this iſland, I will leave to themſelves to determine. I will only add on this head, that the firſt European ſhip which came into Japan, was a Portugueze merchant-ſhip, forced thither accidentally in a ſtorm.

Upon the whole, the wide difference which is ſtill obſerved between the Japaneſe inhabitants of ſeveral provinces, as to their ſhape, ſeems to argue ſtrongly, that from time to time, different and new branches were grafted into the original tree of this nation. For although the Japaneſe in the main, particularly the common people of Nipon, be of very ugly appearance, ſhort-ſized, ſtrong, thick-legged, tawny, with flattiſh noſes, and thick eye-lids, (though the eyes ſtand not ſo deep in the forehead as in the Chineſe,) yet the deſcendants of the eldeſt and nobleſt families, of the Princes and lords of the empire, have ſomewhat more majeſtic in their ſhape and countenance, being more like the Europeans. The inhabitants of the provinces Satzuma, Ooſijmi, and Fiuga, are of a middle ſize, ſtrong, courageous, and manly, otherwiſe civil and polite. The ſame is obſerved of the inhabitants of ſome of the northern provinces in the great iſland Nipon, excepting thoſe of the great province Osju, who are ſaid to be beyond others cruel and unmerciful. The inhabitants of ſome provinces of Saikokf, particularly of Fiſen, are ſhort, ſlender, but well ſhaped, of a good handſome appearance, and extremely polite. The inhabitants of the great iſland Nipon, particularly of its eaſtern provinces, are known from others by their big heads, flat noſes, and muſculous fleſhy complexion.

Now, to cloſe this chapter, and to ſum up in a few words what hath been therein largely dwelt on; it appears, that in the firſt ages of the world, not long after the deluge, when the confuſion of languages at Babel obliged the Babylonians to drop their deſign of building a tower of uncommon height, and occaſioned their being diſperſed all over the world, when the Greeks, Goths, and Sclavonians departed for Europe, others for Aſia and Africa, others for America, that then the Japaneſe alſo ſet out on their journey: that in all probability, after many years travelling, and many incommodities endured, they alighted at this remote part of the world; that, being well pleaſed with its ſituation and fruitfulneſs, they reſolved to chuſe it for the place of their abode; that in all likelihood they ſpent many centuries in a polyarchical way of life, ſuch as is led to this day by the Tartars, living in hordes, and wandering with their cattle and families up and down the country; that being inſenſibly, and by degrees, grown to be a numerous and powerful nation, they thought it expedient for the good of the country, and for their own ſafety, to deliver up the government into the hands of one Prince, and chuſe for their firſt monarch the valiant Dſin Mu Ten Oo; that conſequently they are an original nation, no ways indebted to the Chineſe for their deſcent and exiſtence, and that, though they received from them ſeveral uſeful arts and ſciences, as the Latins did from the Greeks, yet they were never made ſubject, and conquered, neither by them, nor by any other neighbouring nation.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the Origin of the Japaneſe, according to their own fabulous Opinion.*

THE Japaneſe fancy themſelves highly affronted by the endeavours of ſome, who buſy themſelves to draw the original deſcent of their nation from the Chineſe, or others of their neighbours. They pretend, that they aroſe within the compaſs of their own empire, though not out of the earth, like mice and worms, as the proud Athenians, for that

that ſame reaſon, were upbraided with, by that cynic Diogenes. They claim a birth much higher and nobler, and eſteem themſelves no leſs than offſprings of their very deities, whom otherwiſe they do not look upon as eternal, but ſuppoſe that in the firſt motion of the chaos, out of which all things were formed, their Gods alſo were brought forth by its inviſible power. They have two differing genealogies of their deities. The firſt is a ſucceſſion of celeſtial ſpirits, of beings abſolutely free from all manner of mixture with corporeal ſubſtances, who ruled the Japaneſe world during an undetermined and incomprehenſible ſeries of centuries. The ſecond is a race of terreſtrial ſpirits, or god-men, who were not poſſeſſed of that pure being peculiar only to their predeceſſors. They governed the Japaneſe empire by a lineal ſucceſſion, each a long but limited number of years, till at laſt they begot that third race of men, which Japan is now inhabited by, and who have nothing left of the purity and perfections of their divine progenitors. It will not be amiſs, as a further proof of what I advance, here to inſert the names of theſe two ſucceſſions of deities, taken out of their own writings. The names of the firſt ſucceſſion are purely metaphorical, and the only thing mentioned of it in their hiſtorical books, for there is no account given, neither of their lives and actions, nor of their government. They ſucceeded each other in the following order.

Ten d Sin Sitzi Dai, that is, the ſucceſſion of the ſeven great ſpiritual gods.

1. Kuni toko dat ſij no Mikotto.
2. Kuni Satſu Tſi no Mikotto.
3. Tojo Kun Nan no Mikotto.

Theſe three gods had no wives; but the four following of the ſame ſucceſſion were married, and begot each his ſucceſſor by his wife, though in a manner far beyond the reach of human underſtanding. Theſe were,

4. Utſij Nino Mikotto, - and his wife, Sufitſi Nino Mikotto.
5. Oo Tono Tſino Mikotto, - - - Oo Toma ſe no Mikotto.
6. Oo mo Tarno Mikotto, - - - Oo ſi Wote no Mikotto.
7. Iſanagi no Mikotto, - - - Iſanami no Mikotto.

Theſe ſeven gods are by them repreſented as beings purely ſpiritual, and the hiſtories of their lives and governments as dreams. The real exiſtence of ſuch a time, when ſuch ſpiritual beings governed the Japaneſe world, is what they religiouſly believe, though, at the ſame time they own, that it is far above their underſtanding to conceive how it happened, and entirely out of their power to determine how long their government laſted.

The laſt of the firſt ſucceſſion, Iſanagi Mikotto, and his wife Iſanami Mikotto, are held in peculiar veneration by the Japaneſe, as being the progenitors of the ſecond ſucceſſion of god-men, of whom iſſued the third race of the now exiſting inhabitants of Nipon. (Mikotto is an epithet peculiar only to the firſt ſucceſſion of ſpiritual gods, and ſignifies the incomprehenſible bliſs and happineſs of theſe firſt monarchs of Japan: ſometimes, however, they will beſtow it on ſuch of the inferior gods, for whom they have a peculiar veneration.) Thoſe of the Japaneſe who turned Chriſtians, called them their Adam and Eve. They are ſaid to have lived in the province Isje, though it is not known in what particular part of that province they were born, lived, or died. They obſerve only, that this preadamitical Adam, (if I may have the leave thus to call him), was the firſt, who, taught by the example of the bird ſekire, or according to the vulgar, Iſitataki, lay with his wife in a carnal manner, and begot by her ſons and daughters of a nature excellent indeed, and far ſuperior to ours, but greatly below that of the divine beings,

beings, of which they ſprung. Ifanami's firſt-born ſon, and the firſt of the ſecond ſucceſſion of god-men, is ſuppoſed by the very law of primogeniture to have been entitled to a ſuperiority over his brothers and ſiſters, upon which, and a lineal deſcent from him, is grounded the right the Dairis, or Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperor's eldeſt ſons, claim to the crown of Japan, upon their father's demiſe. The ſecond ſucceſſion is called Dſi Sin Go Dai; that is, the "ſucceſſion of five terreſtrial gods or god-men;" who are

1. Tenſio Dai Dſin, in the language of the learned, and Ama Teru Oon Gami, in that of the vulgar. The characters whereby this name is expreſſed ſignify, "a great ſpirit ſtreaming out celeſtial rays." He is the firſt-born ſon of Ifanagi, and the only one that left children behind him. For it was his poſterity, creatures not of a mean extraction, but of an excellent and almoſt divine nature, who inhabited the country for many millions of years, till they begot the third race of its preſent ſhort living inhabitants. All the Japaneſe, without exception, look upon themſelves as immediate deſcendants of Tenſio Dai Dſin; becauſe they ſay, that all his younger brothers left the world without iſſue. But particularly the Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperor grounds his right to the empire, (which is of late gone over into ſecular hands, he himſelf having preſerved nothing but his title, and a ſhadow of his former power and grandeur,) upon a lineal deſcent from Tenſio Dai Dſin's firſt-born ſon, and ſo down. Tenſio Dai Dſin committed not only during his reign many noble and heroic actions, but even after he left this world, as is recorded in Japaneſe hiſtories, he ſufficiently proved by many miracles, and manifeſted himſelf to be the moſt powerful of all the Gods of the country, the very life, ſoul, light, and ſupreme Monarch of nature. For this reaſon, he is devoutly worſhipped by all the faithful adherents of the old Japaneſe religion, as it was of old eſtabliſhed in Japan. And the adherents of all other ſects, even their greateſt philoſophers, and atheiſts, ſhew a particular regard and veneration for his name and memory, as that of their firſt parent. Devout pilgrimages are made yearly by the Japaneſe of all ranks and qualities, to the province where he lived, and where there is a temple erected to his memory. Nor is there any province or town throughout the empire, but what has at leaſt one temple, where Tenſio Dai Dſin is worſhipped; and, in hopes of obtaining by his power and aſſiſtance great temporal bleſſings, worſhipped with much more aſſiduity and devotion than any other of their gods. There is otherwiſe no mention made in Japaneſe hiſtories of his wife, nor of the wives of his ſucceſſors, and their names are entirely loſt to poſterity. After ſome hundred thouſands of years, Tenſio Dai Dſi was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon,

2. Ooſiwo ni no Mikotto, or with his full title, Maſſai Ja ſu Katz Katz fai ja ſi Amani Ooſi woni no Mikotto. His ſucceſſor was

3. Ninikino Mikotto, or with his full title, Amatſu ſiko ſiko Fono ni Niniki no Mikotto. He was ſucceeded by

4. De mi no Mikotto, or with his full title, Fikofoo foo De mi no Mikotto. He was ſucceeded by

5. Awaſe Dſu no Mikotto, or with his full title, Tuki Magiſa Take Ugei Jakuſſa ſuki awadſi Dſuno Mikotto. With him ends this ſecond, or ſilver age, as one might call it, of the Japaneſe world. Something more ſhall be ſaid on this head in the firſt chapter of the ſecond book. The names of the five terreſtrial Gods of this ſecond ſucceſſion are expreſſed in Tab. xvi.

Theſe are the two ſucceſſions of divine and half divine Beings, from whence the Japaneſe draw the original deſcent of their nation. The account they give how theſe gods were created, and how they begot each other, is no leſs chimerical and fabulous. The firſt of the ſeven great celeſtial ſpirits, they ſay, was the very firſt thing that aroſe

out of the chaos, being its pureſt and inviſible part and power. His ſon and heir went out of him in a manner beyond the reach of human underſtanding, or as ſome pretend to explain it, and to make it intelligible, by the motion and active power of the heavens and ſub-celeſtial elements. Thus were begot the ſeven great celeſtial ſpirits of the firſt ſucceſſion. It was the laſt of them who, knowing his wife in a carnal manner, begot the ſecond ſucceſſion of god-men, of beings half divine and half human. Theſe, though they fell far ſhort of the perfection of their progenitors, yet by virtue of thoſe divine qualities, they had ſtill left them, they preſerved their lives, and continued the ſucceſſion of their government unto their poſterity, which they begot in a more comprehenſible manner, for an immemorial time, far exceeding the term human life is now limited to. At laſt, all expired in the perſon of Awaſe Dſuno, the laſt of this ſecond race, who himſelf became the firſt parent of the third, the now living inhabitants of Japan. To thoſe of this third race, who deſcend lineally from the firſt-born ſon of Awaſe Dſuno Mikotto, from his firſt-born, and ſo down, or their iſſue wanting to their next heirs, is by the Japaneſe attributed to a ſupernatural, almoſt divine power, and an unlimited authority over their fellow-creatures. This is in ſome meaſure expreſſed by the great titles and high ſounded epithets, they give to this whole family, but particularly to its Head and Prince. Such are Oodai, the great generation: Mikaddo, Emperor, (Mikotto being peculiar only to the firſt and ſecond ſucceſſion of gods and god-men:) Tenoo, Heavenly Prince; Tenſi, Son of Heaven; Tee, Prince; and Dairi; by which laſt name is frequently denoted the whole court of the Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperor.

Thus far the common tradition of the Japaneſe about the original deſcent of their nation, which is eſteemed as ſacred among them, as the authority of holy ſcriptures is among Chriſtians. It were needleſs to refute it, it being of itſelf of ſo weak a nature, that it will not bear the inquiry of even the moſt common underſtanding. Some people, perhaps, will think it not unlikely, that, under theſe two ſucceſſions of gods and god-men, is allegorically couched an obſcure account of the Gold and Silver Age of Greek writers, or of the firſt ages of the world before and after the deluge. But then, how will they reconcile that infinite time, during which the Japaneſe pretend, that theſe two ſucceſſions of ſpiritual beings governed the world, to that ſhort number of years which paſſed ſince the creation, according to the divine account delivered to us in holy writs. The Japaneſe, it ſeems, would not be behind hand with the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Bramines, and others of their neighbours in the Eaſt; who all, purſuant to that pride and vanity which is natural to eaſtern nations, dated their origin as high as they could, and eſteemed it glorious to ſhew a long ſeries of Monarchs that ruled over them. But what they ſeem to have more particularly aimed at, is to outdo their neighbours the Chineſe; for they make Tenſio Dai Dſin, the firſt progenitor of the Japaneſe nation, in their hiſtorical writings, many thouſand years anterior to the firſt and fictitious, as they call him, founder of the Chineſe nation, Sinkwoſi, or, according to the Chineſe pronunciation, Tien Hoamtſij. And leſt even this ſhould not be ſufficient to clear them of all ſuſpicion of being any ways deſcended from the Chineſe, they prefix the ſucceſſion of the firſt great celeſtial ſpirits, which they derive from the very beginning of the creation. They are, however, at a loſs what to anſwer, when aſked, how it came about, that Awaſe Dſuno, the laſt of their terreſtrial gods, a being endowed with ſo many excellent and ſupernatural qualities, as they aſcribe to him, begot ſo poor and miſerable a race, as that of the preſent inhabitants of Japan. They have as little to ſay concerning the ſtate of their country, and the hiſtory of their anceſtors before the time of Sinmu, their firſt monarch. For this reaſon, ſeveral of their own writers have ventured to call Japan, Atarafikokf, and Sinkokf, that is, New Country; as if it had

been newly found out and peopled under the reign of their firſt Emperor. Thus much is true, that the genuine Japaneſe hiſtory begins but with the reign of this firſt Monarch, who lived about 660 years before Chriſt. And herein the Chineſe are gone far beyond them, for they begun to write the hiſtory of their country at leaſt 2000 years before; and they can ſhew, what, I believe, no other nation can boaſt of, a ſucceſſion of monarchs, with an account of their lives, government, and remarkable actions, down to this time, for now upwards of 4000 years. It muſt be owned, however, that the Japaneſe nation muſt needs have exiſted, and lived in the country, a conſiderable time before their firſt Odai, Mikaddo, or Emperor; ſince when he was raiſed to the throne, they were then already grown very numerous, and ſince, not long after, as is recorded in their hiſtories, great wars aroſe among them, and many thouſands periſhed by plague and famine; unleſs one would bring them over at once from another country, or out of the earth like muſhrooms, which is either impertinent or improbable. I am more inclined to believe, that, from the time of their anceſtors coming into the country, they led for many ages a wandering life, erring from place to place, with their families and cattle, which the very diſpoſition of the country, divided by mountains, ſeas, and rivers, ſeems to have required; till the happy Ninus Dſin Mu Ten Oo, civilized and brought them into better order, and became himſelf, whether by force or choice, their firſt monarch. Since that time they have been accurate and faithful in writing the hiſtory of their country, and the lives and reigns of their monarchs. To conclude, as Dadſijno Mikotto is by them believed to have been the greateſt of the firſt ſucceſſion of celeſtial ſpirits, and Ten ſio Dai Dſin, that of the ſecond of god-men, ſo they look upon Sin Mu Ten Oo, as the greateſt of the third race of the now living inhabitants; in whoſe family the hereditary right to the crown, with a more than human authority, was continued down to Kinſan Kiwotei, the preſent one hundred and fourteenth Mikaddo, that is, two thouſand three hundred and ſixty years, computing to the year of Chriſt 1700. I ſay, the hereditary right to the crown; for the government of the empire itſelf is of late gone over into ſecular hands, as will be ſhewn more particularly in another place.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Climate of Japan, and its Produce as to Minerals.*

JAPAN boaſts of a happy and healthful climate. The air is very inconſtant and ſubject to frequent changes, in the winter loaded with ſnow, and liable to ſharp froſts, in the ſummer, on the contrary, particularly during the dog-days, intolerably hot. It rains frequently throughout the whole year; but with the greateſt profuſion in the months of June and July, which are for this reaſon called Satſuki, that is, Water-months. However, the rainy ſeaſon in Japan is far from coming up to that regularity which is obſerved in other and hotter parts of the Eaſt Indies. Thunder and lightning happen very frequently.

The ſea, which encompaſſes the iſlands of Japan, is very rough and ſtormy; which, with the many rocks, cliffs, and ſhoals, above and under water, make its navigation very dangerous. It hath two remarkable and dangerous whirlpools. The one is called Faiſaki, and lies near Simabara, below Amakuſa. It is dangerous, chiefly when the tide turns; for in high water it becomes even with the ſurface of the ſea, but as ſoon as the tide begins to go out, it alſo, after ſome violent turnings, falls in of a ſudden, as I was informed, to the depth of fifteen fathom, ſwallowing up with great force what ſhips, boats, and other things happen at that fatal juncture to come within its reach, which are daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks at the bottom. The ſhattered pieces ſometimes

remain under water, ſometimes they are thrown out again at ſome German miles diſtance. The other whirlpool lies near the coaſts of the province Kijnokuni. It is called Narrotto; and from the neighbourhood of the province of Awa, Awano Narrotto, which ſignifies, "the ruſhing of Awa," becauſe it ruſhes with a great boiſtering noiſe about a ſmall rocky iſland, which is by the violence of the motion kept in perpetual trembling. This, though of a formidable aſpect, is yet eſteemed leſs dangerous than the other, becauſe its noiſe being heard at a conſiderable diſtance, it may be eaſily avoided. Japaneſe authors, eſpecially poets, frequently allude in their writings to the wonderful nature and motion of this Narrotto, as do alſo the prieſts in the pulpit.

Water-ſpouts alſo are frequently obſerved to riſe in the Japaneſe ſeas, and to turn towards the coaſts. The Japaneſe fancy, that they are a kind of water dragons, with a long watery tail, flying up into the air with a ſwift and violent motion, for which reaſon they are by them called Tatſmaki, that is, "ſpouting dragons."

The ſoil of Japan in itſelf is, for the major part, mountainous, rocky, and barren, but through the indefatigable care and induſtry of the natives, it hath been made fruitful enough to ſupply them with all manner of neceſſaries, beſides what the neighbouring ſea affords of fiſh, crabs, and ſhells. Even the moſt rocky and uncultivated places yield their plants, fruits, and roots for the ſuſtenance of the inhabitants, which their indigent anceſtors by experience learned to dreſs and to prepare, ſo as not only to make them fit for food, but likewiſe pleaſing and agreeable to the taſte. Conſidering this, and the frugal way of living of the Japaneſe in general, we need not wonder, that this vaſt and populous empire is ſo abundantly provided with all the neceſſaries of human life, that as a particular world, which Nature ſeems purpoſely to have ſeparated from the reſt of the globe, by encompaſſing it with a rocky and tempeſtuous ſea, it eaſily can ſubſiſt of itſelf without any aſſiſtance from foreign countries, as long as arts and agriculture are followed and improved by the natives.

The country beſides is plentifully ſupplied with freſh water, there being very many fountains, lakes, and rivers up and down the empire. Some of the rivers in particular, are ſo large and rapid, by reaſon either of the ſteep high mountains and rocks, where they ariſe, or becauſe of the profuſe ſhowers of rain, which fall frequently, that they are not to be paſſed over without danger, the rather, ſince ſome are ſo impetuous as to bear no bridges. Some of the moſt famous rivers are, 1. Ujingava, that is, the River Ujin. It is about a quarter of a German mile (or an Engliſh mile and a half) broad, and there being no bridge laid over it, it muſt be forded through. The force and rapidity with which this river falls down from the mountains is ſuch, that even when the water is low, and ſcarce knee-deep, five ſtrong men, well acquainted with the bed of it, muſt be employed to ford a horſe through; which with the many large ſtones lying at the bottom, makes the paſſage equally difficult and dangerous. The people, whoſe buſineſs it is to ford paſſengers through this and other ſuch like rivers, leſt they ſhould not take due care, are, by the laws of the country, made anſwerable for their lives. This is the reaſon, why there are but few unluckly accidents happen. 2. The river Oomi is famous for its ſurpriſing beginning; for it is recorded in Japaneſe hiſtories, that it ſprung up of a ſudden in one night in the year before Chriſt 285. It borrowed its name from the province where it ariſes. 3. The river Aſkagava is remarkable, for that the depth of its bed alters perpetually, on which account it is frequently alluded to by Japaneſe authors, chiefly poets.

Japan is very much ſubject to earthquakes, which happen ſo frequently, that the natives dread them no more than we Europeans do an ordinary ſtorm of thunder and lightning. They are of opinion, that the cauſe of earthquakes is a huge large whale's creeping

under ground, and that they ſignify nothing. Sometimes, however, the ſhakes are ſo violent, and laſt ſo long, that whole cities are thereby deſtroyed, and many thouſands of the inhabitants buried under the ruins. Such a dreadful accident happened, as Father Lewis de Froes relateth (*in opere de Rebus Japonicis collecto a Joh. Hayo,*) in the year 1586. he himſelf being then in Japan *. The like accidents happened frequently ſince that time. In 1704, I had a letter from Batavia, from a friend of mine, then lately arrived from Japan, wherein among other things, he gave me an account of ſuch a violent ſhock, which happened there in 1703, whereby, and by a great fire which broke out at the ſame time, almoſt the whole city of Jedo, and the imperial palace itſelf, were deſtroyed and laid in aſhes, and upwards of 200,000 inhabitants buried under the ruins. It is remarkable, that ſome particular places in Japan are obſerved to be free from all manner of ſuccuſſions. The Japaneſe reaſon variouſly upon this phænomenon. Some attribute it to the holineſs and ſanctity of the place, and to the powerful protection of its genius, or tutelar god. Others are of opinion, that theſe places are not ſhook, becauſe they immediately repoſe upon the unmoved center of the earth. The fact itſelf is not called in queſtion; and there are noted for having this ſingular privilege, the iſlands of Gotho; the ſmall iſland Sikubuſima, on which ſtands a moſt ſtately temple of Bonzes, being one of the firſt that was built in the country; the large mountain Kojaſan near Miaco, famous for the number of its convents, monaſteries, and monks, beſides ſome few others.

The greateſt riches of the Japaneſe ſoil, and thoſe wherein this empire exceeds moſt known countries, conſiſt in all ſorts of minerals and metals, particularly in gold, ſilver, and copper. The many hot wells in ſeveral parts of the empire, and the ſeveral ſmoking and burning mountains, ſhew what a ſtock of ſulphur, which is the mother and main ingredient of mineral and metallic bodies, is hid in the bowels of the earth, beſides the vaſt quantities of this ſubſtance dug up in ſeveral places. Not far from Firando, where we had our factories and warehouſes, before we removed to Nagaſaki, lies a ſmall rocky iſland, (one of thoſe which, by reaſon of their great number, are called by the Japaneſe Kiukiu Sima, that is, the Ninety-nine Iſlands,) which, though never ſo ſmall, and encompaſſed by the ſea, hath been burning and trembling for many centuries. Another ſmall iſland oppoſite to Satzuma, which is by the Japaneſe called Fuogo, which name they borrowed from the Portugueze, and retained ever ſince,

* The effects of this earthquake were ſo ſtupendous and dreadful, that I could not forbear, with the reader's leave, to inſert at length, the account which F. Lewis de Froes gives of it, in a letter dated at Simonoſeki, in the province Nagatta, October 15, 1586. His words are: "In the year of Chriſt 1586, Japan was ſhook by ſuch dreadful earthquakes, that the like was never known before. From the province Sacaja, as far as Miaco, the earth trembled for forty days ſucceſſively. In the town of Sacaja ſixty houſes were thrown down. At Nagafama, a ſmall town of about a thouſand houſes, in the kingdom Oomi, the earth gaped and ſwallowed up one half of that place; the other half was deſtroyed by a fire. Another place in the province Facata, much frequented by merchants, and likewiſe called Nagafama by the natives, after it had been violently ſhook for ſome days, was at laſt ſwallowed up by the ſea; the waters riſing ſo high that they overflowed the coaſts, waſhed away the houſes, and whatever they met with, drowned the inhabitants, and left no footſtep of that once rich and populous town, but the place on which the caſtle ſtood, and even that under water. A ſtrong caſtle in the kingdom of Mino, built at the top of a high hill, after ſeveral violent ſhocks, ſunk down and diſappeared on a ſudden, the earth gaping, that not the leaſt footſtep remained; a lake quickly filling the place where the foundations of the caſtle had been. Another accident of this kind happened in the province Ikeja. Many more gaps and openings were obſerved up and down the empire, ſome of which were ſo wide and deep, that guns being fired into them, the balls could not be heard to reach the other end, and ſuch a ſtench and ſmoke iſſued out of them, that people would not venture to travel that way. Quabacundono (who was afterwards called Taicoſama) reſided at Sacomot, in the caſtle Achec, when theſe earthquakes begun, but they growing too thick and violent, he retired haſtily to Oſacca. His palaces were ſtrongly ſhook, but not thrown down."

and

and which is marked in our maps by the name of Vulcanus, hath an ignivomous mountain, which hath been likewiſe burning, at different intervals, for many ages. At the top of a mountain, in the province Figo, is to be ſeen a large cavern, formerly the mouth of a volcano, but the flame ceaſed of late, probably for want of combuſtible matter. In the ſame province there is another place called Aſo; famous for a temple called Aſa no Gongen, or the "Temple of the jealous God of Aſo," not far from which there is an almoſt perpetual flame iſſuing out of the top of a mountain, and more viſible in the night than it is in the day-time. Another burning mountain lies in the province Tſikuſen, not far from a place called Kujanoſſe. It was formerly a coal-mine, which through the careleſſneſs of the miners accidentally took fire, and continued burning ever ſince. Sometimes a black ſtench and ſmoke is obſerved to iſſue out of the top of the famous mountain Feſi, in the province Suruga, which in height is ſurpaſſed by the only Pic of Teneriffe, but in ſhape and beauty hath, I think, not its equal; the top of it is covered with everlaſting ſnow, which, being, as it frequently is, blown up into flocks by the violence of the wind, and diſperſed about, repreſents, as it were, a ſmoking hat. The Japaneſe hiſtories mention, that formerly the top of it burnt, but that upon a new opening which was made by the violence of the fire at the ſide of the mountain, the flame ceaſed ſoon after. Unſen is a deformed, large, but not very high mountain, near Simabara. At all times the top of it is bare, whitiſh from the colour of the ſulphur, and withal reſembling a *caput mortuum*, or burnt out maſſa. It ſmokes little; however, I could diſcern the ſmoke ariſing from it at three miles diſtance. Its ſoil is burning hot in ſeveral places, and beſides ſo looſe and ſpongious, that a few ſpots of ground excepted, on which ſtand ſome trees, one cannot walk over it without continual fear, for the craking, hollow noiſe, perceived under foot. Its ſulphurous ſmell is ſo ſtrong, that for many miles round there is not a bird to be ſeen; when it rains, the water bubbles up, and the whole mountain ſeems then as it were boiling. Many cold ſprings and hot baths ariſe on and about it. Among others, there is a famous hot bath, which they believe to be an infallible cure for the venereal diſeaſe, if the patient for ſeveral days together, goes in but for a few moments a day and waſhes himſelf in it. He muſt begin the cure with another hot bath, not quite ſo ſtrong, called Obamma, ſituate a few leagues off; and all the while he uſes the waters, he muſt keep to a hot warming diet, and, as ſoon as he comes out of the bath, go to bed, and, covering himſelf very well, endeavour to ſweat. Not far from this hot bath is a monaſtery of the ſect of Tendai. The monks of this place have given peculiar names to each of the hot ſprings ariſing in the neighbourhood, borrowed from their quality, from the nature of the froth a-top, or the ſediment at bottom, and from the noiſe they make as they come out of the ground; and they have aſſigned them as purgatories for ſeveral ſorts of tradeſmen and handicraftſmen, whoſe profeſſions ſeem to bear ſome relation to any of the qualities above-mentioned. Thus, for inſtance, they lodge the deceitful beer and ſackibrewers at the bottom of a deep muddy ſpring; the cooks and paſtry-cooks in another, which is remarkable for its white froth; wranglers and quarrelſome people in another, which ruſhes out of the ground with a frightful murmuring noiſe, and ſo on. After this manner impoſing upon the blind and ſuperſtitious vulgar, they ſqueeze large ſums of money out of them, making them believe that by their prayers and interceſſion they may be delivered from theſe places of torment after death. In that dreadful perſecution, which was raiſed in Japan againſt the Chriſtian religion, and which hath not its equal in hiſtory, amongſt innumerable other torments inflicted on the new converts to make them abandon their newly embraced faith, and return to the Paganiſm of their fathers, they were brought hither and tortured with the hot waters of this place. Of other

other hot baths in Japan, that called Obamma, is one of the moſt eminent, and moſt efficacious. It lies to the weſt of the mountain Uſen, about three miles off, and is ſaid to have extraordinary virtues in curing ſeveral external and internal diſtempers, as among others, by bathing and ſweating, the pox, which however is obſerved frequently to return, probably becauſe they are not ſkilful enough to manage this diſtemper, or by reaſon of their not underſtanding the right uſe of baths in general. The province Figo hath ſeveral hot ſprings, about which grow, as I was informed, camphire trees of an uncommon ſize, hollow and full of water. The chief and moſt eminent for its virtues is a hot bath not far from the above-mentioned temple Aſano Gongen. There are alſo ſeveral hot ſprings in the province Fiſen, one for inſtance in the village Takijo, another in the village Uriſino. Both would prove very beneficial in curing ſeveral diſtempers, if the natives did but know how to uſe them. I obſerved it in all Aſiatic countries which I paſſed through in my travels, that the natives uſe the hot baths ſeldom more than three or at furtheſt eight days, by which probably enough, they will find ſome benefit and relief, which they are too apt to miſtake for an actual cure, and in caſe of a relapſe to lay all the fault on the waters.

The greateſt quantity of ſulphur is brought from the province Satzuma. It is dug up in a ſmall neighbouring iſland, which from the great plenty it affords of this ſubſtance, is called Iwogaſima, or the Sulphur Iſland. It is not above a hundred years ſince they firſt ventured thither. It was thought before that time to be wholly inacceſſible, and by reaſon of the thick ſmoke, which was obſerved continually to ariſe from it, and of the ſeveral ſpectres, and other frightful uncommon apparitions, people fancied to ſee there chiefly in the night, it was believed to be a dwelling place of devils, till at laſt a reſolute and courageous man offered himſelf, and obtained leave accordingly, to go and to examine the ſtate and ſituation of it. He choſe fifty reſolute fellows for this expedition, who upon going on ſhore found neither hell nor devils, but a large flat ſpot of ground at the top, which was ſo thoroughly covered with ſulphur, that wherever they walked, a thick ſmoke iſſued from under their feet. Ever ſince that time this iſland brings in to the Prince of Satzuma about 20 cheſts of ſilver per annum, ariſing only from the ſulphur dug up there, beſides what he gets by the trees and timber growing along the ſhore. The country of Simabara, particularly about the hot baths above-mentioned, affords alſo a fine pure native ſulphur, which however the inhabitants dare not venture to dig up, for fear of offending the tutelar genius of the place, they having found upon trial, that he was not willing to ſpare it. I paſs over in ſilence ſeveral other places, for want of a thorough information.

Gold, the richeſt of all metals, is dug up in ſeveral provinces of the Japaneſe Empire. The greateſt quantity of it is melted out of its own ore. Some they waſh out of gold ſand. Some ſmall quantity alſo is contained in the copper. The Emperor claims the ſupreme juriſdiction of all the gold mines, and indeed all other mines in the Empire, none of which may be opened, and worked, without his expreſs leave and conſent. Of the produce of all the mines, which are worked, he claims two-thirds, and one-third is left to the Lord of the Province, in which the mine lies, the latter however, as they reſide upon the ſpot, know how to improve their third parts ſo as to ſhare pretty equally with the Emperor. The richeſt gold ore and which yields the fineſt gold, is dug up in Sado, one of the northern provinces in the great iſland Nipon. Some of the veins there were formerly ſo rich, that one Catti of the ore yielded one, and ſometimes two thails of gold But of late, as I was informed, the veins there, and in moſt other mines, not only run ſcarcer, but yield not near the quantity of gold they did formerly, which we were told, was the occaſion, amongſt other reaſons, of the late ſtrict

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orders relating to the trade and commerce with us, and the Chineſe. There is alſo a very rich gold ſand in the ſame province, which the Prince cauſes to be waſhed for his own benefit, without ſo much as giving notice of it, much leſs part of the profit, to the court at Jedo. After the gold mines of Sado, thoſe of Surunga were always eſteemed the richeſt, for beſides that this province yielded at all times a great quantity of gold ore, there is ſome gold contained even in the copper dug up there. Among the gold-mines of the province Satzuma, there was one ſo rich, that a catti of the ore was found upon trial to yield from four to ſix thails of gold, for which reaſon the Emperor hath given ſtrict orders, not to work it, for fear ſo great a treaſure ſhould be exhauſted too ſoon. A mountain on the Gulf Ookus, in the diſtrict of Omura, which had leaned on one ſide for a conſiderable time, happened ſome years ago to fall over into the ſea, and there was found at the bottom of the place where it ſtood, ſo rich a gold ſand, that, as I was credibly informed, it yielded one half of pure gold. It lay ſomewhat deep, and was to be fetched up by divers. But this rich harveſt laſted not long, for a few years after, in a great ſtorm and extraordinary high tide, the ſea overflowed all that ſpot of ground, and covered at once theſe ineſtimable riches with mud and clay to the depth of ſome fathoms. The poor people in the neighbourhood ſtill buſy themſelves, waſhing the ſand about this mountain, which contains ſome gold, but in ſo inconſiderable a quantity, that they can hardly get a livelihood by it. There is another gold-mine in the province Tſikungo, not far from a village called Toſſino, but ſo full of water, that they can not go on with working it. However, the ſituation of the mine is ſuch, that by cutting the rock, and making an opening beneath the mouth of the mine, the water might be eaſily drawn off. This was attempted accordingly, but as they went to work, there aroſe of a ſudden ſuch a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, that the work-men were obliged to deſiſt and to fly for ſhelter, which made the ſuperſtitious vulgar believe, that the tutelar god and protector of the place, unwilling to have the bowels of the earth committed to his truſt thus rifled, raiſed this ſtorm purpoſely to make them ſenſible how much he was diſpleaſed at this undertaking. Nor was there any further attempt made ſince, for fear of provoking his anger and wrath ſtill more. Such another accident, and which had the ſame effect, happened at the opening of a gold-mine in the iſland Amakuſa, for it was ſo ſuddenly filled with water, which broke out of the mountain, and deſtroyed all the works, that the miners had ſcarce time to eſcape and to ſave their lives.

There are ſome ſilver-mines in the province Bingo. Others, and theſe much richer, at a place called Kattami, in one of the northern provinces: others in other places, which I forbear mentioning, for want of ſufficient information. The two iſlands Ginſima and Kinſima, that is, gold and ſilver iſlands, which lie to the eaſt of Japan, and which I had occaſion to ſpeak of in the fourth chapter of this book, deſerve a place here, if it be true, what the Japaneſe boaſt, and what their very names and characters ſeem to imply, of their wealth and riches.

Copper is the moſt common of all metals dug up in Japan, and the produce of copper mines enriches ſeveral provinces of this empire. It is at preſent dug up chiefly in the provinces of Suruga, Atſingo, and Kijnokuni. That of Kijnokuni is the fineſt, moſt malleable and fitteſt for work of any in the world. That of Atſingo is coarſe, and ſeventy cattis of it muſt be mixed with thirty cattis of the Kijneſe to make it malleable and fit for uſe. That of Suruga is only exceedingly fine and without faults, but charged with a conſiderable quantity of gold, which the Japaneſe at preſent ſeparate and refine, much better than they did formerly, which occaſions great complaints among the refiners and Brahmines upon the coaſts of Cormandel. There are alſo ſome copper-

mines

mines in the province of Satzuma, which the Emperor very lately gave leave to work. All the copper is brought to Saccai, one of the five imperial towns, where it is refined and caſt into ſmall cylinders, about a ſpan and a half long, and a finger thick. As many of theſe cylinders as amount to one pickel, or 125lbs. weight, are packed up into ſquare wooden boxes, and ſold to the Dutch from twelve to thirteen maas the pickel. It is one of the cheapeſt commodities the Dutch buy in Japan, and they carry on a great trade with it. There is beſides a ſort of coarſer copper, which is caſt into large flat roundiſh lumps, or cakes, and is bought a great deal cheaper than the other, as it is alſo much inferior in goodneſs and beauty. Braſs is very ſcarce in Japan, and much dearer than copper, the calamine-ſtone being imported from Tunquin in flat cakes, and ſold at a very good price.

The province of Bungo affords a ſmall quantity of tin, which is ſo exceedingly fine and white, that it almoſt comes up to ſilver. There is but little uſe made of this metal in the country.

Iron is dug up only upon the confines of three provinces, Mimaſaca, Bitsju, and Biſen; but it is found there in very large quantities. It is refined upon the ſpot, and caſt into ſtaffs, or cylinders, two ſpans long. Japaneſe merchants buy it at the place, and export it all over the empire. It is much of a price with copper, iron tools being full as dear or rather dearer than thoſe of copper and braſs. Such houſhold-goods, hooks, cramp-irons in buildings and ſhips, and other inſtruments, as are in other countries made of iron, are made in Japan, of copper or braſs. They do not dreſs their victuals in braſs pans, but have a particular ſort of kettles or pans which are made of a compoſition of iron, and are pretty thin. The old ones of this ſort are very much eſteemed, and bought at a great rate, they having ſomewhat particular in their ſhape and make, which at preſent they have loſt the art to imitate.

They have no want of coals in Japan, they being dug up in great quantity in the province Tſikuſen about Kujaniſſe, and in moſt northern provinces.

Salt is made of ſea-water in ſeveral maritime provinces. They make it thus. They cloſe in a ſpot of ground, and fill it with fine looſe ſand, then they pour the ſea-water upon it, and let it dry. This they repeat ſeveral times, till they think the ſand is ſufficiently ſaturated with ſalt. Then they take it out and put it into a large trough, with holes at the bottom, and putting freſh ſea-water upon it, let it filtrate through the ſand. The lye is boiled to a good conſiſtence, and the ſalt thus obtained is calcined in earthrn pots, till it becomes white, and fit for uſe and ſale.

Agates, of ſeveral ſorts, ſome extraordinary fine, of a bluiſh colour not unlike ſaphires, as alſo ſome cornelians and jaſpers, are brought from the mountain Tſugaar, upon the northern extremities of the great province Osju, oppoſite to the country of Jedo.

Pearls, by the Japaneſe called kainotamma, which is as much as to ſay, ſhell-jewels, or jewels taken out of ſhells, are found almoſt every where about Saikokf in oyſters, and ſeveral other ſea-ſhells. Every body is at liberty to fiſh them. Formerly the natives had little or no value for them, till they were appriſed of it by the Chineſe, who would pay good prices for them, the Chineſe women being very proud of wearing necklaces, and other ornaments of pearls. The largeſt and fineſt pearls are found in a ſmall ſort of oyſter, called akoja, which is not unlike the Perſian pearl-ſhell, much of the ſame ſhape, both valves ſhutting cloſe, about a hand broad, exceeding thin and brittle, black, ſmooth, and ſhining on the out-ſide, within pretty rough and unequal, of a whitiſh colour, and glittering like mother of pearl. Theſe pearl-ſhells are found only in the ſeas about Satzuma, and in the gulf of Omura. Some of the pearls weigh from four to five condonins, and theſe are ſold for a hundred colans a-piece. The inhabitants

of the Riuku iſlands buy moſt of thoſe, which are found about Satzuma, they trading to that province. Thoſe on the contrary which are found in the gulf of Omura, are ſold chiefly to the Chineſe and Tunquineſe, and it is computed that they buy for about 3000 thails a year. This great profit occaſioned the ſtrict orders which were made not long ago by the Princes both of Satzuma and Omura, importing, that for the future there ſhould be no more of theſe oyſters ſold in the market with other oyſters, as had been done formerly. I procured ſome in private from Omura, not without great difficulty. I was told a very extrordinary thing of this ſort of pearls, and ſtrongly aſſured of the truth of the fact, which is, that they have ſomewhat of a prolific quality, by virtue of which, when ſome of the largeſt are put into a box full of a peculiar Japaneſe cheek varniſh, made of another ſhell called Takaragai (which I ſhall deſcribe in another place) one or two young pearls will grow on the ſides, and when come to maturity, which they do in about three years time, drop off. Theſe pearls, by reaſon of their ſcarcity, are kept in private families, and the poſſeſſors ſeldom part with them, unleſs upon urgent neceſſity. All this, however, I deliver only upon hearſay, having myſelf ſeen none of this ſort of pearl. There is another ſhell, which ſometimes yields pearls, found plentifully upon all the Japaneſe coaſts, and called by the natives awabi. It is an univalve, in ſhape almoſt oval, pretty deep, open on one ſide, where it ſticks to the rocks and to the bottom of the ſea, with a row of holes, which grow bigger, the nearer they come to the circumference of the ſhell; rough and limy on its outward ſurface, frequently with corals, ſea-plants and other ſhells ſticking to it; on the inſide of an exquiſite mother of pearl's glimmering, ſometimes raiſed into whitiſh pearly excreſcences, which are likewiſe obſerved in the common Perſian pearl-ſhell. A great lump of fleſh fills the cavity of this ſhell, for which ſole reaſon they are looked for by fiſhermen, being a very good commodity for the market. They have an inſtrument made on purpoſe to pull them off from the ſides of the rocks, to which they ſtick cloſe. Another ſhell, the name of which I could not learn, yields a very large pearl, which ſometimes weighs from five to ſix condonins, but they are of a dirty yellow colour, ill ſhaped, and worth but little. A pretty good ſort of pearl is ſometimes obſerved to grow in the very fleſh of a ſhell, which is called by the natives tairaggi, and is found in the gulf of Arima, between Janagava and Iſafaje. It is a flat ſort of a ſhell, oblong, almoſt triangular, a little crooked on each ſide, about a ſpan and a half long, and a ſpan broad; where broadeſt, thin, tranſparent, ſmooth, and poliſhed like horn, but very brittle.

Naphta, of a reddiſh colour, by the Japaneſe called tſutſono abra, which ſignifies red earth, is found in a river of the province Jetſingo. It is taken up in ſuch places where the water hath little or no run, and the natives burn it in lamps, inſtead of oil.

Some ambergris is found upon the coaſts of Satzuma, and of the Riuku iſlands. A much greater quantity comes from the coaſts of Khumano, as they call them, whereby muſt be underſtood the ſouthern coaſts of Kijnokuni, Isje, and ſome neighbouring provinces. It is found chiefly in the inteſtines of a whale, which is caught frequently upon the Japaneſe coaſts, and is by the natives called fiakfiro, that is, the hundred-fathom fiſh, becauſe of the length of its inteſtines, which is ſuppoſed to equal that number of fathoms. It is found, as I obſerved, in the inteſtines of this whale, particularly in the lower guts, mixed with chalky limy excrements, almoſt as hard as ſtone, and it is from the hardneſs of theſe excrements, they conjecture upon diſſecting, whether or no they are like to meet with ambergris. The natives have given a very deſpicable name to this precious commodity, a name however becoming the meanneſs of its origin, for they call it kuſuranofu, that is, the excrement of whales. The ambergris, as

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it is tore off by the waves from the bottom of the ſea, and thrown upon the coaſts, before it is ſwallowed by the whales, is a deformed, flat, ſlimy ſubſtance, not unlike a cow-turd, and withal of a very diſagreeable ungrateful ſmell. People that find it thus floating on the ſurface of the water, or lying upon the coaſts, take ſeveral ſmall pieces, ſqueeze and preſs them cloſe together, into the form of a round ball, which as it grows dry, becomes alſo more ſolid and weighty. Others mix and knead it with meal, or flower of rice-huſks, by which means they not only increaſe the quantity, but heighten and better the colour. However, the ambergris thus adulterated is eaſily known; for if you take any quantity and burn it, there will remain a coal, proportionable to the quantity of the ſtuff mixed with it. It is obſerved, beſides, that the worms get quickly into this ſpurious ſort of ambergris. Others adulterate it, by mixing it with a certain powdered roſin of a very agreeable ſcent, but this cheat alſo is eaſily diſcovered, for upon burning a piece of it, the mixture of roſin will evidently appear by the very colour, ſmell, and quality of the ſmoke. The Chineſe have another way of trying whether it be genuine; they ſcrape ſome of it very fine upon hot boiling tea-water; if genuine, it will diſſolve and diffuſe equally, which the adulterated ſort doth not. The natives uſe it no otherwiſe but as an ingredient of other well-ſcented ſpecies, in order, as they ſay, to fix their volatile ſmell. In the main they value it but little, and it is owing entirely to the Dutch and Chineſe, who would buy it up at any rate, that they have now learnt to prize it. And yet every body is at liberty to take it up, where he finds it, and to ſell it as his own property. During my ſtay in Japan, there was a piece to be ſold of 140 cattis weight, and of a greyiſh colour. It was too large for any ſingle perſon to purchaſe, for which reaſon they ſold it by retail, from ſixty to ſeventy thails a catti. I bought myſelf for about thirty thails of that which was blackeſt. (A more particular account of the ambergris is inſerted in the Appendix.)

All ſorts of ſubmarine plants, ſhrubs, corals, ſtones, muſhrooms, ſea-fans, corallines, fuci, algæ, and the like, as alſo ſhells of all kinds, are found plentifully in the Japaneſe ſeas, no ways inferior in beauty to thoſe found about Amboina, and the ſpice iſlands. But the natives value them ſo little, that they won't be at the trouble of looking for them, and if by chance they happen to fiſh them up amongſt other things, their way is to carry them to the next temple, or chapel of Jebus, who is the Neptune of the country, thinking that it is not an unpleaſing offering to this god, whom they look upon, and worſhip, as the protector of ſea-faring people.

It remains to ſay ſomething of the minerals and mineral ſubſtances, which have not as yet been found in Japan, and are imported from beyond ſea. Antimony and ſal armoniac are abſolutely wanted, nor are their qualities and uſes in the leaſt known to the natives. Quickſilver and borax are imported by the Chineſe. I met, however, with two ſorts of borax, growing naturally in Japan, but they are ſo thoroughly mixed with heterogeneous ſubſtances, that the inhabitants don't think it worth their while to pick them up. Sublimate mercury is very much aſked for by ſome private people, who will give an extravagant price for it. They uſe it as the chief ingredient of a mercurial water, which is in great vogue among them for the cure of ulcers, cancers, and other cutaneous diſeaſes. Native cinnabar is by them given inwardly, in ſeveral diſtempers. The artificial cinnabar they make uſe of for a colour. Both are imported from China. The buying and ſelling of this commodity is in the hands of private merchants, who monopolize it by virtue of letters patents from the Emperor. The native cinnabar in general is of a beautiful red colour, but ſome of it is ſo exquiſitely fine, that it is ſold for more than its weight in ſilver.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Fertility of the Country, as to Plants.*

IT is not in the leaſt ſurprizing, conſidering either the peculiar happineſs of the Japaneſe climate, or the induſtry of its laborious inhabitants, that the country affords ſo large a ſtock, and ſuch an infinite variety of plants and fruits, both wild and cultivated, as it may deſervedly boaſt of. Moſt of theſe their forefathers, indigent and frugal as they were, uſed for their food and ſuſtenance. In ſucceeding ages, as wealth and riches increaſed, the taſte alſo became more refined, and their tables more ſumptuous and magnificent. In this preſent chapter I will take notice only of ſuch plants as are of a more extenſive uſe, and as to the reſt refer the more curious reader to my Amœnitates Exoticæ, wherein I have given a catalogue, and begun a more accurate and botanical deſcription of them.

Among the trees the mulberry-tree deſervedly claims the firſt place; for although its fruits, both black and white, be altogether inſipid, and not fit for eating, yet this defect is ſufficiently made good by the extenſive uſefulneſs of its leaves, which are the common food of ſilk-worms. It grows in moſt parts of Japan, but in great plenty in the northern provinces, where many cities and villages ſubſiſt almoſt wholly upon the ſilk manufactures, though the ſilk wove there be not of the fineſt. The beſt and moſt curious ſtuffs are made by the baniſhed grandees in the iſland Fatſinſio, weaving being their chief amuſement; but they make them of fine foreign ſilk. The kadſi, or paper-tree, is of the mulberry kind: though it grows wild in the country, yet they tranſplant and cultivate it in ſeveral places, by reaſon of its great uſefulneſs. It is obſerved to grow with ſurprizing quickneſs, and to ſpread its branches very far. It affords a great quantity of bark, out of which they make paper, as alſo ropes, matches, ſtuffs, cloth, and ſeveral other things. This tree alſo, and the way of making paper out of its bark, which is very laborious and tedious, I have more fully deſcribed in my Amœnitates Exoticæ. (The account which the author here mentions hath been inſerted in the Appendix.)

The uruſi or varniſh-tree, is another of the nobleſt and moſt uſeful trees of this country. It affords a milky juice, which the Japaneſe make uſe of to varniſh, and as we call it, to japan all their houſhold-goods, diſhes, and plates of wood, and this from the Emperor down to the meaneſt peaſant. For even at court, and at the imperial table, ſervices of lackered ware are preferred to thoſe of gold and ſilver. Another kind of varniſh-tree, with narrow leaves, is called faaſi: it grows wild on hills and mountains. It affords a ſmall quantity of milk, and that too of a very bad ſort, and therefore the natives think it hardly worth their while to gather it. The true uruſi is of a kind peculiar to this country. It grows in the provinces Figo and Tſikoku; but that which grows in Jamatto is reckoned the fitteſt for uſe, and to yield a better ſort of varniſh than it doth any where elſe out of this province. The Indian varniſh-tree, which I take to be the true anacardinus, is a tree quite different from the uruſi of the Japaneſe. At Siam it is called rack-tree. It grows and bears fruits in moſt eaſtern countries, but is obſerved to afford none of its milky juice to the weſt of the river Ganges, whether, becauſe of the barrenneſs of the ſoil, or through the careleſſneſs and ignorance of the natives, who do not know how to manage its culture. The greateſt quantity of the milk of this Indian varniſh-tree is brought from the kingdoms of Siam and Cambodia, and ſold very cheap all over the Eaſt Indies. It is imported even into Japan, where the natives uſe it to lacker things of little value, and alſo as an ingredient of their ſcarcer and better ſort of varniſh. (The Japaneſe varniſh-tree is deſcribed and figured in the Amœnitates, pag. 792.)

Lauri

Lauri, or bay-trees, of ſeveral kinds grow in Japan. That which bears red berries is a cannelifera ſpuria, or rather, by reaſon of its viſcoſity, a caſſia lignea. It reſembles exactly the cinnamon-tree, both in its ſhape, and in the figure and ſubſtance of its leaves. But the bark falls far ſhort of that agreeable ſweetneſs, which is peculiar only to the bark of the true cinnamon, and it hath more of the aromatic ſharpneſs of a coſtus. This imperfection I take to be owing entirely to the quality of the ſoil wherein it grows; for I obſerved alſo, that the bark of the Malabarian, Sumatran, and Javan cinnamon-trees, (which latter is wholly neglected), hath not near that eminent degree of ſharpneſs and agreeableneſs to the taſte, which the true Ceyloneſe cinnamon is ſo much and ſo deſervedly eſteemed for; that beſides it is apt either to loſe its aromatic quality in a ſhort time, or that its ſharp pungent particles are ſo wrapt up in a viſcous ſubſtance, as to make it altogether unworthy of bearing the very name of cinnamon, a ſubſtance, which is ſuppoſed to yield a fine, pleaſant, fragrant oil, which no caſſia lignea ever will. (Vide Amœnit. Exot. p. 772.)

The kus, or camphire tree, is alſo of the laurel-kind. It bears black and purple berries. The camphire is prepared by the country-people in the province Satzuma, and the iſlands Gotho, by a ſimple decoction of the roots and wood cut into ſmall pieces. It is extremely cheap, and 80 to 100 cattis of the Japaneſe boiled camphire may be had for one ſingle catti of the true Bornean camphire, which is ſaid to be a natural ſubſtance gathered on the ſtumps of old camphire-trees in the iſland of Borneo, upon inciſions made between the bark and wood. (The Japaneſe camphire-tree is deſcribed and figured p. 770. et ſeq. of the Amœnitates.)

Tſianoki, that is the tea-ſhrub, is one of the moſt uſeful plants growing in Japan, and yet it is allowed no other room but round the borders of rice and corn fields, and in other barren places, unfit for the culture of other things. The common drink of the Japaneſe is brewed of the larger leaves of this ſhrub; but the young and tender leaves dried, powdered, and mixed in a cup of hot water into a ſort of ſoup, are drank in houſes of people of quality before and after their meals: And it is the cuſtom of the country to preſent friends that come to viſit them, with one or more diſhes of tea, both when they come and go. (A complete deſcription of this ſhrub, of its culture, growth, &c. hath been inſerted in the Appendix.)

Sanſio is a middle-ſized tree, with prickles. They make uſe of its bark and huſks inſtead of pepper or ginger, and they eat the leaves by reaſon of their pleaſant aromatic taſte, as they do alſo the riches, which grow in the country. (Vide Amæn. Ex. p. 892, where this tree is deſcribed and figured.)

There are three different ſorts of fig-trees growing in Japan. One is called kaki, if otherwiſe it may be called a fig-tree, it differing from it in ſeveral particulars. It grows very plentifully in all parts of the empire. It is a very ugly deformed ſort of a tree to look at, much like a ſhort old apple-tree. It hath long oval leaves, without notches. The fruit reſembles a reddiſh apple, both in ſhape and colour, and its fleſhy part hath the taſte of a delicate fig. The ſeed is of a hard and almoſt ſtony ſubſtance, and not unlike gourd-ſeeds. It is no leſs commendable for its great fruitfulneſs, than it is for its extenſive uſe, for the fruits of it dried afford a pleaſant and agreeable food for rich and poor. The Chineſe preſerve them with ſugar. The ſecond ſort of figs is not unlike that which grows with us in Europe, only it grows on a tree, with broad, oblong, rough leaves, without notches. Our European fig-tree makes up the third ſort. It was brought into the country, and planted there by the Portugueze. It bears a very large fruit, bigger than ours, and I think better taſted. But it is very ſcarce. I need not mention here any thing of the ſycomorus, or wild fig-tree, becauſe its

fruits are not eat in the country, though it grows there very plentifully. (The two firſt ſorts of the fig-tree are deſcribed and figured, p. 803, et ſeq. of the Amœn. Exoticæ.)

Cheſnut-trees grow in great plenty in Japan, particularly in the province Tſikuſen, and they bear cheſnuts much larger and better than ours. Apple-trees, ſuch as we have them in Europe, they know nothing of. Nor have they more than one ſort of pears, of that kind, which we call winter-pears. They grow in great plenty, and come to an extraordinary bigneſs, the leaſt weighing ſeldom leſs than a pound: but they are not fit to be eat raw.

Walnut-trees grow chiefly in the northern provinces. In the ſame provinces grows a certain tall kind of taxus, called by the Japaneſe kaja, with oblong nuts, incloſed in a fleſhy pulp, and not unlike, in bigneſs and ſhape, to the arrack-nut. Theſe nuts are not very agreeable to the taſte when freſh, though taken out of their pulp, for they have ſomething aſtringent in them: they taſte better when dried. They have a gentle purging quality, which is owing to their ſweet oil, and are, for their many medicinal virtues, ſerved at table along with the deſert. The oils expreſſed out of theſe nuts, is very ſweet and agreeable, and taſtes not unlike the oil of ſweet almonds. It is much commended for its medicinal virtues, and alſo made uſe of to dreſs victuals. The ſmoke of the kernels of theſe nuts is the chief ingredient of the beſt and deareſt Japaneſe ink. (This kind of taxus is deſcribed and figured, p. 814. of the Amœnit.)

Another ſort of nuts, called Ginau, as big as large piſtaches, grow very plentifully almoſt every where in Japan, on a fine tall tree, the leaves of which are not unlike the large leaves of an adianthum. The Japaneſe call it Itſionoki. The nuts afford plenty of oil, which is alſo much commended for ſeveral uſes. As to a more accurate deſcription of this tree, I refer the reader to the Amœnitates Exoticæ. p. 812. There are two ſorts of oaks grow in the country, both different from ours. The acorns of the larger ſort are boiled and eat by the common people. The fruit of the naatſme, or paliurus of Proſp. Alpinus, as it grows in the country, is extraordinary good, and I think much larger than I ſaw it any where elſe. Pome-citron trees are to be ſeen only in the gardens of the curious. Oranges and lemons grow very plentifully, and of different ſorts. That ſort of lemons, which is reckoned the beſt, is called mican. It reſembles a peach, both in ſhape and bigneſs, and hath an excellent aromatic flavour, but taſtes ſomewhat ſour. Another ſort they call kinkan. It is much ſcarcer, in ſhape and bigneſs not unlike a nutmeg, and exceedingly ſour. It grows on a ſhrub, rather than a tree, and is much uſed in dreſſing their victuals, and in what they call atſiaer. (Vide Am. Exot. p. 801.)

They plant but few vines, becauſe they obſerve, that the grapes would not eaſily ripen. Bramble-berries and raſberries, are not very agreeable to the taſte. Strawberries are entirely inſipid and not eat. With peaches, apricots and plums they are plentifully ſupplied. Of plums, particularly, they have two ſorts, both different from ours, one white, the other purple, both granulated like mulberries, and ingredients of what they call atſiaer. Cherry-trees, and the like, are kept only for the ſake of the flowers, as are alſo by ſome the apricot and plum trees, which they improve much by culture, ſo that the flowers become as big as roſes, and in the ſpring, when they are in full bloſſom, afford a moſt delightful ſight about their temples, in their gardens and walks, the trees being thick covered with the flowers, as with ſnow.

Firs and cypreſs-trees are the moſt common trees in their woods and foreſts. There are ſeveral different ſorts of both. Houſes and ſhips are built of the wood, of which are made alſo all ſorts of houſehold-goods, as cabinets, trunks, boxes, tubs and the like. The branches, and what falls down, ſerve for fewel and fire-wood. The com-

mon people burn alſo the nuts and leaves, which fall down from the trees, and gathering the ſame daily they keep the ground and roads neat and clean. For ornament ſake, they are planted in rows along the roads, and over the ridges of hills and mountains, which makes travelling very pleaſant. The natives, as they improve every inch of ground, take care to plant them in ſandy and barren places, which are good for nothing elſe. No firs nor cypreſs-trees may be cut down, without leave from the magiſtrate of the place; and leſt the felling of them ſhould in time too much prejudice their growth, they muſt always plant young ones inſtead of thoſe they cut down.

Bamboos are very common, and of great uſe here, as every where in the Indies. Several ſorts of houſhold goods, baſkets, matches, and other things are made of them, as are alſo gutters and ſpouts, and the walls of houſes. A particular ſort of bamboo grows in the province Oomi, which the Dutch export by the name of rottang and ſell for walking canes. I ſhall explain elſewhere how they are fitted for ſale. Both firs and bamboos are in great eſteem among the Japaneſe, for their conſtant verdure; and the ſuperſtitious believe, that they have no ſmall influence over the happy occurrences of human life. The temple-walks, and other holy places, are adorned with them, chiefly upon their feſtivals and other ſolemn days; and they make frequent alluſions to them in their emblematical and poetical writings, particularly in congratulatory poems: for they are of opinion, that they will ſubſiſt a long while, that common bamboos will ſtand ſeveral hundred years, and that the common fir, which they call matznoki, will come to the age of a thouſand, that then it will bend down its branches towards the ground, as not being able to ſupport itſelf any longer. And leſt the truth of this aſſertion ſhould be called in queſtion, they ſhew up and down the country ſome firs and bamboos of an uncommon ſize indeed, and pretended long ſtanding. I have ſeen ſome extraordinary large ones myſelf.

Finoki, and ſuggi, are two ſorts of cypreſs trees, yielding a beautiful light whitiſh wood, but nevertheleſs of a good ſubſtance, and remarkable for this ſingular quality, that it ſucks in no water, and might well paſs for cedar-wood. It hath been ſometimes forbid by the Emperor to fell theſe trees for any uſe whatſoever. But little regard is had to orders of this kind, particularly in thoſe provinces which are remote from court, unleſs there be a very ſevere puniſhment put upon tranſgreſſion thereof. Kſamaki, that is, a ſtinking maki-tree; ſſinoki, a ſort of oak; and juſnoki, that is, iron-tree, ſo called from the uncommon hardneſs of its wood, are all very common trees. Moſt houſes are built of the wood of them. Fatznoki, a tree growing about the city of Jeſeri, and the root of the camphire-tree, afford the beſt and ſcarceſt wood for cabinets, cheſts of drawers, and ſuch ſort of work, by reaſon of the curious running of its grain.

Japan I think may vie with moſt, if not all, known countries, for a great variety of beautiful plants and flowers, wherewith kind nature hath moſt liberally and curiouſly adorned its fields, hills, woods and foreſts. Some of theſe they tranſplanted into gardens, and improved by aſſiduity and culture to the utmoſt, and indeed to a ſurpriſing degree of perfection. It is foreign to my preſent purpoſe to enumerate and to deſcribe all thoſe I met withal during my ſtay in the country. I reſerve this for another work, and will here confine myſelf barely to mention ſome of the chief. Tſubacki is a pretty large ſhrub, bearing flowers not unlike roſes. It grows in woods and hedges. It hath many beautiful varieties, of which, in the Japaneſe language, copious as it is, there are 900 names, if it be true what the natives report. Satſuki is another ſhrub with lily-flowers. Of this the natives ſay, there are upwards of an hundred varieties to be met with in gardens. The two kinds, which grow wild, one with purple, the other with incarnate

incarnate flowers, are a great ornament to hills and fields in the proper ſeaſon, affording a ſight pleaſing beyond expreſſion. Sakanandſio is another ſhrub with lily-flowers, but much larger than the former. It is alſo much ſcarcer, and there are three varieties of it.

Momidſi is a kind of maple. It is ſo called from the purple colour of its leaves. There are two varieties of it, which differ one from another only in this particular, that the leaves of one turn purple in the ſpring, and of the other in autumn. Both afford to the eye a very curious ſight. The faſi-tree is alſo ſaid to change the colour of its leaves into a fine purple in autumn.

There are numberleſs varieties of feverfews (matricariæ) and lilies growing in this country. The firſt (the flowers of which art and culture hath improved to the bigneſs of roſes) are the chief ornament of houſes and gardens, the others of deſart and uncultivated places. Nor hath nature been leſs kind with regard to the narciſſus, flower-de-lys, clove gilli-flowers, and the like. But one thing I cannot help obſerving, which is, that theſe ſeveral flowers fall as ſhort of others of their kind, growing in other countries, in ſtrength and agreeableneſs of ſmell, as they exceed them in the exquiſite beauty of their colours. The ſame holds true with regard to moſt fruits growing in Japan, which are far from coming up to the pleaſant aromatic taſte of thoſe which grow in China, and other eaſtern countries.

They cultivate as much hemp and cotton as they can ſpare ground in their fields. Sijro, or the wild hemp-nettle, grows plentifully in moſt uncultivated places. This plant makes good in ſome meaſure what want there is of hemp and cotton, for ſeveral ſorts of ſtuffs, fine and coarſe, are fabricated of it.

The ſeeds of the following plants afford their oil for ſeveral uſes both phyſical and domeſtic. Kiri, is a very large but ſcarce tree. It hath leaves like burdock, flowers like the digitalis, ſet to a long ſtalk, and ſeeds reſembling marſhmallow ſeeds. The mikaddo, or eccleſiaſtical hereditary emperor, bears the leaf of this tree, with three flowering ſtalks, in his coat of arms. (It is deſcribed and figured, p. 859 of the Amœn. Exot.) Abraſin is a middle-ſized tree, with the leaves of a platanus. Its flowers reſemble roſes in ſhape and bigneſs, and the ſeeds are like the ſeeds of the ricinus, which made me call it ricinus arboreus folio alceæ. The aſadiracht avicennæ, the tſubaki, above-mentioned, as alſo the uruſi, faaſi, and kainoki trees. The cotton ſhrub and plant. Seſami of two kinds, with white and black ſeeds. Of all the oils expreſſed out of the ſeeds of theſe ſeveral plants, only that of the ſeſamum and kai, are made uſe of in the kitchen, and even theſe but ſparingly, victuals being commonly dreſſed in this country without either butter or oil.

The Japaneſe are as good huſbandmen, as perhaps any people in the world. Nor indeed is it very ſurpriſing, that they have made great improvements in agriculture, conſidering not only the extreme p puloufneſs of the country, but chiefly that the natives are denied all commerce and communication with foreigners, and muſt neceſſarily ſupport themſelves by their own labour and induſtry. Hence the laws on this head are very particular and ſevere. Not only the fields and flat country, which are ſeldom or never turned into meadows and paſture ground, but likewiſe the hills and mountains, afford corn, rice, peaſe, pulſe, and numberleſs edible plants. Every inch of ground is improved to the beſt advantage, and it was not without great admiration, we beheld in our journies to and from court, hills and mountains, many inacceſſible to cattle, which would lie wholly neglected in other countries, cultivated up to their tops. They are very dexterous and ſkilful in manuring their ground, which they do in various ways, and with many different ſubſtances, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew

in

in ſeveral places of this hiſtory. Flat low grounds are ploughed with oxen, ſteep and high ones by men and both manured with human dung. As to rice in particular, which is the main food of the natives, what ground they can conveniently ſpare, and will admit of its culture, is turned into rice-fields, particularly low flat land, which they can cut through by canals, and where they have a command of water, which ſurpriſingly quickens the growth of this plant, it loving a wet muddy ſoil. The Japaneſe rice accordingly is eſteemed the beſt of all Aſia, particularly what grows in the northern provinces, which will keep many years, and which for this reaſon they chuſe to fill their ſtore-houſes withal, having firſt waſhed it in muddy water and then dried it. All lands muſt be ſurveyed every year, before they are ſown, by Kemme, as they call them, being ſworn ſurveyors, who are very big of their ſkill in geometry, and have the privilege of wearing two ſwords, which is otherwiſe allowed to none but to the nobility and ſoldiers. When the harveſt draws near they are ſurveyed once more, at which time it is computed what the whole crop is likely to amount to, which they do generally, indeed by gueſs, but yet with a ſurpriſing accuracy, and thereby prevent the tenants cheating their landlords. If the harveſt is like to prove extraordinary good, they cauſe a ſquare piece of ground to be cut and threſhed, and thence infer as to the whole. The landlords claim Rokubu, ſix parts in ten, of all the produce of their land, whether rice, corn, wheat, peaſe, pulſe, or other, and the tenant for his trouble and maintenance keeps ſijbu, or four parts in ten. Such as hold lands of the crown, give but four parts in ten to the Emperor's ſtewards, the remainder is for themſelves. For encouragement's ſake, ſuch as cultivate untilled ground have the whole crop left them for the firſt two or three years. The ground in general is divided into three ſorts. 1. Sſo, the beſt, 2. Tsju, middling, and 3. Ge, poor ground. But they admit likewiſe of Dſo no ſio, next to the beſt, Dſo no Isju, next to the middling, and Dſo no Ge, next to the bad. Some regard is had, as to the ſcot, to the good or bad quality of the ſoil, and it varies alſo conſiderably in different provinces, but in the main it amounts to ſix parts in ten. Among many excellent laws, which relate to agriculture, they have one, by virtue of which, whoever doth not cultivate his ground for the term of one year, forfeits his title and poſſeſſion.

The chief produce of the fields which contributes moſt to the ſuſtenance of life, is by the Jananeſe comprehended under the name of gokokf, that is, "the five fruits of the fields." It is by their good or bad growth they eſtimate the value of the ground; the fruitfulneſs of the year, and the wealth of the poſſeſſor. They make up the chief diſhes at their meals, and make good the want there is of fleſh-meat, which cuſtom and religion forbid them to eat. The gokokf are, 1. Kome, or rice. There are ſeveral varieties of rice grow in the country. The beſt ſort hath not its equal in the Indies. It is perfectly white, like ſnow, and ſo nouriſhing and ſubſtantial, that foreigners who are not uſed to it, can eat but little of it at a time. Boiled to a good conſiſtence, they eat it at their meals inſtead of bread. Out of what remains from their yearly proviſion they brew a ſort of ſtrong fat beer, called ſacki, but no more than they think their families ſhall have occaſion for. Foreigners can export no more rice or beer than what the magiſtrate will allow them. 2. Oomuggi, which is as much as to ſay, "great corn," is what we call barley. They feed their cattle and horſes with it: ſome dreſs their victuals with the flour, and make cakes of it. There is a ſort of barley grows in Japan, with purple-coloured ears, which, when ripe, are a curious ornament to the fields. 3. Koomuggi, that is, "ſmall corn," is what we call wheat. It is extremely cheap, and I know of nothing they make of it, but a particular ſort of cakes made of the flour, 4. Daidſu, that is, daidbeans, is a certain ſort of beans about the bigneſs of Turkiſh peaſe, growing after the manner of lupins. They are next to the rice in uſe and

eſteem. Of the meal of theſe beans is made what they call midſu; a mealy pap, which they dreſs their victuals withal, as we do with butter. What they call ſoeju, is alſo made of it, which is a ſort of an embamma, as they call it, which they eat at meals to get a good ſtomach. This ſoeju is exported by the Dutch, and brought even into Holland. I have deſcribed their way of making it in my Amænitates Exoticæ, p. 839; where the the plant itſelf, bearing theſe beans, is figured and deſcribed. 5. Adſuki, or ſodſu, that is, ſobeans. They grow likewiſe after the manner of lupins, and are black, not unike lentils, or the Indian cajan. The flour is baked with ſugar into mansje and other cakes. Beſides the ſeveral ſorts of gokokf juſt mentioned, the following plants are comprehended under the ſame name: awa, Indian corn (*panicum Indicum Tabern.*): kibi, or *milium vulgare noſtras*, millet: fije, or *panicum vulgare juba minore ſemine nigricante:* and in general, all ſorts of corn, and mami, that is peaſe and pulſe.

Turnips grow very plentifully in the country, and exceeding large ones. Of all the produce of the fields they perhaps contribute moſt to the ſuſtenance of the natives. But the fields being manured with human dung, they ſmell ſo ſtrong that foreigners, chiefly Europeans, cannot bear them. The natives eat them raw, boiled, or pickled. Horſe-radiſhes, carrots, gourds, melons, cucumbers, mala inſana, fennel, and ſome ſorts of lettuce, which with us are cultivated in gardens, grow wild in Japan. The *paſtinaca hortenſis*, or garden parſnip, is not to be met with. But wild parſnip grows plentifully every where. Parſley, cummin, ſuccory, and our common European lettuce, are cultivated by the Dutch, as they were formerly by the Portugueze, and thrive extraordinary well.

Beſides the plants I have hitherto mentioned, there are numberleſs others that grow in the fields, upon hills and mountains, in woods and foreſts, in moraſſy grounds, in barren and uncultivated places, along the ſea-coaſts, and, in ſhort, every where. Of all theſe, there are very few but what afford their roots, leaves, flowers, and fruits, not only for the ſuſtenance of the common people, but even for the delicious tables of people of quality. There is a great variety of muſhrooms, moſt of which are eat. Some, indeed, are poiſonous, and unlucky accidents happen frequently. The uſe of ſome other plants is often attended with the like dangerous conſequences, the venomous being ſometimes miſtook for the wholeſome by ignorant people. Some, indeed, they know how to deprive of their hurtful and venomous qualities. Thus, out of the konjakf, which is a poiſonous ſort of a dracunculus, they prepare a ſweet mealy pap. In the like manner, by expreſſing the juice, by macerating and boiling the roots of the *warabi* or fern, of the ren, or *faba Ægyptica*, called by ſome tarate flour, as alſo of what they call kaſne, they make a fine ſort of flour; which is of great uſe in dreſſing their victuals, and which they eat beſides by itſelf, diſſolved in water. Of all the ſoft ſubmarine plants there is hardly one, but what the natives eat. Fiſhermen's wives waſh, ſort, and ſell them; and they are likewiſe very dexterous in diving them up from the bottom of the ſea in twenty to forty fathoms depth.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Plenty of the Country as to Beaſts, Birds, Reptiles, and Inſects.*

OF the animals of this country ſome are merely chimerical, not exiſting in nature, nor invented by the Japaneſe themſelves, but borrowed from their neighbours the Chineſe. Of theſe it will not be improper to give ſome account, before I proceed to to deſcribe thoſe which really exiſt.

Kirin, according to the deſcription and figure which the Japaneſe give of it, is a winged quadruped, of incredible ſwiftneſs, with two ſoft horns ſtanding before the

breaſt, and bent backwards, with the body of a horſe, and claws of a deer, and a head which comes neareſt to that of a dragon. The good-nature and holineſs of this animal are ſo great, that they ſay it takes ſpecial care, even in walking, not to trample over any the leaſt plant, nor to injure any the moſt inconſiderable worm or inſect that might, by chance, come under its feet. Its conception and birth require a particular conſtellation in heaven, and the birth of a ſeſin upon earth. Seſin is a man endowed by nature with an incomparable underſtanding, and a more than human penetration, a man capable to dive into the myſteries of divine and ſupernatural things, and withal ſo full of love towards mankind, as to reveal his diſcoveries for their common benefit. There are famous, as ſuch, the two Chineſe Emperors, Gio and Siun; the memory of whoſe excellent government, and the great diſcoveries they made in the knowledge and virtues of plants, will be always dear in that empire: Kooſi and Mooſi, two Chineſe philoſophers: Siaka, an Indian philoſopher, and great diſcoverer of ſupernatural truths: Darma in China, and Sotoktais in Japan, both founders of particular ſects, and perſons of an unſpotted holy life.

Beſides the kirin, there are two other chimeras of the quadruped kind: one is called ſuugu. It is not unlike a leopard as to its ſhape, but hath two ſoft horns before the breaſt, bent backwards. The other is called kaitſu, or kaiſai. This hath ſomething of the fox in its ſhape, two horns before the breaſt, another horn in the forehead, and a row of prickles, like the crocodile, along the back.

After the four-footed chimeras, the tats, dria, or dsja, as it is called by the Japaneſe, that is, the dragon, muſt be mentioned. The chronicles and hiſtories of their gods and heroes are full of fabulous ſtories of this animal. They believe that it dwells at the bottom of the ſea, as in its proper element. They repreſent it in their books, as a huge, long, four-footed ſnake, ſcaly all over the body, like the crocodile, with ſharp prickles along the back, but the head is beyond the reſt monſtrous and terrible. The tail of the Japaneſe dragon ends as it were into a two-edged ſword. Some of the Japaneſe Emperor's cloth, his arms, ſcimiters, knives, and the like, as alſo the furniture and hangings of the imperial palace, are adorned with figures of this dragon, holding a round jewel, or pearl, in the right fore-claw. The Japaneſe dragon hath but three claws on each foot, whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from the Chineſe imperial dragon, which is repreſented with five. Tatſmaki, is another dragon, with a long watery tail. It is believed, that this alſo lives at the bottom of the ſea, and by flying up thence into the air, occaſions by its violent turnings, what we call a water-ſpout; which phænomenon is very common on the Japaneſe ſeas, and obſerved frequently to break towards the coaſts.

Foo is a chimerical but beautiful large bird of paradiſe, of a near kin to the phœnix of the ancients. It dwells in the high regions of the air, and it hath this, common with the kirin, that it never comes down from thence, as the Japaneſe religiouſly believe, to honour the earth with its bleſſed preſence, but upon the birth of a ſeſin, or that of a great Emperor, or upon ſome ſuch other extraordinary occaſion. Thus far the chimerical animals. I proceed now to give an account of ſuch as do really exiſt.

Conſidering the largeneſs and extent of the Japaneſe empire, it is but ſparingly ſupplied with four-footed beaſts, wild or tame. The former find but few deſart places, where they could increaſe and multiply, and follow their uſual ſhy way of life. The latter are bred up only for carriage and agriculture. Pythagoras's doctrine of the tranſmigration of the ſoul being received almoſt univerſally, the natives eat no fleſh-meat, and living, as they do, chiefly upon vegetables, they know how to improve the ground to much better advantage, than by turning it into meadows and paſtures for breeding of cattle. To begin with the tame beaſts. There are horſes in the country:

they are indeed little in the main, but ſome of them not inferior in ſhape, ſwiftneſs and dexterity to the Perſian breed. They ſerve for ſtate, for riding, for carriage and ploughing. The beſt horſes come from the provinces Satzuma and Osju; and a certain breed of little horſes from Kai, is very much eſteemed. Oxen and cows ſerve only for ploughing and carriage. Of milk and butter they know nothing. They have a ſort of large buffles, of a monſtrous ſize, with bunches on the back, like camels, which ſerve for carriage and tranſport of goods only, in large cities. They know nothing of aſſes, mules, camels, and elephants. Sheep and goats were kept formerly by the Dutch and Portugueze at Firando, where the kind ſtill ſubſiſts. They might be bred in the country to great advantage, if the natives were permitted to eat the fleſh, or knew how to manage and manufacture the wool. They have but few ſwine, which were brought over from China, and are bred by the country people in Fiſen, not indeed for their own uſe, which would be contrary to their ſuperſtitious notions, but to ſell them to the Chineſe; who come over for trade every year, and are great admirers of pork, though otherwiſe the doctrine of Pythagoras, about the tranſmigration of ſouls, hath found place likewiſe in China. Since the now reigning Emperor came to the throne, there are more dogs bred in Japan than, perhaps, in any one country whatever, and than there were before even in this empire. They have their maſters, indeed, but lie about the ſtreets, and are very troubleſome to paſſengers and travellers. Every ſtreet muſt, by ſpecial command of the Emperor, keep a certain number of theſe animals, and provide them with victuals. There are huts built in every ſtreet, where they are taken care of when they fall ſick. Thoſe that die muſt be carried up to the tops of mountains and hills, as the uſual burying-places, and very decently interred. Nobody may, under ſevere penalties, inſult or abuſe them, and to kill them is a capital crime, whatever miſchief they do. In this caſe, notice of their miſdemeanors muſt be given to their keepers, who are alone empowered to chaſtiſe and to puniſh them. This extraordinary care for the preſervation of the dog-kind, is the effect of a ſuperſtitious fancy of the now reigning Emperor, who was born in the ſign of the Dog, [The reader is deſired to take notice, that the Dog is one of the twelve celeſtial ſigns of the Japaneſe, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter in Book II. Chap. 2.] and hath for this reaſon ſo great an eſteem for this animal, as the great Roman Emperor, Auguſtus Cæſar, is reported in hiſtories to have had for rams. The natives tell a pleaſant tale on this head: A Japaneſe, as he was carrying up the dead carcaſe of a dog to the top of a mountain, in order to its burial, grew impatient, grumbled, and curſed the Emperor's birth-day and whimſical commands. His companion, though ſenſible of the juſtice of his complaints, bid him hold his tongue and be quiet; and, inſtead of ſwearing and curſing, return thanks to the gods, that the Emperor was not born in the ſign of the Horſe, becauſe, in that caſe, the load would have been much heavier. Greyhounds and ſpaniels are wanting. They hunt but little, and only with common dogs; this kind of diverſion being not very proper for ſo populous a country, and where there is ſo little game. They have a particular kind of cats, which is a domeſtic animal with them, as with us. They are of a whitiſh colour, with large yellow and black ſpots, and a very ſhort tail, as if it had been purpoſely cut off. They do not care for mouſing, but love mightily to be carried about, and careſſed, chiefly by women.

Of four-footed wild beaſts the country produces deer, hares, and boars; all which, the adherents of ſome ſects are permitted to eat at certain times of the year. The iſland Mijoſima, or Akino Mijoſima, ſo called from the neighbourhood of the province Aki, is famous for a particular breed of deer, which, they ſay, are very tame and familiar with the inhabitants. It is contrary to the laws of the country to chaſe and to kill them.

them. The country-people take care to remove their dead carcaſes from their houſes and fields, foraſmuch as the governor of the iſland is empowered, by virtue of another law, to ſentence thoſe before whoſe doors or upon whoſe ground ſuch carcaſes are found, to ſome days' work, either at the temples, or for the public. They have ſome few monkies, of a docile kind, with ſhort tails, of a browniſh dark colour, with naked red faces and backs. A mountebank ſhewed one about the country, which he pretended was one hundred and ſix years old, and which played ſeveral artful tricks with great dexterity. They have ſome few bears in the northern provinces, but of a ſmall kind. Tanuki is a very ſingular kind of an animal, of a browniſh dark colour, with a ſnout not unlike a fox's ſnout, and pretty ſmall: it ſeems otherwiſe to be of the wolf's kind. They have likewiſe a ſort of wild dogs, with large gaping ſnouts. Itutz is a ſmall animal of a reddiſh colour. Another large ſort of it is called tin: they both live in houſes, and lodge themſelves under the roofs, they are ſo tame, that they might be ranked among the domeſtic animals. They are very dexterous at catching of fowl, chiefly chickens, and fiſh. The whole country ſwarms with rats and mice. The rats are tamed by the natives, and taught to perform ſeveral tricks. Rats thus taught, are the common diverſion of ſome poor people. The beſt of the kind, and which play with moſt dexterity, are to be ſeen at Oſacca, as the place which mountebanks, jugglers, and raree-ſhow people reſort to from all parts of the empire. Foxes alſo are very common. The natives believe that they are animated by the devil; and their hiſtorical and ſacred writings are full of ſtrange accounts of ſeveral odd accidents which happened with, and with regard to foxes. The fox-hunters, however, are very expert in conjuring and ſtripping this animated devil; the hair and wool being very much coveted for their writing and painting-pencils. They make the ſame diſtinction between the kis, or fox, and oni, or devil, as they do in Sweden between faan and dieblen. Of tigers, panthers, lions, and ſuch other voracious animals Japan is entirely free.

Thus much of the four-footed wild and tame beaſts, which are to be met with in Japan. The inſects of the reptile kind are next to be taken into conſideration. Among theſe a miſchievous ſmall creature, known all over the Eaſt Indies by the name of white ant, claims the firſt place. It is a ſmall ſlender worm, perfectly white like ſnow. They live together in commonalty, as our European ants do, from whom they do not much differ in ſhape and bigneſs. Their head and breaſt are of a browniſh dark colour, and hard to the touch. The Japaneſe call them Do-toos, which is as much as to ſay, "piercers;" an epithet which they very well deſerve; for they pierce and perforate whatever they meet with, ſtones only and ores excepted; and when once they get into a merchant's warehouſe, they are able within a very ſhort compaſs of time to ruin and deſtroy his beſt goods. Nothing hath been as yet found out, that will keep them off but ſalt, laid under the goods and ſpread about them. Our common European ants are their mortal enemies, and whatever place the one ſort takes poſſeſſion of, the others muſt neceſſarily quit it. They are no more able than moles to ſupport the open air; and whenever they go out upon an expedition, they defend themſelves by building arches or trenches all along their march, which they know how to tie faſt to the ground. Theſe arches are much of the ſame ſubſtance with that of waſp's-neſts. I was told ſurpriſing and melancholy ſtories of their quick and miſchievous marches and expeditions; but I will only relate what I was an eye-witneſs of myſelf. During my ſtay at Coylang, a Dutch fort upon the coaſts of Malabar, I had an apartment aſſigned me in the governor's own houſe. One night I did not go to bed till about midnight, having been very buſy. The next morning when I roſe, I took notice of the marks of ſuch arches upon my table, which were about the bigneſs

of my little finger, and, upon a more accurate inſpection, I found that theſe animals had pierced a paſſage of that thickneſs up one foot of the table, then acroſs the table (though, as good luck would have it, without any damage done to the papers and things I had left there,) and ſo down again through the middle of the other foot into the floor. All this was performed within a few hours time. Some attribute the cauſe of ſo quick and ſurpriſing a corroſion to the ſharpneſs of their excrements, but wrongly, as I found upon examination; for I took notice, that their ſnouts were armed with four ſharp crooked pincers, which, in my opinion, are inſtruments far more proper to do ſuch quick execution, than any excrements how ſharp and corroſive ſoever.

Mukadde, according to the common Japaneſe dialect, and goko, in their ſignificant or character-language, are not what we call aſelli, or wood-lice, but the Indian millepedes, palmer-worms, or forty-legs; a worm of about two or three inches in length, ſlender, of a brown colour, having a great number of legs on both ſides, from whence it hath borrowed its name. The Indian forty-legs are very venomous, and their bites are reckoned more dangerous and painful than thoſe of the ſcorpion. There are but few in Japan, and thoſe not very miſchievous. The part which is ſtung, or bit, is dreſſed with ſpittle, and the bite ſeldom obſerved to be attended with ill conſequences.

The lizards of this country do not differ from our common European lizards.

There are but few ſnakes in the country. One of the moſt famous is called fitakutz, and fibakari. It is of a green colour, with a flat head and ſharp teeth. It hath borrowed its name from the length of the day, or the time the ſun ſtays upon the horizon; becauſe people bit by it, are ſaid to die before ſun-ſet. Soldiers are very fond of its fleſh, which they eat, firmly believing that it hath the virtue of making them bold and courageous. This ſnake calcined in an earthen pot, hermetically ſealed, gives that powder which they call gawatſio, and which is very famous for its virtues in curing ſeveral internal diſtempers. This ſame powder put under the gutters of a houſe, is ſaid, in a ſhort time, to produce young ſnakes of the ſame kind. I met with this ſort of ſnake no where elſe but upon the coaſts of Malabar, where I was ſhewed ſome by the Bramines. Another ſort of ſnakes of a monſtrous ſize, called jamakagats, or, according to the common dialect, uwabami, and ſometimes dsja, that is, "dragon," is found in waters and upon mountains. It is very ſcarce, and when taken, ſhewed about for money. From the reptiles I proceed to the birds.

Of tame fowl they keep chickens, and ſometimes ducks, but being, as I took notice above, imbued with the ſuperſtitious notions of Pythagoras, the generality will not eat them, and they are killed and ſold to ſuch as do venture to eat them, only by perſons of a mean extraction. When a man lies at the point of death, as alſo upon thoſe days which are ſacred to the memory of deceaſed perſons, none of their relations and friends may kill any bird or beaſt whatever. In the mourning years for the death of an Emperor, and at any other time, when the Emperor thinks fit to order it, no living creature whatever may be killed or brought to market in any part of his dominions. The cocks oftener find pardon than hens, and are kept alive with great care, becauſe they are held in great eſteem, chiefly among the religious orders, by reaſon of their meaſuring the time, and foretelling future changes of the weather. Wild fowl, though naturally ſhy, are in this populous country grown ſo familiar, that many kinds of them might be ranked among the tame. The tſuri, or crane, is the chief of the wild birds of the country, and hath this particular imperial privilege, that nobody may ſhoot him without an expreſs order from the Emperor, and only for the Emperor's own pleaſure or uſe. In Saikokf, however, and in other provinces remote from court, a leſs ſtrict regard is had to the like imperial commands. The cranes and tortoiſes are

reckoned

reckoned very happy animals in themſelves, and thought to portend good luck to others and this by reaſon of their pretended long and fabulous life, of which there are ſeveral remarkable inſtances recorded in their hiſtorical writings. For this reaſon the imperial apartments, walls of temples, and other happy places are commonly adorned with figures of them, as alſo with figures of firs and bamboos, for the like reaſon. I never heard country people and carriers call this bird otherwiſe than, O Tſuriſama, that is, "My great Lord Crane." There are two different kinds of them; one white as ſnow, the other grey or aſh-coloured. There are ſeveral kinds of ſaggi, or herons, which differ in colour and ſize. The chief are ſijro ſaggi, the white heron; goi ſaggi, the grey heron, both very common; and awoi ſaggi, a heron of a bluiſh colour, and almoſt as big as a crane. There are two different ſorts of wild-geeſe, which couple each with their kind. One ſort is as white as ſnow, only the extremities of the wings are black; the other is grey or aſh-coloured. Both are very common in this country, particularly the grey ones, and ſo familiar, that they might be taken for tame, for they will not fly up, nor get out of the way at any body's approach. They do a great deal of miſchief in the fields, and yet nobody may diſturb or kill them, under pain of death, except thoſe who have bought the privilege to ſhoot them in ſome tracts of ground. The country-people, to keep them off, ſurround their fields with nets, though to very little purpoſe; for they will fly over the nets, as I have ſeen myſelf, to get at their food.

Of ducks alſo there are ſeveral different kinds, and as tame as the geeſe. One kind particularly I cannot forbear mentioning, becauſe of the ſurpriſing beauty of its male, called kinmodſui, which is ſo great, that, being ſhewed its picture in colours, I could hardly believe my own eyes, till I ſaw the bird itſelf, it being a very common one. Its feathers are wonderfully diverſified with the fineſt colours imaginable, about the neck and breaſt chiefly they are red. The head is crowned with a moſt magnificent topping. The tail riſing obliquely, and the wings ſtanding up over the back in a very ſingular manner, afford to the eye a ſight as curious as it is uncommon. There are alſo pheaſants of uncommon beauty. One kind particularly is remarkable for the various colours and luſtre of its feathers, and for the beauty of its tail, which equals half a man's length, and in a curious variety and mixture of the fineſt colours, chiefly blue and gold, is no ways inferior to that of a peacock. Woodcocks are a very common bird; they are eat by the adherents of ſome ſects, as are alſo the pheaſants, geeſe, and ducks. There is a ſort of wild pigeons with black and blue feathers, though otherwiſe they are no great beauties. The natives will not ſuffer them to neſt in their houſes; becauſe they found by experience, that their dung upon removal is very apt to take fire, and they ſay that many an unlucky accident happened thereby.

Storks ſtay in the country all the year round.

The beſt falcons are caught in the northern provinces, and are kept more for ſtate than ſport.

Hawks are common here as they are every where in the Eaſt Indies, and a very proud bird; as is alſo a kind of ravens, of a middling ſize, which was firſt brought over from China, as a preſent to the Emperor.

Another ſcarce bird was ſent over from Corea, by way of preſent to the Emperor; and is thence called Coreigaras, that is, a "Corean raven."

Our common European crows, as alſo parrots, and ſome other Indian birds, are not to be met with in Japan.

Foken, or, according to the common dialect, fototenis, is a ſcarce night-bird, of an excellent and delicious taſte, and a diſh only for the tables of people of quality upon extraor-

extraordinary occaſions. The aſhes of this bird calcined, and put into old ſour ſacki, are ſaid to reſtore it to its former taſte and goodneſs.

Miſago, or biſago, is a voracious ſea-bird, of the hawk kind. It preys chiefly upon fiſh. It makes a hole in ſome rock upon the coaſts, where it lays up its prey and proviſion, which is obſerved to keep as well as pickled fiſh, or atſiaar, and is thence called, biſagonoſuſi, or the "biſago's atſiaar." It taſtes very ſalt, and is ſold dear. Whoever knows ſuch a cave can make a good deal of money of it, provided he doth not take out too much at a time.

Mews, ſea-ravens, ſnipes, ſea-pies, ſparrows, ſwallows, and ſome other ſmall birds are as common here as in Europe.

Larks ſing much better here than they do in Europe.

The nightingales, if they have a good voice, are ſold ſometimes to curious people for 20 copangs a-piece. Thus far, what I had to obſerve concerning the birds of this country.

Of flying inſects, the country hath bees, conſequently ſome honey and wax, though but in a ſmall quantity. Humble-bees, waſps, common flies, gnats, fire-flies, ſeveral ſorts of beetles and bugs, as alſo locuſts, and a great variety of other inſects of this tribe, it hath common with Europe, beſides ſome other particular and remarkable ſorts; the chief of which I will here give a ſhort account of.

Among the butterflies there is one very large ſort, called jamma tſio, or the mountain-butterfly. It is either entirely black, or party-coloured, and curiouſly diverſified with white, black, and other ſpots, chiefly upon its forked wings. Komuri is a large, ſpotted, party-coloured, hairy, beautiful night-fly. The ſame name is given alſo to bats. Of beetles, they have ſeveral ſcarce and beautiful kinds. One, in particular, is very large, in ſhape not unlike the dung-fly, ſhining, black, with two crooked and branched horns, one larger, ſtanding over the noſe, after the manner of a rhinoceros's horn, the other ſmaller, ſtanding out on one ſide from the ſhoulder. This animal cannot walk eaſily. It lives chiefly under ground. It is ſcarce, and the natives have as yet given it no name.

A certain kind of brown beetle, called ſebi, and ſometimes ſemi, affords ſeveral curious and remarkable things to the attentive eye of an inquiſitive naturaliſt. They are of three different kinds. The largeſt is called kuma ſebi. It reſembles in ſhape and bigneſs that ſort of flies, which with us in Europe are generally obſerved to fly about in the evening, but it hath no wings. In the ſpring they creep out of the ground (where they have lain in winter-quarters) in the night-time, and faſten themſelves with their ſharp hoary legs to trees, their branches, or leaves, or whatever in their march they can lay hold of. A little while after they burſt, and ſplit their back lengthways, to give room to another fly, not unlike a beetle, which was encloſed within it, though much bigger than the priſon to which it was confined. Some hours after, this ſecond fly flies away with a hurrying noiſe. This curious little animal hath been deſcribed by Geſſner by the name of *Cicada*. Burſting open the ſhell in which it lay, and, at the ſame time, ſpreading out its four wings, it makes a ſharp and loud noiſe, which, they ſay, may be heard (a thing almoſt incredible) very diſtinctly at full an Engliſh mile's diſtance. Woods and mountains are full of the noiſe theſe little creatures make. They diſappear gradually in the dog-days; and it is ſaid, that they creep into the ground again, in order to undergo a new metamorphoſis or change, and to re-appear in the ſame ſtate the next year. How far this agrees with truth, I am not able to determine, for want of proper obſervations. The name ſemmi, or ſebi, which they bear, is borrowed from their muſic, which begins ſlowly and upon a low tune, then

then increaſes gradually in ſwiftneſs and loudneſs, and again ends pretty low. This muſic, I thought, was not unlike the noiſe a button-maker's ſpindle makes in turning. They begin to ſing with the riſing-ſun, and end about noon. The *exuviæ*, called ſemi no mukigara are preſerved for phyſical uſes, and ſold publicly in ſhops both in Japan and China. Another ſmaller kind is from its ſmallneſs called koſebi, or the ſmall ſebi. They appear later in the year, much about the time when the others diſappear. They ſing from noon to ſun-ſet, and live till late in autumn. Their muſic is not near ſo loud as that of the firſt kind, and is by the common people called tſuku tſukuboo. The third kind differs from the ſecond neither in ſhape nor bigneſs, only they ſing from morning to night. The females of all the three kinds are mute, and have their breaſt ſhut: in all other reſpects they are like the males.

The cantharides, or Spaniſh flies, are of the ſame colour with our Spaniſh flies, but ſomewhat bigger and rounder, and very near as big as our common European beetles. Their uſe is entirely unknown in Japan. Another particular ſort of Spaniſh flies is called fanmio. They are extremely cauſtic, and ranked among the poiſons. They are found upon rice-ears, and are long, ſlender, and ſmaller than the Spaniſh flies, blue or gold-coloured, with ſcarlet or crimſon ſpots and lines, which makes them look very beautiful. But the fineſt of all the flying tribe of inſects, and which, by reaſon of its incomparable beauty, is kept by the ladies among their curioſities, is a peculiar and ſcarce night-fly, about a finger long, ſlender, round-bodied, with four wings, two of which are tranſparent and hid under a pair of others, which are ſhining, as it were poliſhed, and moſt curiouſly adorned with blue and golden lines and ſpots. The following fable owes its origin to the unparalleled beauty of this little creature: They ſay that all other night-flies fall in love with it, and to get rid of their importunities it maliciouſly bids them (for a trial of their conſtancy) to go and to fetch fire. The blind lovers ſcruple not to obey commands, and, flying to the next fire or candle, they never fail to burn themſelves to death. The female is not near ſo beautiful as the male, but grey, or aſh-coloured and ſpotted.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of Fiſh and Shells.*

THE ſea, and its productions, contribute full as much towards the ſuſtenance of the natives as the growth of the country, rice only excepted. The ſea all about Japan is plentifully ſtored with all ſorts of ſubmarine plants, fiſh, crabs, and ſhells; of all which there are very few, but what were eat by their indigent anceſtors, and are ſo to this day. There are even many which, in theſe wealthy and refined ages appear upon the ſumptuous tables of people of the higheſt quality. Both fiſh, crabs, and ſhells, are comprehended under one general name, kiokai, or iwokai. In this preſent chapter, which may be looked upon as an introduction to one of the following, wherein I intend to treat of their tables and kitchen, I will ſet down as many of them as came to my knowledge, along with their true Japaneſe names; though it muſt be obſerved in general, that ſeveral of them are found likewiſe in our European and other ſeas.

Of all the animal productions of the Japaneſe ſeas, I know none of ſo extenſive an uſe, for rich and poor, as the kudſuri, or whale. It is caught frequently about Japan, but particularly in the ſea Khumano, which waſhes the ſouthern coaſts of the great iſland Nipon, as alſo about the iſlands Tſuſſima and Goto, and upon the coaſts of Omura and Nomo. The common way of catching them is with darts, or harping-irons, as they do in the Greenland-fiſhery, but the Japaneſe boats ſeem to be fitter for this purpoſe than ours, being ſmall, narrow, tapering into a ſharp point at one end with five

oars, or ten men each, who row them with incredible ſwiftneſs. About 1680, a rich fiſherman in the province Omura, whoſe name was Gitaijo, found out a new way of catching whales with nets made of ſtrong ropes about two inches thick. This method was afterwards followed with good ſucceſs by a countryman in the iſlands of Gotho, whoſe name was Iwonemo. They ſay, that as ſoon as the whale finds his head entangled in a net, he cannot, without great difficulty, ſwim further, and may be very eaſily killed with harpoon-irons after the common manner. The reaſon why this new method, which ſeemed to bid very fair for ſucceſs, hath not been univerſally received is, becauſe it requires a greater and much more expenſive ſet of proper tackle, than common fiſhermen can afford. For whereas the expence of whale-fiſhing after the common manner, ſeldom exceeds 20 cheſts of ſilver, this cannot be ſo much as attempted with a leſs ſum.

There are ſeveral ſorts of whales, which differ in their names, ſhape, and bigneſs. 1. Sebio is the chief, and indeed the largeſt fiſh of the whale-kind. It affords moſt train oil, and its fleſh is very good and wholeſome, ſo far that fiſhermen and the common people attribute their good ſtate of health, amidſt all the injuries of cold and weather, which they are continually expoſed to, chiefly to their eating this fleſh. 2. Awo ſangi, commonly kokadſura, that is a ſmall whale, is grey or aſh-coloured, ſmaller than the ſebio, from which it alſo differs ſomething in ſhape. 3. Nagaſs, is commonly twenty to thirty fathoms long, and hath this particular, that he can ſtay under water for two or three hours, during which time he can travel a vaſt way, whereas other whales muſt continually come up to the ſurface of the water for freſh ſupplies of air. 4. Sotoo-kadſura, that is, the whale of blind people, ſo called from the figure of a bijwu, or a ſort of a lute, which blind people in this country uſe to play upon, which is ſaid to be naturally repreſented on its back. It is not a very large ſort, and ſeldom exceeds ten fathoms in length. It is caught frequently about Japan, but the fleſh is reckoned unwholeſome food, being, as they ſay, too hot, and occaſioning coughs, fevers, eruptions on the ſkin, and ſometimes the ſmall-pox. It is brought to market with other fiſh, and ſold for the fleſh of the ſebio, but thoſe who know it will never buy it. 5. Mako never exceeds three or four fathoms in length. This ſame name is given to the young ones of the other kinds. That which I here ſpeak of is caught frequently upon the eaſtern coaſts of Japan, as alſo upon the coaſts of Kijnokuni and Satzuma. Ambergris is found in the inteſtines of this whale. The head yields a ſmall quantity of train-oil. 6. Iwaſikura, that is, ſardin's-eater, hath a tail and fins like common fiſh. We ſaw this ſort when we went up to court, between Caminoſeki and Simonoſeki; and I took it to be that fiſh which the Dutch call noord caper. Of all theſe ſeveral kinds of whales nothing is thrown away as uſeleſs, excepting only the large ſhoulder-bone. The ſkin, which is black in moſt kinds; the fleſh which is red and looks like beef; the inteſtines, which, from their remarkable length, are called ſiakſiro, that is, "an hundred fathoms long," and all the inward parts are eat, pickled, boiled, roaſted, or fried. The fat, or blubber, is boiled into train-oil, and even the ſediments of the ſecond boiling are eat. The bones, ſuch as are of a cartilaginous ſubſtance, are boiled when freſh, and eat, or ſcraped, cleaned and dried for the uſe of the kitchen. Out of the nervous and tendinous parts, both white and yellow, they make cords and ropes, chiefly for their cotton manufactures, as alſo for their muſical inſtruments. Not even the garbage is thrown away, but kept for ſome uſe in the kitchen. Several little things are made of the jaw-bones, fins, and other bones, which are of a more ſolid ſubſtance; particularly their fine ſteelyards for weighing gold and ſilver are made of them, and have borrowed their name from thence.

Satſifoko

Satfifoko is a fifh two, three, and fometimes five to fix fathoms long, with two long teeth or tufks, ftanding out of the mouth upwards, which are fometimes, by way of ornament, put at the top of caftles, temples, and public buildings. I was informed by fifhermen, that this fifh is a cunning and mortal enemy of whales, and that he kills them by creeping into the mouth, and devouring their tongues. He hath a way, as he creeps in, to put his head and teeth into fuch a poflure, that they are no hindrance to him.

Iruku is a known fifh, called tenije in the Indies: furube is another fifh, not very large: the Dutch call him blazer, which fignifies blower, becaufe he can blow and fwell himfelf up into the form of a round ball. He is ranked among the poifonous fifh, and if eat whole, is faid unavoidably to occafion death. There are three different forts of it found in the Japanefe feas, all in great plenty. The firft fort called fufume-buka is fmall, and feldom eat. The fecond is called mabuku, that is the true buku. This the Japanefe reckon a very delicate fifh, and they are very fond of it. But the head, guts, bones, and all the garbage muft be thrown away, and the flefh carefully waflied and cleaned before it is fit to eat. And yet many people die of it, for want, as they fay, of thoroughly waflhing and cleaning it. People that by fome long and tedious ficknefs are grown weary of their lives, or are otherwife under miferable circumftances, frequently chufe this poifonous fifh, inftead of a knife or halter, to make away with themfelves. A neighbour of my fervant at Nangafaki being fo ftrongly infected with the pox, that his nofe was ready to drop off, refolved to take this meal, in order to get rid at once both of his life and diftemper. Accordingly he bought a good quantity of this poifonous fifh, cut it into pieces, boiled it, and in order as he thought, to make the poifon ftill ftronger, he took foot from the thatched roof of his houfe, and mixed it with the reft. After dinner he laid himfelf down to die, and foon falling mortally fick, he brought up not only the poifon he had taken, but a large quantity of vifcid, fharp, nafty matter, probably not the leaft caufe of his diftemper, and by this means found life and health, in what he fought for death; for he recovered and was well afterwards. A few years ago five perfons of Nagafaki having eat a difh of this fifh, fainted foon after dinner, grew convulfive and delirious, and fell into fuch a violent fpitting of blood, as made an end of their lives in a few days. And yet the Japanefe would not deprive themfelves of a difh fo delicate in their opinion, for all they have fo many inftances of how fatal and dangerous a confequence it is to eat it. Soldiers only and military men, are by fpecial command of the Emperor forbid to buy and to eat this fifh. If any one dies of it, his fon forfeits the fucceffion to his father's poft, which otherwife he would have been entitled to. It is fold much dearer than common fifh, and not eat, but when freih. The third fort is called Kitamakura, which fignifies north cufhion. I could not learn the reafon of this appellation. The fame name is given to a perfon that fleeps with his head turned to the north. The poifon of this fort is abfolutely mortal, no waflhing nor cleaning will take it off. It is therefore never afked for, but by thofe who intend to make away with themfelves.

The fea-horfe, or fea-dog, and, as the Germans call him, Wafferbauch, is a very fingular fifh, much about the length of a boy of ten years of age, without either fcales or fins, with a large head, mouth and breaft, a large thin belly like a bag, which will hold a large quantity of water. He hath thin fharp teeth in the chops much like a fnake. The inner parts are fo minute that they are fcarce vifible. He hath two flat cartilaginous feet with fingers, not unlike the hands of a child, under the belly, by the means of which, he creeps, in all likelihood, or walks at the bottom of the fea.

All his parts are eat, none excepted. He is caught frequently in the gulf of Jedo, between Kamakura and that capital, where I ſaw him brought to market.

Tai, is what the Dutch in the Indies call ſteenbraſſem. This is very much eſteemed by the Japaneſe as the king of fiſh, and a peculiar emblem of happineſs, partly becauſe he is ſacred to their Jebis, or Neptune, partly by reaſon of a beautiful variety of ſhining colours, which appear on him when under water. It is a very ſcarce fiſh, not unlike a carp, and finely variegated with red and white. The female hath ſome red ſpots. It is ſo ſcarce, that upon ſome great entertainment at court, or other extraordinary occaſions, it is not to be had under a thouſand cobangs. Another ſort of this fiſh is called kharo tai, or black ſteenbraſſem, from the colour. This is not near ſo much eſteemed, and is caught frequently about Saikoki.

Suſuki, is what the Germans call kahlkopf, that is, baldhead. Funa is a fiſh not unlike a carp, and much commended for its medicinal virtues, chiefly againſt worms. A larger kind of the ſame is called Najos. Mebaar is a red-coloured fiſh, in bigneſs and ſhape not unlike a carp, or ſteenbraſſem, with the eyes ſtanding out of the head like two balls. It is caught every where in great plenty, and is the common food of poor people. Koi is another ſort of it, which alſo reſembles a carp, and is ſometimes one ſackf and a half long. This ſort is caught in rivers, chiefly about water-falls, againſt which they endeavour to ſwim. They are ſo ſtrong that two men can hardly hold them. They are exported all over the empire, freſh and pickled. They take ſome in the lake of Saifa, or Tenſiu, which are four ſakf long. Maar, the ſalmon, is taken in rivers and freſh water lakes. Itojori is a ſalmonat, or ſmall ſalmon. Makuts, is what the Dutch call harder. Sawara, a king's-fiſh. Fiuwo is what the Dutch call draatviſh. Ara is what the Dutch in the Indies call Jacob's ewertz. Kuſuna, a ſhort noſe. Kamas, a pike. Suſuki is the ſchaarviſh of the Dutch, only a longer and narrower ſort. Adſi is the maaſbancker of the Dutch. Of this there are ſeveral different kinds, the chief and largeſt whereof is called ooadſi. Taka is what the Dutch call a kaye. Kame, and takaſame, are rays, of the hard ſkins of which they make caſes and other curious things in Japan. The ſkin of this fiſh is imported alſo from Siam, where it is found much finer. Jeje is a broad flat fiſh, with a long tail. There is one ſort of it, which hath a ſmall horny or bony ſting at the end of the tail, which the Dutch in the Indies call pijlſtaart. The Japaneſe believe, that this ſting taken from a live fiſh is an infallible remedy againſt the bite of ſnakes, rubbing the bitten part with it. For this reaſon they carry it along with them among other houſe medicines. Come, or jei, are ſoles, and karei, bots or bruts. Bora is a fiſh much like a pike, with a white and delicious fleſh. Some call him ſongaats fiſh, becauſe he is taken in the Songaats, or firſt month of the Japaneſe year. They pickle and ſmoke them, as they do pikes at Bremen. Theſe and all pickled fiſh in general, are called karaſumi. They export them from Nagaſaki and Nomo, where they are frequently caught, and carry them to Jedo, and into ſeveral other parts of the empire, tied to ſtraw-ropes, ten to a rope. They are exported by the Dutch and Chineſe. Other fiſh made into Karaſſumi are valued but little by the natives. The beſt ſort of the Katſumo fiſh is caught about Gotho. They cut this fiſh into four pieces, which they dry by degrees over the damp of hot boiling water, and bring it upon the table along with the liquors. The Dutch export it by the name of comblomaas, which however is not the true name. Managatſuwo is a flat fiſh, not unlike a but, with one eye on each ſide. Sake, perhaps a ſort of cablian, is a pickled fiſh, not unlike cod. It is imported from the country of Jeſo, and hath borrowed its name from its ſmell, which is not unlike the ſmell of their ſake beer. Tara is a ſort of cod, imported from the

northern provinces; the beſt of the kind comes from Tſioſijn, whence it is called tſioſijn tara. Sajori, is what the inhabitants of Nagaſaki call ſuſumoiwo, and the Dutch naadelviſh, which ſignifies needle-fiſh. It is a ſmall fiſh, not above a ſpan long, thin, with a row of ſharp, long prickles along the back. Tobiwo is what the Dutch call a ſpringer, (flying-fiſh) becauſe it leaps out of the water. The Japaneſe one ſeldom exceeds a foot in length, and is very delicious, but rarely taken. Iwas, is the ſardin; kiſſugo, the ſmelt, or ſand-ſmelt. Jeſo, by the Dutch called ſandkruper, is a middling fiſh, between a ſmelt and an eel. Saba are mackrels. Ai, or ai-no-iwo, by the Dutch called modeviſh, is a freſh-water fiſh, not above a ſpan long, ſwimming with ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs. Sijroiwo, is what the Dutch call kleiner ſtind: they alſo call him weiſſviſh, that is white fiſh. He is caught in the ſpring about the mouths of rivers. Konoſijro, called by the Dutch faſſap, is a ſort of herring, not unlike the Swediſh ſtrohmlings. Kingjo, the gold-fiſh, is a ſmall fiſh, ſeldom exceeding a finger in length, red, with a beautiful ſhining, yellow or gold-coloured tail, which in the young ones is rather black. In China and Japan, and almoſt all over the Indies, this fiſh is kept in ponds, and fed with flies before their wings come out. Another kind hath a ſilver-coloured tail. Unagi is the common eel. Oounagi is another ſort of eels much larger than the common. Jaatzme unagi, that is, an eel with eight eyes, is what is called in Germany neunaug, that is, nine-eye, or an eel with nine eyes. Doodſio is by the Dutch called puyt aal. It is a fiſh about a finger long, with a very large head in proportion to the body, found frequently in watery rice-fields and muddy ponds. They are of two different kinds, the one with, the other without a beard. They have a notion, that they may be brought forth artificially out of ſtraw cut, and mixed with mud and dirt, and expoſed to the heat of the ſun early in the morning. Fammo, by the Dutch called conger aal, is larger than a common eel, which it reſembles, when under water, but ſlenderer.

Ika is a common ſea-qualm. Both the Chineſe and Japaneſe eſteem it a ſcarce and delicate bit. Fiſh alſo are eaſier caught with the fleſh of this qualm than with any other bait. Jako or Sepia, is another ſea-qualm, with long tails or feet, at the end whereof are, as it were, ſmall hooks, wherewith the creature faſtens itſelf to rocks, or the bottom of the ſea. It is a common ſoccano or ſide-diſh, and eat either freſh, boiled or pickled. There are two ſorts of kuragge, which is alſo of the ſea-qualm kind. One is called midſukurage, that is, the white qualm. This is common in all ſeas, whitiſh, tranſparent, watery, and not fit to eat. The other is ſcarcer, fleſhy, and eatable after it had been prepared and deprived of its ſharpneſs. It is prepared after the following manner. They firſt macerate them in a diſſolution of alum for three days together, then they rub, waſh and clean it, till it grows tranſparent, which done, it is pickled and preſerved for uſe. Before the infuſion, the ſkin is taken off, waſhed, pickled, and kept by itſelf. Some of theſe ſea-qualms are ſo large, that two men can ſcarce lift them up. Pickled, as they are brought upon the table, they are of the ſame ſubſtance, colour and taſte with the edible birds neſts, (Nidi alcyonum) brought from China, and I have been credibly informed by Chineſe fiſhermen, that theſe birds neſts are made of the very fleſh of this animal.

Namako, by the Dutch at Batavia called kafferkull, is edible. Imori is a ſmall venomous water-lizard, black, with a red belly. Takanomakura, which is as much as to ſay, the pillow of the ſea-qualm tako, is the common ſea-ſtar, and is not eat.

Of all the footed animal produce of the water, the ki, or came, tortoiſes, are moſt eſteemed by the Japaneſe, being looked upon as peculiar emblems of happineſs, by reaſon of the long life which is aſcribed to them. That kind particularly, which hath a broad

a broad tail, much like a large round beard, and which in their learned language is called mooke, and by the common people minogame, for all it doth not exiſt in nature, is yet frequently to be ſeen among other emblematical figures, wherewith they adorn the walls of their temples, the ſides of their altars, and the apartments of the Emperor and Princes of the empire. The moſt common tortoiſes are, iſicame, or ſanki, that is, the ſtone, or mountain tortoiſe, which is ſo called becauſe found in theſe places, and is nothing elſe but the common land-tortoiſe. Io game, or doo game, that is filthy, or water-tortoiſe, becauſe of its living in the water. They ſay, that upon the ſouthern and eaſtern coaſts of Japan there are found tortoiſes large enough to cover a man from head to toe.

All ſorts of crabs and ſhrimps both of freſh and ſalt water, are called in general jebi. The following particular kinds are come to my knowledge. Jebiſako is the common ſmall crab, which is found in great plenty upon the coaſts of the Baltic. Sako ſignifies all ſorts of ſmall fiſh in general. Si jebi differ but little from the common crabs, no more than what they call dakma jebi, excepting only, that the latter are caught in freſh water, and will within a year turn black. Kuruma jebi is as much as to ſay wheel-crabs; they are ſo called from the figure of their tail. Umi jebi, that is, great crabs or lobſters, are commonly a foot long. They are boiled, then cut into ſmall pieces, and brought upon the table, as a ſoccana or ſide-diſh. Care muſt be taken not to eat their black tail, becauſe it hath been obſerved, that it gives people the belly-ach, or throws them into a *cholera morbus*. Siakwa is a crab with a broad tail, which is caught frequently with other ſmall fiſh. It hath but little fleſh, and almoſt none at the time of the full moon. All the teſtaceous and cruſtaceous animals, which are found in theſe ſeas, and indeed every where in the Indian ocean beyond the eaſtern ſhores of the Ganges, are obſerved to be fleſhier and fuller at the time of the new moon, contrary to what happens in our European ſeas. Gamina, otherwiſe koona, is a crab, which lives in a beautiful ſhell, diverſified with various colours; (this is what the Engliſh call ſoldiers crab, freſh-water ſoldier, hermit crab, becauſe they live in other people's quarters); kani, which ſignifies pocket crab, is our common European freſh-water crab. It bears the name of the whole tribe of the freſh-water crabs. Kabutogani, or unkiu, is a crab of a ſingular ſtructure, with a ſharp, long, ſerrated prickle or ſword, ſtanding out from the head, and a roundiſh, ſmooth back. Gadſame is no bigger than the common crab, with the upper ſhell tapering into a point on both ſides. It hath four claws, two large ones before, and two behind, which are ſmaller. Simagani, that is a ſtriated pocket crab. It might be called wart-crab, from the great number of warts and prickles, which cover the ſhell all over, the hind claws only excepted, which are ſmooth and almoſt cylindrical. They are caught frequently upon the eaſtern coaſts, as alſo in the gulf of Suruga. Some of this ſort are incredibly large. I bought one of the hind claws at Suruga in a cook-ſhop, which was as long, and full as big as a man's ſhin-bone.

All ſorts of oyſters, muſcles and ſhells, of which there is a great plenty and ſurpriſing variety in the Japaneſe ſeas, are eat, none excepted, raw, pickled, ſalted, boiled, or fryed. They are daily gathered on the coaſts in low water. Divers dive for them to a conſiderable depth; others fiſh them with nets. The following ſorts are the moſt common and beſt known: awabi, which I have already mentioned, when I ſpoke of the pearls of this country, is an open univalve, as big as a middle-ſized Perſian pearl-ſhell, but deeper. They lie deep under water, ſticking faſt to rocks, or to the bottom of the ſea, from whence they are taken up by fiſhermen's wives, they being the beſt divers of the country. They go down armed with darts or long knifes, to defend themſelves againſt kayes and porpoiſes, and when they ſee an awabi, they pull it off ſuddenly

ſuddenly before the animal is aware, becauſe otherwiſe it would faſten itſelf to the rocks, or to the bottom of the ſea, ſo ſtrongly, that no force would be ſtrong enough to tear it off. This ſhell is filled with a large piece of fleſh of a yellowiſh or whitiſh colour, and a very tough ſubſtance, though without fibres. They ſay it was the common food of their neceſſitous anceſtors, in memory whereof, when they entertain company at dinner, they always provide a diſh of it. It is alſo become a cuſtom with them, as well among the vulgar as among people of quality, that when they ſend one another preſents of money, cloth, ſtuffs, fruits, or any thing elſe, a ſtring, or at leaſt a ſmall bit, of the dried fleſh of this ſhell is ſent along with them, as a good omen, and in order to put them in mind of the indigency of their forefathers. The fleſh is cut into thin ſlices or ſtrings, which are extended on a board, and dried. A large pearl is found ſometimes in this ſhell, but of an ugly yellowiſh colour, a deformed ſhape, and of no value. Tairagi is a flat, long, thin, and very large bivalve, almoſt tranſparent, near of a triangular figure, running from a large baſe tapering into a point. The animal is tied faſt to both ſides of the ſhell with a ſtrong tendon. The beſt of the kind are found in the gulf of Arima, where it ſometimes yields pearls. Akoja is a flat bivalve, about a hand broad, ſcaly on its outward ſurface, and of a very ugly appearance, within of an exquiſite mother of pearl glimmering. The beſt of the kind, and which yield the fineſt pearls, are found in the gulf of Omura. Mirakai is the common black freſh water muſcle, which is found alſo in our rivers and lakes in Germany. Famaguri, are bivalves much of the ſame ſhape and bigneſs, but thicker, ſmooth and white within, without of a brown or cheſnut colour. Divers curious figures are painted on the inſide, and they ſerve as an amuſement to the court of the Dairi, or Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperor, who play with them after the following manner. Large heaps are thrown on the ground, and every one of the company having taken his portion, he wins that can ſhew the moſt pairs. Every pair hath proper hooks, by the means of which they are eaſily known, and brought together, though never ſo much mixed. The beſt are gathered and in greateſt plenty upon the coaſts of Quano. Sidſimi is a ſmall bivalve not unlike the Famaguri, but thinner, and is found ſticking in mud. Katſi or utſikaki, are oyſters. The oyſters found about Japan are deformed, rough, ſtony, growing together, and to rocks. There are chiefly two ſorts, one remarkably large, the other ſmaller. The beſt and largeſt are found in great plenty in the gulf of Kamakura. Kiſa, or Akagai, is alſo a bivalve, white without, with deep furrows, running as it were parallel to each other, within of a reddiſh colour. They fix a handle to this ſhell, and uſe it in the kitchen inſtead of a ſpoon, or pail. Nakatagai is a large, ugly, roundiſh, ſtriated and black ſhell. Aſari, is a ſmall thin ſhell, grey or aſh coloured. Te or matee, is an oblong thin bivalve, gaping at both ends. The animal that lives within it is reckoned very delicious. Umi take is another bivalve, much of the ſame kind, about a ſpan long, and ſo big, that one can ſcarce graſp it between the thumb and fore-finger. Its fleſh is pickled and kept for uſe. This ſhell is found only upon the coaſts of Tſikungo, where, by expreſs order of the Prince of that country, it is forbid to fiſh them, till a ſufficient quantity hath been provided for the Emperor's own table. Takaragai, called in the Indies cowers, are brought from the Maldive and other iſlands, and imported into Bengala, Pegu, and Siam, where they go for current money. Thoſe found about Japan are of different ſorts. The beſt are brought from the Riuku Iſlands, and are the chief ingredient of their white cheek varniſh. Safai is a large, thick, odoriferous, turbinated univalve, white and prickled. Its mouth is ſhut cloſe, with a flat, thick covering, of operculum, of a ſtony ſubſtance, rough, on the outſide not unlike the lapis judaicus, only ſharper and ſmooth. Niſi is an univalve

much of the ſame ſhape, but larger, and hath not near ſo good a fleſh. Both can faſten themſelves very cloſe to rocks, and the bottom of the ſea, like the awabi. Common people make uſe of the ſhell inſtead of pots to ſpit in. Tanniſi are the common black land ſnails, gathered for food in muddy rice fields. They have their mouth ſhut, with an oblong almoſt ſtony operculum. Bai is a ſnail in a common oblong, turbinated white ſhell. Ras or mina is another of the ſame kind, but black and ſmaller. Both are gathered on the ſhore in low water. Kabuto is a ſmall, oval, not turbinated univalve. Another ſmall turbinated univalve is called ſugai.

CHAP. IX. — *Names of the Gods, Demi-Gods and Emperors, who are mentioned in the Japaneſe Hiſtories, as the firſt Monarchs and Governors of that Empire.*

THE better to underſtand the opinion of the Japaneſe about the original ſtate of their country (which formerly they looked upon as the only inhabited part of the earth,) and the ſucceſſion of their Emperors and Monarchs down to this preſent time, I have thought fit to divide the hiſtory and chronology of this empire into three æras, a fabulous, a doubtful, and a certain.

The firſt and fabulous epocha of the Japaneſe government reaches far beyond the time of the creation, as fixed in ſacred writs. Japan, they ſay, was during that period of time, governed by a ſucceſſion (or rather evolution) of ſeven celeſtial ſpirits or gods, which are by them called Ten Dſin Sitzi Dai, that is, "the ſeven great celeſtial ſpirits," each of which reigned an immenſe, but undetermined number of years. The hiſtory of the Japaneſe gods is full of ſtrange wonderful adventures, and great bloody wars, which are ſaid to have happened in this firſt age of the Japaneſe world. The two chronological authors, whom I have followed in writing this hiſtory, barely mention their names, as alſo that the three firſt were not married, but that their four ſucceſſors had each his wife, as a companion of his government, whoſe names are likewiſe ſet down. Of this firſt ſucceſſion of gods, I have had already occaſion to ſpeak more amply in the ſeventh chapter of the firſt book, wherein I treated of the origin of the Japaneſe nation according to the opinion of the natives. I muſt therefore refer the reader to that chapter, and beg leave here to repeat, that the laſt of this firſt ſucceſſion, Iſanagi Mikotto, having carnally known his wife and goddeſs Iſanami Mikotto, begot a ſecond race of demi-gods or god-men, who ſucceeded the firſt in the government of Japan, and being five in number are thence called,

Dſi Sin Go Dai, that is, "the five great terreſtrial gods," or monarchs. They reigned in the following order.

1. Ten Se O Dai Sin, eldeſt ſon and heir of Iſanagi Mikotto, for whoſe memory, and that of his brethren and poſterity, the Japaneſe ſtill poſſeſs a moſt profound reſpect and veneration. He is ſaid to have reigned 250,000 years. China, they ſay, was during his reign governed by Ten Kwo Si, to whom they alſo attribute a long and fabulous government, and further mention, that three deſcendants of his family ſucceſſively ruled the empire of China.

2. Oſiwo Ni no Mikotto, lived and reigned in all 300,000 years. During his reign, and during the reign of his ſucceſſor, to the beginning of that of the fourth Japaneſe Dſi Sin, Sat Teiki governed the empire of China.

3. Ni ni ki no Mikotto reigned 318,533 years. During his whole reign Saitei Ki was Emperor of China.

4. Fiko Oo Demi no Mikotto reigned 637,892 years. China was then governed by the Emperor Katſura Kaki, who was ſucceeded by five Princes of his family.

5. The

5. The fifth and laſt of theſe demi-gods was Fuki Awa ſe dſu no Mikotto. He reigned 836,042 years, ſo that the whole ſpace of time, during which this race of god-men governed Japan, takes in 2,342,467 years. This is all the Japaneſe know of the ancient ſtate and government of their empire, a tradition, which ſome of the wiſer people, even among them, are very ſenſible, is liable to great doubts and uncertainties, if not entirely fabulous and chimerical. However all, without exception, profeſs a peculiar veneration for Iſanagi and his conſort Iſanami, as being the progenitors of their nation, and, if I may be allowed thus to expreſs myſelf, their Adam and Eve. The right which the family of the Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperors claims to the crown and government of Japan, and which they have enjoyed free and undiſturbed during a ſucceſſion of many ages, is grounded upon a lineal deſcent from Ten Seo Dai Sin, Iſanagi's firſt-born ſon and heir, from his eldeſt ſon, and ſo down. There is hardly a town, or village, throughout the empire but what hath one or more temples erected to his memory, and the place of his reſidence, which is ſaid to have been in the province Isje, is held ſo ſacred, that, at certain times of the year, people of all ranks and qualities reſort thither in pilgrimage. Thus much of this firſt and fabulous epocha of the Japaneſe government, of which I have treated more at large in the above mentioned ſeventh chapter of the firſt book.

I proceed now to the ſecond and doubtful æra. It is little known what was the ſtate of theſe countries, and the way of life of the inhabitants, from the beginning of the creation (when, according to the deſcription of that great law-giver Moſes, the Supreme Being called this globe of our earth out of nothing, and formed it by his infinite power into a ſtate altogether becoming his divine goodneſs and wiſdom,) to the time of their firſt monarch Sin Mu Ten Oo, whoſe reign comes down pretty low, and within 660 years of our Saviour's nativity. It is highly probable, that in thoſe early times they lived up and down the country diſperſed in hordes, (as do to this day the Scythian inhabitants of the Great Tartary) ſeparate from the reſt of the world by a rocky tempeſtuous ſea, which encompaſſes their iſlands, being as yet in a ſtate of nature and freedom, without a ſettled form of government, and deſtitute of arts and ſciences. The neighbouring empire of China was already grown very powerful, arts and ſciences flouriſhed there, and were by the Chineſe brought over likewiſe into Japan. It was owing to this, that the Japaneſe became in time polite and civilized; and it is not unlikely, that, in imitation of their neighbours, by whom they were imbued with notions of a monarchical government, they ſubmitted with more cheerfulneſs, when Sin Mu Ten Oo began to reign over them; the rather, as this Prince was deſcended of a family ſo much beloved, and eſteemed ſo ſacred among them. In the mean time, that ſo conſiderable a period of time ſhould not remain empty in their chronological books, they have filled up the vacancy with the names of the moſt eminent monarchs who, after the demiſe of Katſurakuki,, and the five deſcendants of his family, ſat on the throne of China.

The firſt Chineſe Emperor mentioned in this ſecond æra is Fuki, and with his full title Tai Ko Fuki, (the Chineſe pronounce it Fohi.) This Prince had, according to ſome, the body, and according to others, the head of a ſerpent, with a moſt ſublime underſtanding. He diſcovered the motions of the heavens, and the twelve celeſtial ſigns, and divided the time into years and months. He invented, beſides, many other uſeful arts and ſciences, and communicated them to the world for the common benefit of mankind. The Chineſe make him their firſt Emperor, and the founder of their monarchy; and many among them pretend, that from his reign down to this preſent age, they can ſhew an accurate hiſtory of their empire, and a true chronological ſucceſſion of their Emperors, which before his time had been very doubtful and fabulous.

But if, according to one of my Japaneſe hiſtorians, he began to reign 20,446 years before Synmu, or 21,106 before Chriſt, that is, many thouſand years before the creation, he cannot be allowed a place in this ſecond æra, but ought to be rejected into the firſt and fabulous one. My other chronological author, with more probability, puts the beginning of his reign in the year before Synmu, 2928, which is the year before Chriſt 3588, or, according to Petavius, 396 years after the creation. He reigned, according to one author 110, and according to the other 115 years. I think it neceſſary here to acquaint the reader, that having found the latter author in many inſtances more accurate, I choſe to follow him preferably to the firſt. The Rev. Father Couplet, in the Preface to his Chronological Tables, puts the beginning of the reign of Fohi in the year before Chriſt 2953, which comes 520 nearer our Saviour's nativity; being juſt that ſpace of time during which Xinum, and the ſeven deſcendants of his family, whom he omits, ſat on the throne of China.

The ſecond Chineſe Emperor was Sin Noo, (the Chineſe pronounce it Xin Num, or Sijnnum,) and with his full title, Jen Tei Sin Noo Si. Some authors begin the chronology of the Chineſe empire with the reign of this Emperor. He came to the throne in the year before Synmu, 2549, which is the year before Chriſt 3209, or, according to Petavius's chronology, 775 years after the creation. This illuſtrious Prince, like another Egyptian Serapis, taught mankind agriculture, and thoſe arts which relate to the ſupport of our life. For this reaſon, he is by ſome repreſented with the head of an ox; by others, only with two horns placed on his forehead. He alſo diſcovered the virtues of ſeveral plants, and communicated them to the world in a treatiſe he wrote on this ſubject, which was doubtleſs the firſt herbal that ever was written. His picture is held in high eſteem among the Chineſe. The phyſicians particularly have it hung up in one of the beſt apartments of their houſes, with a plant or leaf in his mouth, on which he ſmells. He reigned 140 years, and was ſucceeded by ſeven deſcendants of his family, who reigned 380 years; ſo that the empire continued in this family 520 years.

After the demiſe of the laſt Emperor of the family of Xin Num, Kwo Tei, (or, according to the Chineſe, Hoam Ti,) and with his full title Hon Tei Juu Hin Si, came to the crown. The Chineſe hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that this Prince reigned in China. Thoſe who call the exiſtence of the preceding reigns in queſtion, begin the hiſtory and chronology of the Chineſe empire with the reign of Hoam Ti. He began to reign in the year before Synmu 2029, before Chriſt 2689, or, according to Father Couplet, whom Dr. Mentzelius accurately follows, 2697. He was but eleven years old when he came to the crown. During his minority the empire was governed by wiſe and prudent councillors, who took great care to give the young monarch an education becoming ſo great a Prince, and to inſtruct him in all the uſeful arts and ſciences then known. The Chineſe ſtand indebted to this Emperor for the art of feeling the pulſe, which he learnt himſelf from his tutors, and afterwards commanded that it ſhould be publiſhed to the world. He reigned 100, and lived 111 years. He was ſucceeded by five deſcendants of his family, in which the empire continued 313 years.

Of the five Princes, Hoam Ti's ſucceſſors, Tei Gio, or, according to the Chineſe pronunciation, Ti Jao, was the moſt illuſtrious. He was a great ſeſin, that is, a man incomparably well verſed in occult arts and ſciences. He was alſo a very virtuous Prince, and a true father of his country. His death was univerſally lamented by all his ſubjects, who went into mourning for three years. He came to the crown in the year before Synmu 1697, before Chriſt 2357. He reigned 72 years, and died under the reign of his ſucceſſor, in the 118th year of his age. Though he had twelve children,

ten ſons and two daughters, yet he delivered the crown and government of the empire to an honeſt and wiſe huſbandman, to whom he married his two daughters.

Tei Sijun, otherwiſe Gu, and according to the Chineſe, Ju Ti Sijun, or Ju Ti Xun, was Ti Jao's ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor. He reigned eight-and-twenty years with Ti Jao, and thirty-three alone, in all ſixty-one. My author puts the beginning of his reign in the year before Synmu, 1634, which is the year before Chriſt 2294. During his reign a great deluge happened in China, which overflowed many provinces, and drowned great numbers of the inhabitants. The country continued under water in ſome parts for ſeveral years after.

Uu, and with his full title, Katewu, that is, Emperor Uu, of the family Ka, or, as the Chineſe pronounce it, Ju of the family Hia, reigned ſeventeen years with the Emperor Tei Sjun, and ten years after his death, in all twenty-ſeven years. He was crowned in the year before Synmu 1573, before Chriſt 2233. This Emperor cauſed canals and ſluices to be cut, to convey the waters, which overflowed great part of China under the reign of his predeceſſor, down to the ſea. By this means deep rivers aroſe, and the country was freed from the floods. He lived an hundred years, and was ſucceeded by eleven deſcendants of his family, who reigned 431 years, ſo that the crown remained in this family 458 years. The laſt of this family was famous for his uncommon ſtrength; but he very much tyrannized his ſubjects, and lived with ſuch a profuſeneſs, that he cauſed a lake to be dug by two thouſand men, and to be filled with Chineſe beer. He is ſaid alſo to have built a tower of gold and precious ſtones for one of his miſtreſſes. He was depoſed and baniſhed in the fifty-ſecond year of his age.

Sioo Sei Too, that is, King Too of the family of Sjoo, or, as the Chineſe pronounce it, King Tam of the family of Ksjam, came to the crown in the year before Synmu 1106, before Chriſt 1766, being then eighty-ſeven years old. He reigned thirteen years, and died in the hundredth year of his age. During his reign there was a great famine in China, which laſted ſeven years, like that famous Egyptian famine mentioned in holy writ. He was ſucceeded by twenty-ſeven Princes of his family, who reigned in all 631 years, ſo that the empire remained in this family for 644 years. The laſt Emperor of this family was a great tyrant, for which reaſon the Princes his ſubjects raiſed war and rebellion againſt him; and having reduced him to great ſtraits, he ſet fire to his palace, and burnt himſelf with his family and domeſtics, leaving the empire to the conqueror.

Siu no Bu O, that is, Emperor Bu of the family of Siu, or, according to the Chineſe, Uu Vam of the family Sjeu, who came to the crown 462 years before Synmu, and 1122 before Chriſt. He reigned ſeven years, and was ſucceeded by thirty-ſeven deſcendants of his family, in which the empire continued, according to the Japaneſe hiſtories, 868 years, that is, to the year before Chriſt 255, and 206 years after Synmu. Under Soowoo, and according to the Chineſe pronunciation, Sjoovam, the fourth Emperor of this family, in the twenty-ſecond year of his reign, which was the year before Synmu 367, before Chriſt 1027, upon the eighth day of the fourth month, was born in India the great heathen prophet Siaka; who for his incomparable qualities was afterwards called Fo, or Fotoge, that is, "the God," and by the Chineſe, Sitsjun, that is, "the great and perfect." His doctrine was ſoon ſpread by his diſciples into ſeveral parts of the Eaſt Indies. He died ſeventy-nine years old, in the year before Synmu 289, before Chriſt 949. Thus far what I had to obſerve concerning the ſecond, and doubtful æra, of the Japaneſe.

CHAP. X. — *Of the Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperors of Japan in general; of their Succeſſion, Reſidence, and Court; as alſo of the Chronology of the Japaneſe.*

THE third and laſt epocha of the Japaneſe monarchy, which is that of their Oo Dai Sin Oo, or Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperors, begins with the year before Chriſt 660; being the ſeventeenth year of the reign of the Chineſe Emperor Kaiwo, or, as the Chineſe pronounce it, Huivam, (who was the ſeventeenth Emperor of the family of Sjeu). From that time to the year of Chriſt 1693, one hundred and fourteen Emperors, all of the ſame family, ſat ſucceſſively on the throne of Japan. They value themſelves extremely upon being the eldeſt branch of the family of Tenſio Dai Sin, that moſt ſacred founder of the Japaneſe nation, and the lineal iſſue of his firſt-born ſon, and ſo down. Uncommon reſpect, and a more than human veneration, is, on this account, paid them by their ſubjects and countrymen. But before I proceed to the Hiſtory of their ſucceſſion, lives, and actions, it will not be amiſs to give ſome preliminary account of their ſacred perſons, and court; as alſo of the chronology of the empire, whereby the ſucceſſion of the Emperors muſt be calculated.

And here it muſt be obſerved, in the firſt place, that the Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Monarchs, though they are heirs of the throne and government of their divine predeceſſors, yet they have not inherited the title of Mikotto; a title which is ſacred only to the divine and half divine beings of the firſt and ſecond ſucceſſion. They are called Mikaddo, (which is a diminutive of Mikotto,) as alſo Dai, and Oo, and Kwo and Tai, all which ſignify an Emperor, a Prince, and great Lord. They are likewiſe called Tenſin, that is, "Sons of Heaven;" and many more titles of the like nature have been given them. In common converſation they are frequently called Dairi, which name properly denotes their whole court; on which account alſo he is ſometimes called Kintſiuſama, that is, the Head, or Lord of the Eccleſiaſtical Court. When he ſpeaks of himſelf he aſſumes the title of Tſin, and when he ſigns, that of Maro.

But to come nearer to our purpoſe. It was about the time mentioned above, that the Japaneſe, who had been till then without any ſettled form of government, either monarchical or other, following a courſe of life not unlike that of the patriarchs, where the ſeveral families lived under the command and authority of their fathers, or elſe obeyed to the moſt prudent among themſelves; it was, I ſay, about that time, they agreed to ſubmit to the government of one Prince. It is not improbable, but that the Chineſe, who came over from time to time into Japan, as they were bred up themſelves under a monarchical government, had no ſmall ſhare in perſuading the Japaneſe to prefer the ſame. In this poſture of affairs, ſurely nobody had a better claim to the ſupreme power and authority, than a Prince lineally deſcended of the firſt-born iſſue of the family of Tenſio Dai Sin, who, by the very law of primogeniture, ſeemed to be naturally entitled to the ſovereignty aſcribed to that founder of their nation, whoſe holineſs and virtues he inherited beſides.

Even to this day the Princes deſcended of this family, more particularly thoſe who ſit on the throne, are looked upon as perſons moſt holy in themſelves, and as Popes by birth. And, in order to preſerve theſe advantageous notions in the minds of their ſubjects, they are obliged to take an uncommon care of their ſacred perſons, and to do ſuch things, which, examined according to the cuſtoms of other nations, would be thought ridiculous and impertinent. It will not be improper to give a few inſtances of it. He thinks that it would be very prejudicial to his dignity and holineſs to touch the ground with his feet; for this reaſon, when he intends to go any where, he muſt

be carried thither on men's ſhoulders. Much leſs will they ſuffer, that he ſhould expoſe his ſacred perſon to the open air, and the ſun is not thought worthy to ſhine on his head. There is ſuch a holineſs aſcribed to all the parts of his body, that he dares to cut off neither his hair, nor his beard, nor his nails. However, leſt he ſhould grow too dirty, they may clean him in the night when he is aſleep; becauſe, they ſay, that what is taken from his body at that time, hath been ſtolen from him, and that ſuch a theft doth not prejudice his holineſs or dignity. In ancient times, he was obliged to ſit on the throne for ſome hours every morning, with the imperial crown on his head, but to ſit altogether like a ſtatue, without ſtirring either hands or feet, head or eyes, nor indeed any part of his body, becauſe, by this means, it was thought that he could preſerve peace and tranquillity in his empire; for if, unfortunately, he turned himſelf on one ſide or the other, or if he looked a good while towards any part of his dominions, it was apprehended that war, famine, fire, or ſome other great misfortune was near at hand to deſolate the country. But it having been afterwards diſcovered, that the imperial crown was the palladium, which by its mobility could preſerve peace in the empire, it was thought expedient to deliver his imperial perſon, conſecrated only to idleneſs and pleaſures, from this burthenſome duty, and therefore the crown is at preſent placed on the throne for ſome hours every morning. His victuals muſt be dreſſed every time in new pots, and ſerved at table in new diſhes: both are very clean and neat, but made only of common clay; that without any conſiderable expence they may be laid aſide, or broke, after they have ſerved once. They are generally broke, for fear they ſhould come into the hands of laymen, for they believe religiouſly, that if any layman ſhould preſume to eat his food out of theſe ſacred diſhes, it would ſwell and inflame his mouth and throat. The like ill effect is dreaded from the Dairi's ſacred habits; for they believe that if a layman ſhould wear them, without the Emperor's expreſs leave or command, they would occaſion ſwellings and pains in all parts of his body.

As ſoon as by the demiſe of a Mikaddo the throne becomes vacant, he is by the miniſtry of this eccleſiaſtical court put into the deceaſed's place, whom they think the neareſt heir, without regard had to age or ſex. Hence it is, that often Princes under age, or young unmarried Princeſſes aſcend the throne, and there are alſo inſtances, that the deceaſed Emperor's relict ſucceeded her huſband. If there be ſeveral pretenders to the crown, and it doth not appear plainly who it is that hath the neareſt title, the difference is adjuſted in an amicable way, according to equity, and the ſupreme power delivered ſucceſſively to each of them for ſome years, in proportion to the degree of kindred they bore to the deceaſed Mikaddo. Sometimes the father reſigns the crown ſucceſſively to one or more of his children, that he, and their mothers, whilſt yet alive, may have the pleaſure to ſee them upon the throne, of which perhaps, after their demiſe, they would ſtand excluded. All this is done at court with as little trouble as poſſible; and a Mikaddo may die, or reſign, and another be put into his place, without any body's but the court's knowing of it, till the affair is over. However it happened ſometimes, that thoſe of the imperial family who thought themſelves entitled to the ſucceſſion, but were excluded, maintained their right by force of arms, endeavouring to turn out the Dairi, whom they thought unlawfully poſſeſſed of the throne. Hence aroſe wars and diſſenſions very prejudicial to the empire. The Princes of the empire eſpouſed different intereſts, and theſe quarrels ſeldom ended but with the entire deſtruction of one of the contending parties, followed by a cruel extirpation of whole families.

The

The Dairi's whole court is of the family of Tenſio Dai dſin, and it is on account of a birth ſo eminent and noble, that they eſteem themſelves entitled to a far greater degree of reſpect and deference, than laymen could pretend to. Though they are all deſcended of one family, yet by degrees they ſpread out into different branches, and are at preſent many thouſands in number. Some few are provided with abbies, and priories of rich monaſteries, founded up and down the empire. But the greateſt part of them remain at court, religiouſly attached to the Dairi's moſt holy perſon, of whom they muſt entirely depend as to their ſupport and maintenance, each according to the office or dignity he is inveſted with.

At preſent the Secular Emperor grants the neceſſary ſubſidies for the maintenance of the Dairi, and his eccleſiaſtical court. He hath for this purpoſe aſſigned him the whole revenue of the city of Miaco, and all its appurtenances; but becauſe they fell far ſhort of balancing his expences, it hath been agreed, that the deficiencies ſhould be made up out of the Secular Emperor's exchequer: but thoſe allowances are ſo ſmall, and beſides ſo indifferently paid, that the court can hardly ſubſiſt by it; at leaſt, that they cannot make that figure which they did formerly, when the Dairi was himſelf maſter of the empire, and had all the revenues at his own diſpoſal. However, they ſtill keep up their former grandeur and magnificence; and it can moſt truly be ſaid of this court, that it is remarkable for a ſplendid poverty. The great ones run themſelves in debt, and the inferior officers and ſervants, whoſe allowances are far from being ſufficient to maintain them, muſt work for their livelihood. Accordingly they make and ſell baſkets made of ſtraw, (ſee Chap. I. of the Vth Book,) tables, ſhoes for men and horſes, and other mean things of this nature. The Mikaddo, indeed, though his revenues are but ſmall, in compariſon of what they were in former times, yet as he ſtill hath them in his own management, he is ſure, in the firſt place, to take care of himſelf, and to provide what is requiſite to keep up his former ſplendor, and to ſatisfy his luxury and profuſeneſs. He is the better able to do this; as one very conſiderable prerogative of the crown and ſupreme authority he once enjoyed, hath been ſtill left him by the Secular Monarch, which is the granting of titles of honour to the great men of the empire, their children and relations, which brings in vaſt treaſures into his exchequer. He follows the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, keeping twelve wives, one of whom, being the mother of the Hereditary Prince or Princeſs, hath the title of Empreſs. It would be too tedious to relate all the ſplendid and pompous ceremonies which are obſerved upon his marriage; upon the lying-in of the Empreſs; upon the chooſing of a nurſe for the heir of the crown, and his education. It is enough to ſay, that they are great and magnificent beyond expreſſion, and that did all the happineſs and welfare of the empire entirely depend upon the birth of this Hereditary Prince, they could not be greater.

There are ſeveral eminent dignities that belong to this eccleſiaſtical court, and its nobility is compoſed of perſons of different ranks and quality. The Mikaddo himſelf is the fountain of honour. There are, indeed, certain employments annexed to certain titles; but other honours are merely titular, and theſe are frequently conferred by the Mikaddo on ſecular perſons, on the Princes of the empire, and men of note. This is done either at the recommendation of the Secular Monarch, or at their own deſire, upon condition of paying a large ſum of money. All the honours and titles are divided into ſix, I, as they call them, that is ranks or claſſes. The title of the firſt claſs is Dai Seo Dai Sin. The perſon who is honoured with this title is eſteemed ſo great and ſacred, that they believe that his ſoul becomes a Cami, or god, the moment of her departure from the body. For this reaſon the Mikaddo keeps it for himſelf, and

ſeldom

ſeldom beſtows it on any body. The dignity of Quanbuku belongs likewiſe to this firſt claſs. Quanbuku is the ſecond perſon of the eccleſiaſtical court, and the Dairi's vicegerent and prime miniſter in all affairs relating to the empire. (This title is aſſumed by the Secular Monarch, or given to the preſumptive heir of the crown, and is the ſame with that of Quabacondono, of which there is ſo frequent mention made in the letters of the Jeſuits.) The following three titles belong to the ſecond I, or rank, Sa Dai Sin, U Dai Sin, and Nai Dai Sin. They are never conferred on more than three perſons at court. The Dai Nagon and Tſunagon make up the third rank. Theſe two titles are always annexed to certain employments. The titles which belong to the fourth and fifth I, rank or claſs, are Seonagon, Tſiunagon, Tſiuſeo, Seosjo, and Sidſiu. Both theſe claſſes are very numerous, and again ſubdivided into ſeveral differing ranks. The perſons of this claſs are likewiſe called Tenſio bito, that is, "a heavenly people;" and the whole eccleſiaſtical court in general aſſumes the title of Kuge, which ſignifies as much as Eccleſiaſtical Lords; and this they do by way of diſtinction from the Gege, under which name they comprehend all the laity and inferior ſort of people, who are not of ſo holy and ſo honourable a deſcent. The titles of the ſixth and laſt claſs are Tai U, Goi, and many more of leſs note. All titles and degrees of honour whatſoever are conferred, as I have already obſerved, by the Mikaddo, and by him alone. When the Secular Monarchs took the government of the empire into their hands, the Dairi reſerved to himſelf, along with the ſupreme authority, this conſiderable branch of the the imperial prerogatives. Hence, whatever titles the Secular Emperors intend to beſtow on their favourites and prime miniſters, muſt be obtained of the Mikaddo. There are chiefly two titles which the Secular Emperor, with the conſent of the Dairi, can confer on his prime miniſters, and the Princes of the empire, which are Maquandairo and Cami. The firſt was formerly hereditary, and ſignifies as much as a Duke or Earl; the ſecond denotes a Knight. It muſt be obſerved in this place, that the character which denotes a deified ſoul, is likewiſe pronounced Cami, but then it is of a nature quite different from that which expreſſes the title and honour of knighthood. All the gods and idols of this country in general have the name and character of Cami.

The perſons of this eccleſiaſtical court, among other marks of diſtinction are clad after a particular faſhion, peculiar to themſelves, and widely differing from the habits of ſecular perſons, whom they ſcorn and deſpiſe, as being of a mean unholy extraction. There is ſo much difference even among themſelves, as to their habits, that thereby alone it is eaſily known what rank they are of, or what employment they have at court. They wear long wide breeches and a large gown over them, which is very wide and made after a ſingular faſhion, chiefly about the ſhoulders, and hath a long train, which they trail after them on the ground. They cover their heads with a black lackered cap, by the different ſhape and figure of which it is known, among other marks of diſtinction, what quality they are of, or what places they have at court. Some have a broad band of black crape or ſilk ſtitched to their caps, which is either tied up, or hangs down behind their ſhoulders. Others have a ſort of a lap, made after the faſhion of a fan, ſtanding out before their eyes. Some wear a ſort of ſcarf, or a broad band, which hangs down forwards from their ſhoulders. The length of this ſcarf is again different, according to every one's quality or dignity; for it is the cuſtom of this court, that nobody bows down lower, but to reach the floor with the end of his ſcarf. The women's dreſs at the court of the Dairi is alſo very particular and different from that of ſecular women. But chiefly the Dairi's twelve wives are dreſſed in as many ſumptuous gowns, not lined, interwove with flowers of gold and ſilver, and withal ſo large

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and wide, that it is a matter of great difficulty for them to walk, when thus completely dreſſed.

Studies and learning are the chief amuſement of this eccleſiaſtical court. Not only the Kuge, or courtiers, but even many of the fair ſex, have acquired great reputation by their poetical, hiſtorical, and other writings. All the almanacks were formerly made at court: but now it is a learned citizen at Miaco that makes them. However they muſt be examined and approved of at court by perſons commiſſioned for it, who take care that they be ſent to Isje, as to a holy place, to be there printed. They are great lovers of muſic, particularly the women play with great dexterity upon all ſorts of muſical inſtruments. Young noblemen divert themſelves with riding, running races, fighting, playing at tennis, and ſuch other exerciſes becoming their quality. I did not enquire whether they act comedies and tragedies at court. But as the Japaneſe in general are very fond of plays, and will ſpend a great deal of money upon them, I am inclined to believe theſe eccleſiaſtical perſons, their gravity and holineſs notwithſtanding, would not be willingly wanting ſo agreeable and entertaining, and withal ſo innocent a diverſion.

In former times, when the Dairi was ſole maſter of the country, he reſided, with his court, wherever he pleaſed, honouring with his ſacred preſence, now this, then another town, or province of his empire, and it ſeldom happened, that two ſucceeding Emperors choſe the ſame place to live at. Of late their reſidence hath been in a manner fixed to Miaco. They are poſſeſſed of the north-eaſt part of this large capital, which well deſerves the name of a ſeparate town, not only by reaſon of its great extent, and the number of ſtreets, palaces and houſes built within its compaſs, but alſo becauſe it is actually ſeparate from Miaco, and defended againſt the ſudden approach of an unexpected enemy, by ditches, walls, ramparts and gates. Mikaddo himſelf lives about the middle of it, in a large and ſpacious palace, known from others by the height and magnificence of its tower. His imperial conſort lives with him in the ſame palace, and the palaces of his other wives ſtand next to his. A little way further are the houſes of the lords of the Dairis bed-chamber, and of ſuch other perſons, whoſe offices require a conſtant and more immeditate attendance on his ſacred perſon. If a Mikaddo reſigns, a ſeparate palace is aſſigned to him, to his family and court, as is alſo another to the hereditary Prince, and to his court. The reſt of the ſtreets and houſes are divided among the officers of this court, according to their rank and dignity. The Secular Monarch conſtantly keeps a ſtrong guard of bugjos and ſoldiers at the Dairis court, as it were, out of tenderneſs and care for the preſervation and ſafety of his ſacred perſon and family, but in fact to put it out of his power ever to attempt the recovery of the throne and the ſupreme authority which he took from him.

Thus much of the Dairi, his court and government in general. It now remains, before I proceed to the hiſtory and ſucceſſion of the Eccleſiaſtical Emperors, to lay down ſome general obſervations tending to explain the chronology made uſe of in the ſame.

The Japaneſe have two principal æras, or epochas. The firſt, and alſo the more common, begins with the reign of their firſt Emperor Synmu in the year before Chriſt 660. Conſequently the year of Chriſt 1693, which was the ſixth year of Nengo Genrokſ, was the 2353 from Synmu. This epoch is by them called Nin O, which properly ſpeaking ſignifies, "a very great and powerful lord or monarch," and in a more ſublime ſenſe, "the very firſt."

The ſecond epoch made uſe of in Japan, is called Nengo. It was invented by the Chineſe for a greater certainty in chronology, than they thought their common epochs would

would admit of, and it was not introduced in Japan till the reign of the thirty-fixth Emperor. It takes in a period only of a few years, commonly leſs than twenty, ſeldom beyond this number. The beginning, as alſo the proper figure to expreſs it, are determined by the Emperor, which is done commonly in memory of ſome remarkable accident, or of ſome conſiderable alteration in church or ſtate. As the Emperor hath the ſole power of inſtituting them, ſo he can continue them as long as he pleaſes. The Japaneſe character expreſſing the Nengo, then current, when I was in Japan, the ſixth year of which falls in with the year of Chriſt 1693, was pronounced Genrokf, which ſignifies the "Happineſs of Nature and Art," whereby the then reigning Mikaddo alluded to the deſirable happineſs and tranquillity of a private life, which the late Emperor his father reſolved to lead after his reſignation of the crown. This epoch is made uſe of in their almanacks, orders, proclamations, journals, letters and writings. In their printed books, chiefly ſuch as relate to hiſtory and chronology, the current year of the epoch Nin O is added to it. It muſt be obſerved, that a new Nengo begins always with a new year, though it was ordered and inſtituted ſeveral months before. Sometimes alſo it happens, that although a new Nengo hath been already begun, yet the years of the preceding Nengo are continued in the title pages of their books, their letters, journals, and ſo on. This, I take to be owing either to the people's not liking the character expreſſing the new Nengo, or to its not being as yet known, which is not impoſſible in an empire of ſo great an extent. Thus, for inſtance, the almanacks of the firſt and ſecond year of the Nengo Genrokf were printed with the fifth and the ſixth year of the preceding Nengo, Dſiokio, though it was then already expired. In this caſe however care is taken, that no error, or confuſion, ſhould be occaſioned in their chronology by ſuch an inadvertency. And for this reaſon it was, that in the next almanack, which was that of the year of Chriſt 1690, the third year of the Nengo Genrokf then current, was ſet down accordingly, without any mention made of the two firſt. The character of a Nengo is compoſed of two, ſeldom of more figures, which are, and muſt be taken out of a particular table compoſed for this purpoſe.

There remains ſtill a third epoch, which is likewiſe made uſe of in the chronology of the Japaneſe. This conſiſts of cycli or periods of ſixty years, and the Japaneſe ſtand indebted for it to the Chineſe, as they are alſo for their Nengos. Theſe ſixty years ariſe from a combination of the Jetta, which are the names of the twelve celeſtial ſigns, with the ten names of their elements. The characters of the celeſtial ſigns being combined with thoſe of the ten elements five different times, or theſe ſix times with the former, there ariſe ſixty compound figures or characters, each of which is taken for a year. When the ſixty years are expired a new cyclus is begun, which runs again through all theſe ſeveral combinations. The Japaneſe uſe this period of ſixty years, the better to aſcertain the moſt remarkable occurences in church and ſtate, which are recorded in their hiſtories, and are referred under the current year of the cyclus, as well as that of the two other epochs Nin O and Nengo, by which means alſo they obtain a perpetual harmony between their own hiſtory and chronology and that of the Chineſe. With this difference however, that whereas the Chineſe in their hiſtorical writings mention not only the year, but likewiſe the number of the cyclus wherein ſuch or ſuch things happened, the Japaneſe on the contrary ſet down only the year. The cycli of the Japaneſe are not numbered at all, the reaſon of which will appear plainly, if we conſider the natural pride of this nation, and how far ſhort they would fall, in this particular, of their neighbours the Chineſe, who can ſhew a ſucceſſion of cyclus's for many centuries before the very foundation of the Japaneſe monarchy. In the following hiſtory, which I propoſe to give of the ſucceſſion of the Japaneſe monarchs, I ſhall avoid troubling

troubling the reader with all theſe different epochs, though I thought it requiſite to give ſome preliminary account of them.

The Jetta, or twelve Celeſtial Signs of the Japaneſe, are

1. *Ne*, the Mouſe.
2. *Us*, the Ox or Cow.
3. *Torra*, the Tiger.
4. *Ow*, the Hare.
5. *Tats*, the Dragon.
6. *Mi*, the Serpent.
7. *Uma*, the Horſe.
8. *Tſitſuſe*, the Sheep.
9. *Sar*, the Monkey.
10. *Torri*, the Cock, or Hen.
11. *In*, the Dog.
12. *I*, the Boar.

The ſame names are given, and in the ſame order, to the twelve hours of the natural day, and to the twelve parts, which every hour is by them divided into, by which means they are able to mention in their hiſtories, with great accuracy, not only what day the moſt remarkable occurrences happened, but alſo what hour, and what part of the hour. It muſt be obſerved, however, that what they call day, is that interval of time between ſun-riſe and ſun-ſet, and that the ſame is divided into ſix equal parts or hours, as is alſo the night, from ſun-ſet to ſun-riſe into ſix others. Hence it is, that their hours differ in length every day, that in the ſummer the hours of the day are much longer than thoſe of the night, and ſhorter on the contrary in the winter.

As to their elements, there are properly ſpeaking but five, and it is only by giving two different names and characters to each of them, that they have raiſed the number to ten, which was abſolutely neceſſary, becauſe by their combination with the twelve celeſtial ſigns, repeated five times, they were to obtain the cyclus of ſixty years. The names of their ten elements are,

1. *Kino Je*, Wood.
2. *Kino To*, Wood.
3. *Fino Je*, Fire.
4. *Fino To*, Fire.
5. *Tſutſno Je*, Earth.
6. *Tſutſno To*, Earth.
7. *Kanno Je*, Oar.
8. *Kanno To*, Oar.
9. *Midſno Je*, Water.
10. *Midſno To*, Water.

In Tab. XV. hereunto annexed, I have repreſented the characters of the twelve celeſtial ſigns, thoſe of the ten elements, and thoſe of the whole period of ſixty years, as they ariſe from a combination of the former.

The beginning of the Japaneſe year falls in between the winter ſolſtice and ſpring equinox, about the fifth of February. But as the Japaneſe are extremely ſuperſtitious in celebrating the day of the new moon, they commonly begin it with the new moon, which immediately precedes or follows the fifth of February. Thus the firſt year of the Nengo Genrokf, which in the cyclus is called Tſutſno Je Tats, being the year of Chriſt 1688, began on the ſecond of February, the ſecond of Genrokf, in the cyclus Tſutſnoto Mi, (of Chriſt 1689) on the twenty-firſt of January; the third of Genrokf in the cyclus Kano Je Uma, (of Chriſt 1690) on the ninth of February; the fourth of Genrokf, in the cyclus Kanoto Fitſuſe (of Chriſt 1691) on the twenty-firſt of January; the fifth of Genrokf, in the cyclus Midſno Je Sar, (of Chriſt 1692) on the ſeventeenth of February; and the ſixth of Genrokf, (of Chriſt 1693) on the fifth of February. The Japaneſe have a leap-year every other or third year, or ſeven leap-years in nineteen common years*.

* For the Hiſtory of the Eccleſiaſtical Emperors the learned reader will conſult the original work.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI. — *Of the Religions of this Empire in general, and of the Sintos Religion in particular.*

LIBERTY of conſcience, ſo far as it doth not interfere with the intereſt of the ſecular government, or affect the peace and tranquillity of the empire, hath been at all times allowed in Japan, as it is in moſt other countries of Aſia. Hence it is, that foreign religions were introduced with eaſe, and propagated with ſucceſs, to the great prejudice of that, which was eſtabliſhed in the country from remoteſt antiquity. In this laſt hundred years there were chiefly four religions, conſiderable for the number of their adherents, to wit.

1. Sinto, the old religion, or idol-worſhip, of the Japaneſe.

2. Budſdo, the worſhip of foreign idols, which were brought over into Japan, from the kingdom of Siam, and the empire of China.

3. Siuto, the doctrine of their moraliſts and philoſophers.

4. Deivus, or Kiriſtando, is as much as to ſay, the way of God and Chriſt, whereby muſt be underſtood the Chriſtian religion.

It was owing to the commendable zeal, and the indefatigable care of the Spaniſh and Portugueze miſſionaries, particularly the Jeſuits, that the Chriſtian religion was firſt introduced into Japan, and propagated with a ſucceſs infinitely beyond their expectation, inſomuch, that from the firſt arrival of the fathers of the ſociety in the province Bongo, which was about the year of Chriſt 1549, (or ſix years after the firſt diſcovery of Japan,) to the year 1625, or very near 1630, it ſpread through moſt provinces of the empire, many of the Princes and Lords openly embracing the ſame. Conſidering what a vaſt progreſs it had made till then, even amidſt the many ſtorms and difficulties it had been expoſed to, there was very good reaſon to hope, that within a ſhort compaſs of time the whole empire would have been converted to the faith of our Saviour, had not the ambitious views, and impatient endeavours of theſe fathers, to reap the temporal as well as the ſpiritual fruits of their care and labour, ſo provoked the ſupreme majeſty of the empire as to raiſe againſt themſelves and their converts a perſecution, which hath not its parallel in hiſtory, whereby the religion they preached, and all thoſe that profeſſed it, were in a few years time entirely exterminated.

Of the three chief religions which now flouriſh and are tolerated in Japan, the *Sintos* muſt be conſidered in the firſt place, more for its antiquity and long ſtanding, than for the number of its adherents.

Sinto, which is alſo called Sinsju, and Kamimitſi, is the idol-worſhip, as of old eſtabliſhed in the country. Sin and Kami denote the idols, which are the object of this worſhip. Jo and Mitſi, is as much as to ſay, the way or method of worſhiping theſe idols. Siu ſignifies faith, or religion. Sinsja, and in the plural number Sinsju, are the perſons who adhere to this religion.

The more immediate end which the followers of this religion propoſe to themſelves, is a ſtate of happineſs in this world. They have indeed ſome though but obſure and imperfect notions of the immortality of our ſouls and a future ſtate of bliſs, or miſery. And yet, as little mindful as they are of what will become of them in that future ſtate, ſo great is their care and attention to worſhip thoſe gods, whom they believe to have a peculiar ſhare in the government and management of this world, with a more immediate influence, each according to his functions, over the occurrences and neceſſities of human life. And although indeed they acknowledge a Supreme Being, which, as they believe, dwells in the higheſt of heaven, and though they likewiſe admit of ſome inferior

gods, whom they place among the ſtars, yet they do not worſhip and adore them, nor have they any feſtival days ſacred to them, thinking, *quæ ſupra nos nihil ad nos*, that beings, which are ſo much above us, will little concern themſelves about our affairs. However, they ſwear by theſe ſuperior gods, whoſe names are conſtantly inſerted in the form of their oath: but they worſhip and invoke thoſe gods, whom they believe to have the ſovereign command of their country, and the ſupreme direction of its produce, of its elements, water, animals and other things, and who by virtue of this power, can more immediately affect their preſent condition, and make them either happy or miſerable in this life. They are the more attentive in paying a due worſhip to theſe divinities, as they ſeem to be perſuaded, that this alone is ſufficient to cleanſe and to purify their hearts, and that doubtleſs by their aſſiſtance and interceſſion, they will obtain in the future life rewards proportionable to their behaviour in this. This religion ſeems to be nearly as ancient as the nation itſelf. If it is any ways probable, that the firſt Japaneſe are deſcended of the Babylonians, and that, whilſt at Babel, they acquired ſome notions of the true religion, of the creation of the world, and its ſtate before that time, as they are delivered to us in ſacred writs, we may upon as good grounds ſuppoſe, that by the alteration of their language, and by the troubles and fatigues of ſo long and tedious a journey, the ſame were almoſt entirely worn out of their minds; that upon their arrival in this extremity of the eaſt, they deſervedly bore a moſt profound reſpect to their leader, who had happily conducted them through ſo many dangers and difficulties; that after his death they deified him; that in ſucceeding ages other great men, who had well deſerved of their country, either by their prudence and wiſdom, or by their courage and heroic actions, were likewiſe related among their Kami, that is, among the immortal ſpirits worthy to have divine honours paid them, and that to perpetuate their memory, mias, or temples, were in time erected to them. (Mia, properly ſpeaking, ſignifies the houſe, or dwelling-place of a living ſoul.) The reſpect due to theſe great men became in ſucceſs of time ſo univerſal, that ever ſince it is thought to be a duty incumbent on every ſincere lover of his country, whatever ſect otherwiſe he adheres to, to give public proofs of his veneration and grateful remembrance of their virtues and ſignal ſervices, by viſiting their temples, and bowing to their images, either on ſuch days as are more particularly conſecrated to their memory, or on any other proper occaſion; provided they be not in a ſtate of impurity, and unfit to approach theſe holy places. Thus, what was at firſt intended as a ſimple act of reſpect and gratitude, turned by degrees into adoration and worſhip: ſuperſtition at laſt was carried ſo far, that the Mikaddos, or Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperors, being lineal deſcendants of theſe great heroes, and ſuppoſed heirs of their excellent qualities, are looked upon, as ſoon as they have taken poſſeſſion of the throne, as true and living images of their Kamis or gods, as Kamis themſelves, poſſeſſed of ſuch an eminent degree of purity and holineſs, that no Gege (Gege is a vile name, which the Kuge, that is, the members of the Emperor's eccleſiaſtical court give to their countrymen, who are not of the ſame noble and divine extraction) dare preſume to appear in their preſence; nay, what is ſtill more, that all the other Kamis or gods of the country are under an obligation to viſit him once a year, and to wait upon his ſacred perſon, though in an inviſible manner, during the tenth month. They are ſo far perſuaded of the truth of this, that during the ſaid month, which is by them called Kaminatſuki, that is, the month without gods, no feſtival days are celebrated, becauſe the gods are ſuppoſed not to be at home in their temples, but at court waiting upon their Dairi. This Japaneſe pope aſſumes alſo to himſelf, the ſole power and authority of deifying and canonizing others, if it appears to him that they deſerve it, either by the

the apparitions of their ſouls after their death, or by ſome miracles wrought by them. In this caſe the Emperor confers an eminent title upon the new god, or ſaint, and orders a nia, or temple, to be built to his memory, which is done either at his own expence, or by the charitable contributions of pious, well-diſpoſed perſons. If afterwards it ſo happens, that thoſe who worſhip in this temple, and more particularly devote themſelves to the new god, proſper in their undertakings, but much more if ſome extraordinary miracle hath been wrought, ſeemingly by his power and aſſiſtance, it will encourage other people to implore his protection, and by this means the number of his temples and worſhippers will quickly encreaſe. Thus, the number of divinities is augmented every age. But beſides all the illuſtrious men, who from time to time, for their heroic actions or ſingular piety, have been by the ſpiritual Emperors related among the divinities of the country, they have another ſeries of gods, of a more ancient date. Of theſe two ſucceſſions are mentioned. The firſt is the ſucceſſion of the Tenſin Sitzi Dai, or ſeven great celeſtial ſpirits, who are ſaid to have exiſted in the moſt ancient times of the ſun, long before the exiſtence of men and heaven, and to have inhabited the Japaneſe world (the only country in their opinion then exiſting) many millions of years. The ſeventh and laſt of theſe great celeſtial ſpirits, whoſe name was Iſanagi, having carnally known his divine conſort Iſanami, in imitation of what he had obſerved of the bird Iſiatadakki, begot a ſecond ſucceſſion of divinities, inferior indeed to the firſt, but ſtill ſuperior to all thoſe who exiſted ſince their time. This ſecond ſucceſſion is from the number of its chief heads called Dſi Sin Go Dai, or the ſucceſſion of the five terreſtrial divinities, who lived and governed the country of Japan a long but limited time. It is needleſs here to enlarge any further on this head; a full account of the ridiculous and fabulous notions of the Japaneſe, with regard to theſe two ſucceſſions of divinities, having been already given in book I. ch. 7. and book II. ch 1. I will only add, that the hiſtory of the ſecond ſucceſſion is full of ſtrange and uncommon adventures, knights errantries, defeats of giants, dragons and other monſters, which then deſolated the country, to the great terror of its ſemi-divine inhabitants. Many cities and villages in the empire have borrowed their names from ſome ſuch memorable action, which happened in the neighbourhood. They ſtill preſerve, in ſome of their temples, ſwords, arms and other warlike inſtruments, which they look upon as remains of that ancient time, and believe to be the very ſame which in the hands of theſe ſemi-divine heroes proved ſo deſtructive and fatal to the diſturbers of the peace and tranquillity of the country. Uncommon reſpect is paid by the adherents of the Sintos religion to theſe ſacred relics, which are by ſome ſtill believed to be animated by the ſouls of their former poſſeſſors. In ſhort, the whole ſyſtem of the Sintos divinity is ſuch a lame ridiculous contexture of monſtrous inconceivable fables, that even thoſe, who have made it their buſineſs to ſtudy it, are aſhamed to own, and to reveal all thoſe impertinences to their own adherents, much leſs to the Budſdoiſts, and the adherents of other religions. And perhaps it would not have ſtood its ground ſo long, had it not been for its cloſe connection with the civil cuſtoms, in the obſervation of which this nation is exceedingly nice and ſcrupulous. The temples of the Sintoiſts are not attended by prieſts and eccleſiaſtical perſons, but by laymen, who are generally ſpeaking entirely ignorant of the grounds and reaſons of the religion they profeſs, and wholly unacquainted with the hiſtory of the gods whom they worſhip. Some few, however, there are among the Sintosju, or adherents of the Sintos religion, chiefly of the order of the Canuſis, who will now and then make a ſermon to the people, and be at ſome pains in inſtructing young children. During my ſtay in Japan, one of theſe Canuſis came from Miaco to preach at the temple of Tenſi, and afterwards at that of Suwa.

He

He made a ſermon every day, in order to explain the law, or commandment Nacottominotarrai, or Nacottamibarrai; but his ſermons, at beſt, were ill-diſpoſed, confuſed compoſitions of romantic and ridiculous ſtories of their gods and ſpirits. They will teach their ſyſtem of divinity to others for a proper conſideration, and under an obligation of ſecrecy; particularly when they come to the laſt article, which relates to the beginning of all things, they take ſpecial care not to reveal the ſame to their diſciples, till he hath obliged himſelf with an oath ſigned with his hand and ſeal, not to profane ſuch ſacred and ſublime myſteries, by diſcovering them to the ignorant and incredulous laity. The original text of this myſterious doctrine is contained in the following words taken out of a book, which they call Odaiki; "Kai fakuno faſime Dsjuſio Fuſo Tatojaba Jujono ſui ſoni ukunga Gotoſi Tentſijno utſijni Itſi butſu wo ſeoſu Katats Igeno gotoſi ſenquas ſte ſin to nar kuni toko datſno Mikotto to goos:" that is, "In the beginning of the opening of all things, a chaos floated, as fiſhes ſwim in the water for pleaſure. Out of this chaos aroſe a thing like a prickle, moveable and transformable; this thing became a ſoul or ſpirit, and this ſpirit is called Kunitokodatſno Mikotto."

CHAP. XII. — *Of the Sintos Temples, Belief and Worſhip.*

THE Sinsju, that is, the adherents of the Sintos religion, call their temples, or churches, mia, which word, as I have obſerved, ſignifies dwelling places of immortal ſouls. They come neareſt to the fana of the ancient Romans, as they are generally ſpeaking ſo many laſting monuments erected to the memory of great men. They call them alſo jaſijro, and ſia, or ſinsja, which laſt takes in the whole court of the mia, with all other buildings and dependencies belonging to the ſame. The gods, who are the ſubject of their worſhip, they call Sin and Cami, which ſignifies ſouls or ſpirits. Sometimes alſo they honour them with the epithet of Mioſin, ſublime, illuſtrious, holy; and Gongen, juſt, ſevere, jealous. The adherents of other religions call the convents of their religious men, and the places of their worſhip, ſiſia tira, that is, temples, and the gods themſelves, which they adore, Fotoge. All other foreign idols, the worſhip of whom was brought into Japan from beyond ſea, are comprehended under one general name of Boſatz, or Budz. The mias, as indeed all convents and religious houſes in general, as well of this, as of their other ſects, are ſeated in the pleaſanteſt parts of the country, on the beſt ſpots of ground, and commonly within or near great cities, towns, villages and other inhabited places. I will confine myſelf in this chapter only to the mias of the Sintoiſts. A broad and ſpacious walk, planted with rows of fine cypreſs trees, which grow in the country, and are a tall fine tree, leads ſtrait to the mia, or elſe to the temple-court, on which there are ſometimes ſeveral mias ſtanding together, and in this caſe the walk aforeſaid leads directly to that, which is reckoned the chief. The mias are, generally ſpeaking, ſeated in a pleaſant wood, or in the aſcent of a fine green hill, and have neat ſtone ſtair-caſes leading up to them. Next to the highway, at the entry of the walk, which leads to the temple, ſtands, for diſtinction's ſake from common roads, a particular faſhioned gate, called torij, and built either of ſtone or wood. The ſtructure of theſe gates is but very mean and ſimple, they conſiſting of two perpendicular poſts or pillars, with two beams laid acroſs, the uppermoſt of which is, for ornament's ſake, depreſſed in the middle, the two extremities ſtanding upwards. Between the two croſs beams is placed a ſquare table, commonly of ſtone, whereon is engraved the name of the god, to whom the mia is conſecrated, in golden characters. Sometimes ſuch another gate ſtands before the mia itſelf, or before the temple-court, if there be ſeveral mias built together in one court.

Not

Not far from the mia is a baſon, commonly of ſtone, and full of water for thoſe who go to worſhip to waſh themſelves. Cloſe to the mia ſtands a great wooden alms-cheſt. The mia itſelf is neither a ſplendid nor a magnificent building, but very mean and ſimple, commonly quadrangular, and built of wood, the beams being ſtrong and neat. It ſeldom exceeds twice or thrice a man's height, and two or three fathoms in breadth. It is raiſed about a yard or upwards, from the ground, being ſupported by ſhort wooden poſts. There is a ſmall walk, or gallery, to go round it, and a few ſteps lead up to this walk. The frontiſpiece of the mia is as ſimple as the reſt, conſiſting only of one or two grated windows, for thoſe that come to worſhip to look through, and to bow towards the chief place within. It is ſhut at all times, and often without any body to take care of it. Other mias are ſomewhat larger, ſometimes with an anti-chamber, and two ſide-rooms, wherein the keepers of the mia ſit, in honour of the Cami, richly clad in their fine eccleſiaſtical gowns. All theſe ſeveral rooms have grated windows and doors, and the floor is covered with curious mats. Generally ſpeaking, three ſides of the temple are ſhut with deal-boards, there being no opening left but in the front. The roof is covered with tiles of ſtone, or ſhavings of wood, and jets out on all ſides to a conſiderable diſtance, to cover the walk, which goes round the temple. It differs from other buildings by its being curiouſly bent, and compoſed of ſeveral layers of fine wooden beams, which jetting out underneath make it look very ſingular. At the top of the roof there is ſometimes a ſtrong wooden beam, bigger than the reſt, laid lengthways, at the extremities of which two other beams ſtand up, croſſing each other; ſometimes a third one is laid athwart behind them. This ſtructure is in imitation as well as in memory of the firſt Isje temple, which though ſimple, was yet very ingeniouſly and almoſt inimitably contrived, ſo that the weight and connection of theſe ſeveral beams was to keep the whole building ſtanding. Over the temple-door hangs ſometimes a wide flat bell, and a ſtrong, long, knotted rope, wherewith thoſe that come to worſhip, ſtrike the bell, as it were, to give notice to the gods of their preſence. This cuſtom, however, is not very ancient, nor did it originally belong to the Sintos religion, for it was borrowed from the Budſdo or foreign idol-worſhip. Within the temple is hung up white paper, cut into ſmall bits, the intent of which is to make people ſenſible of the purity of the place. Sometimes a large looking-glaſs is placed in the middle, for the worſhippers to behold themſelves, and withal to conſider, that as diſtinctly as the ſpots of their face appear in the looking-glaſs, ſo conſpicuous are the ſecret ſpots and frauds of their hearts in the eyes of the immortal gods. Theſe temples are very often without any idols, or images of the Cami, to whom they are conſecrated. Nor indeed do they keep any images at all in their temples, unleſs they deſerve it on a particular account, either for the reputation and holineſs of the carver, or becauſe of ſome extraordinary miracles wrought by them. In this caſe a particular box is contrived at the chief and upper end of the temple, oppoſite to its grated front, and it is called fongu, which is as much as to ſay, the real, true temple. In this box, which the worſhippers bow to, the idol is locked up, and never taken out, but upon the great feſtival day of the Kami, whom it repreſents, which is celebrated but once in a hundred years. In the ſame ſhrine are likewiſe locked up what relics they have of the bones, habits, ſwords, or handy-works of the ſame god. The chief mia of every place hath one or more mikoſi, as they call them, belonging to it, being ſquare, or ſix, or eight cornered facella, or ſmaller temples, curiouſly lacquered, adorned without with gilt cornices, within with looking-glaſſes, cut white paper, and other ornaments, and hanging on two poles in order to be carried about upon proper occaſions, which is done with great pomp and

ſolemnity, when upon the Jennitz, that is, the chief feſtival day of the god, to whom the mia itſelf is conſecrated, the Canuſi or officers of the temple celebrate the Matſuri, of which more in another place. Sometimes the idol of the Cami, to whom the mia is dedicated, or ſuch of his relics as are there kept, are carried about in theſe mikoſis upon the ſame ſolemn occaſion. The chief of the Canuſis takes them out of the ſhrine of the temple, where they are kept in curious white boxes, carries them upon his back to the mikoſi, and places them backwards into the ſame, the people in the mean time retiring out of the way, as being too impure and unworthy a race to behold theſe ſacred things. The outſide of the mia, or the anti-chamber, and other rooms built cloſe to it, are commonly hung with divers ornaments, ſcimiters curiouſly carved, models of ſhips, images of different ſorts, or other uncommon curioſities, affording an agreeable amuſement for the idle ſpectators, who come to view and to worſhip in theſe temples upon their holidays. Theſe ſeveral ornaments are called jemma, and are generally ſpeaking free gifts to the temple, given by the adherents of this religion, purſuant to vows, which they made, either for themſelves, or for their relations and friends, when taken ill of ſome violent ſickneſs, or labouring under ſome other misfortunes, and which they afterwards very ſcrupulouſly put in execution, both to ſhew the power of the gods, whoſe aſſiſtance they implored, and their own deep ſenſe of gratitude for the bleſſings received from them. The ſame cuſtom is likewiſe obſerved by the adherents of the Boſatz, or Budſdo religion. Tab. XVII. is a view of ſome of theſe Sintos temples and Mikoſi, copied from an original drawing of the Japaneſe. Theſe mias, or Sintos temples are not attended by ſpiritual perſons, but by ſecular married men, who are called Negi, and Canuſi, and Siannin, and are maintained, either by the legacies left by the founder of the mia, or by the ſubſidies granted them by the Mikaddo, or by the charitable contributions of pious well-diſpoſed perſons, who come to worſhip there. Mikaddo, according to the literal ſenſe of the word, ſignifies the Sublime Port, Mi being the ſame with on, goo, oo, gio, high, mighty, illuſtrious, ſupreme, ſublime, and kado, ſignifying a port, gate, or door. Theſe Canuſis, or ſecular prieſts, when they go abroad, are for diſtinction's ſake, clad in large gowns, commonly white, ſometimes yellow, ſometimes of other colours, made much after the faſhion of the Mikaddo's court. However, they wear their common ſecular dreſs under theſe gowns. They ſhave their beards, but let their hair grow. They wear a ſtiff, oblong, lackered cap, in ſhape not unlike a ſhip, ſtanding out over their forehead, and tied under their chins with twiſted ſilk ſtrings, from which hang down fringed knots, which are longer or ſhorter, according to the office or quality of the perſon that wears them, who is not obliged to bow down lower to perſons of a ſuperior rank but to make the ends of theſe knots touch the floor. Their ſuperiors have their hair twiſted up under a black gauze, or crape, in a very particular manner, and they have their ears covered by a particular ſort of a lap, about a ſpan and a half long, and two or three inches broad, ſtanding out by their cheeks, or hanging down, more or leſs according to the dignities, or honourable titles conferred upon them by the Mikaddo. In ſpiritual affairs, they are under the abſolute juriſdiction of the Mikaddo; but in temporalities, they, and all other eccleſiaſtical perſons in the empire, ſtand under the command of two Dſi sin Bugios, as they call them, or imperial temple-judges, appointed by the ſecular monarch. They are haughty and proud, beyond expreſſion, fancying themſelves to be of a far better make, and nobler extraction than other people. When they appear in a ſecular dreſs, they wear two ſcimiters after the faſhion of the noblemen. Though ſecular perſons themſelves, yet they think it their duty, and becoming their ſtation, to abſtain religiouſly from all communication and intimacy with the common people. Nay, ſome carry their ſcrupulous conceits about

their own purity and holineſs ſo far, that they avoid converſing, for fear of injuring the ſame, even with other religious perſons, who are not of the ſame ſect. As to this their conduct, however, I muſt own, that ſomething may be ſaid on their behalf, for as much as this their uncommon carriage, and religious abſtinence from all ſort of communication with other people, ſeems to be the beſt means to conceal their groſs ignorance, and the enormity and inconſiſtence of their ſyſtem of divinity, which could not but be very much ridiculed, if in converſation the diſcourſe ſhould happen to fall upon religious affairs. For the whole Sintos religion is ſo mean and ſimple, that beſides a heap of fabulous and romantic ſtories of their gods, demi-gods and heroes, inconſiſtent with reaſon and common ſenſe, their divines have nothing, neither in their ſacred books, nor by tradition, wherewithal to ſatisfy the inquiries of curious perſons, about the nature and eſſence of their gods, about their power and government, about the future ſtate of our ſoul, and ſuch other eſſential points, whereof other heathen ſyſtems of divinity are not altogether ſilent. For this reaſon it was, that when the foreign Pagan Budſdo-religion came to be introduced in Japan, it ſpread not only quickly, and with ſurpriſing ſucceſs, but ſoon occaſioned a difference and ſchiſm even between thoſe, who remained conſtant and faithful to the religion of their anceſtors, by giving birth to two ſects, which the Sintoiſts are now divided into. The firſt of theſe ſects is called Juitz. The orthodox adherents of this, continued ſo firm and conſtant in the religion and cuſtoms of their anceſtors, that they would not yield in any the leaſt point, how inſignificant ſoever; but they are ſo very inconſiderable in number, that the Canuſis, or prieſts themſelves make up the beſt part. The other ſect is that of the Riobus; theſe are a ſort of ſyncretiſts, who for their own ſatisfaction, and for the ſake of a more extenſive knowledge in religious matters, particularly with regard to the future ſtate of our ſouls, endeavoured to reconcile, if poſſible, the foreign Pagan religion, with that of their anceſtors. In order to this they ſuppoſe, that the ſoul of Amida, whom the Budſdoiſts adore as their Saviour, dwelt by tranſmigration in the greateſt of their gods Ten Sio Dai Sin, the eſſence, as they call him of light and ſun. Moſt Sintoiſts confeſs themſelves to this ſect. Even the Dairi, or the Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperor's whole court, perhaps ſenſible enough of the falſity and inconſiſtence of the religion which they profeſs, and convinced how poor and weak their arguments are, whereby they endeavour to ſupport the almoſt divine majeſty and holineſs, which their maſter arrogates to himſelf, ſeem to incline to this ſyncretiſm. Nay they have ſhewn not long ago, that they are no great enemies even to the foreign Pagan worſhip, for they conferred the arch-biſhopric, and the two biſhoprics of the Ikoſiu, the richeſt and moſt numerous ſect of the Budſdoiſts, upon Princes of the imperial blood. The Secular Monarch profeſſes the religion of his forefathers, and pays his reſpect and duty once a year to the Mikaddo, though at preſent not in perſon, as was done formerly, but by a ſolemn embaſſy and rich preſents. He viſits in perſon the tombs of his imperial predeceſſors, and frequents alſo the chief temples, and religious houſes, where they are worſhipped. When I was in Japan myſelf, two ſtately temples were built by order of the Secular Monarch in honour of the Chineſe philoſopher Koosjuu, or as we call him Confutius, whoſe philoſophy they believe, was communicated to him immediately from Heaven, which ſame opinion the Greeks formerly had of the philoſophy of Socrates. One thing remains worth obſerving, which is, that many and perhaps the greateſt part of thoſe, who in their life-time conſtantly profeſſed the Sintos religion, and even ſome of the Siutosjus, or moraliſts, recommend their ſouls on their death-bed to the care of the Budſdo clergy, deſiring that the namanda might be ſung for them, and their bodies burnt and buried, after the manner of the

Budſdoiſts. The adherents of the Sintos religion do not believe the Pythagorean doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, although almoſt univerſally received by the eaſtern nations. However, they abſtain from killing and eating of thoſe beaſts which are ſerviceable to mankind, thinking it an act of cruelty and ungratefulneſs. They believe that the ſouls, after their departure from the bodies, tranſmigrate to a place of happineſs, ſeated juſt beneath the thirty-three heavens and dwelling-places of their gods, which, on this account, they call Takamanofarra, which ſignifies, "high and ſubceleſtial fields;" that the ſouls of thoſe who have led a good life in this world are admitted without delay, but that the ſouls of the bad and impious are denied entrance and condemned to err, without a time ſufficient to expiate their crimes. This is all they know of a future ſtate of bliſs. But beſides theſe Elyſian fields, theſe ſtations of happineſs, they admit no hell, no places of torment, no Cimmerian darkneſs, no unfortunate ſtate attending our ſouls in a world to come. Nor do they know of any other devil, but that which they ſuppoſe to animate the fox; a very miſchievous animal in this country, and ſo much dreaded, that ſome are of opinion, that the impious after their death are transformed into foxes; which their prieſts call Ma, that is, evil ſpirits.

The chief points of the Sintos religion (and thoſe, the obſervation whereof its adherents believe, makes them agreeable to the gods, and worthy to obtain from their divine mercy an immediate admiſſion into the ſtations of happineſs after their death, or, what is more commonly aimed at, a train of temporal bleſſings in this life,) are, 1. The inward purity of the heart. 2. A religious abſtinence from whatever makes a man impure. 3. A diligent obſervation of the ſolemn feſtival and holy days. 4. Pilgrimages to the holy places at Iſie. Of theſe, to which by ſome very religious people is added, 5. Chaſtiſing and mortifying their bodies; I proceed now to treat ſeverally.

To begin, therefore, with the inward purity of the heart, the ſame conſiſts in doing, or omitting thoſe things which they are ordered to do, or to avoid; either by the law of nature, and the dictates of reaſon, or the more immediate and ſpecial command of civil magiſtrates. The law of external purity, of which more hereafter, is the only one, the obſervation of which is more ſtrictly recommended to the followers of this religion. They have no other laws given them, neither by divine nor eccleſiaſtical authority, to direct and to regulate them in their outward behaviour. Hence, it would be but natural to think, that they ſhould abandon themſelves to all manner of voluptuouſneſs, and ſinful pleaſures, and allow themſelves without reſtraint, whatever can gratify their wiſhes and deſires, as being free from fear of acting contrary to the will of the gods, and little apprehenſive of the effects of their anger and diſpleaſure. And this, perhaps, would be the miſerable caſe of a nation in this condition, were it not for a more powerful ruler within their hearts, natural reaſon, which here exerts itſelf with full force, and is of itſelf capable enough to reſtrain from indulging their vices, and to win over to the dominion of virtue, all thoſe that will but hearken to its dictates. But beſides, the civil magiſtrates have taken ſufficient care to ſupply what is wanting on this head; for, by their authority, there are very ſevere laws now in force againſt all ſorts of crimes and miſdemeanors. And certainly the Japaneſe nation, conſidered in the main, makes it evident, that the dictates of natural reaſon, and the laws of civil magiſtrates, are ſure guides enough to all thoſe that will lead a good and virtuous life, and preſerve their hearts in a ſtate of purity.

But as to the external purity, the obſervance whereof, though leſs material in itſelf, hath yet been more ſtrictly commanded, it conſiſts in abſtaining from blood; from eating of fleſh, and from dead bodies. Thoſe who have rendered themſelves impure by any of theſe things, are thereby diſabled from going to the temples; from viſiting holy places, and in general from appearing in preſence of the gods. Whoever is ſtained with

with his own, or other blood, is fufio for feven days, that is, impure and unfit to approach holy places. If, in building a mia, or temple, one of the workmen ſhould happen to be hurt, ſo as to bleed in any part of his body, it is reckoned a very great misfortune, and ſuch a one as makes him altogether incapable to work for the future on that ſacred building. If the ſame accident ſhould happen in building or repairing any of the temples of Tenſio Dai Sin at Isje, the misfortune doth not affect the workman alone, but the temple itſelf muſt be pulled down, and rebuilt anew. No woman may come to the temple whilſt ſhe hath her monthly terms. It is commonly believed, that in their holy pilgrimages to Isje, the monthly terms do for that time entirely ceaſe, which, if true, muſt be owing either to the fatigues of a long and tedious journey, or to their taking great pains to conceal it, for fear their labour and expences ſhould thereby become uſeleſs. Whoever eats the fleſh of any four-footed beaſt, deer only excepted, is fufio for thirty days. On the contrary, whoever eats a fowl, wild or tame, water fowls, pheaſants, and cranes excepted, is fufio but a Japaneſe hour, which is equal to two of ours. Whoever kills a beaſt, or is preſent at an execution, or attends a dying perſon, or comes into a houſe where a dead body lies, is fufio that day. But of all the things which makes us impure, none is reckoned ſo very contagious as the death of parents and near relations. The nearer you are related to the dead perſon, ſo much the greater the impurity is. All ceremonies which are to be obſerved on this occaſion, the time of mourning, and the like, are determined by this rule. By not obſerving theſe precepts, people make themſelves guilty of external impurity, which is deteſted by the gods, and become unfit to approach their temples. Over ſcrupulous people, who would be looked upon as great ſaints, ſtrain things ſtill further, and fancy that even the impurities of others will affect them in three different ways, viz. by the eyes, which ſee impure things; by the mouth, which ſpeaks of them; and by the ears, which hear them. Theſe three ways to ſin and impurity are repreſented by the emblem of three monkies ſitting at the feet of Dſijſo, and ſhutting with their fore-feet, one both his eyes, the other his mouth, the third his ears. This emblem is to be ſeen in moſt temples of the Budſdoiſts, of whom it hath been borrowed. We found it alſo in ſeveral places upon the highway. An acquaintance of mine at Nagaſaki, was ſo exceedingly nice and ſcrupulous on this head, that when he received but a viſit of one, whom he had reaſon to ſuſpect of being a fufio, he cauſed his houſe to be waſhed and cleaned with water and ſalt from top to bottom, and yet, all this ſuperſtitious care notwithſtanding, the wiſer of his countrymen look upon him as a downright hypocrite.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of the Sintos Rebi, that is, their fortunate Days and Holidays; and the Celebration thereof.*

THE celebration of ſolemn feſtivals and holidays, which is the third eſſential point of the Sintos religion, conſiſts in what they call Majiru; that is, in going to the mias and temples of the gods and deceaſed great men. This may be done at any time, but ought not to be neglected on thoſe days which are particularly conſecrated to their worſhip, unleſs the faithful be in a ſtate of impurity, and not duly qualified to appear in the preſence of the immortal gods, who deteſt all uncleanneſs. Scrupulous adorers carry things ſtill further, and think it unbecoming to appear in the preſence of the gods, even when the thoughts, or memory of their misfortunes, poſſeſs their mind. For, as theſe immortal beings dwell in an uninterrupted ſtate of bliſs and happineſs, ſuch objects, it is thought, would be offenſive and unpleaſing to them, as the addreſſes and ſupplications of people, whoſe hearts, the very inmoſt of which is laid open to their

penetrating ſight, labour under deep ſorrow and affliction. They perform their devotions at the temples in the following manner: the worſhippers having firſt waſhed and cleaned themſelves, put on the very beſt cloaths they have, with a kamiſijno, as they call it, or a garment of ceremony, every one according to his ability. Thus clad, they walk with a compoſed and grave countenance to the temple-court, and in the firſt place, to the baſon of water, there to waſh their hands, if needful, for which purpoſe a pail is hung by the ſide of it; then caſting down their eyes, they move on, with great reverence and ſubmiſſion, towards the mia itſelf; and having got up the few ſteps which lead to the walk round the temple, and are placed oppoſite to the grated windows of the mia, and the looking-glaſs within, they fall down upon their knees, bow their head quite to the ground, ſlowly and with great humility; then lift it up again, ſtill kneeling and turning their eyes towards the looking-glaſs, make a ſhort prayer, wherein they expoſe to the gods their deſires and neceſſities, or ſay a takamano farokami jodomari, and then throw ſome putjes, or ſmall pieces of money, by way of an offering to the gods and charity to the prieſts, either through the grates upon the floor of the mia, or into the alms-box, which ſtands cloſe by: all this being done, they ſtrike thrice the bell, which is hung up over the door of the mia, for the diverſion of the gods, whom they believe to be highly delighted with the ſound of muſical inſtruments; and ſo retire to divert themſelves the remaining part of the day, with walking, exerciſes, eating or drinking, and treating one another in the very beſt manner they can. This plain and ſimple act of devotion, which may be repeated at any time, even when they are not clad in their beſt cloaths, is on the ſolemn feſtivals performed by all the Sintos worſhippers, at the temples of one or more gods, whom they more peculiarly confide in, either for being the patrons of the profeſſion they follow, or becauſe otherwiſe they have it in their power to aſſiſt and to forward them in their private undertakings. They have no ſettled rites and church ceremonies; no beads, nor any ſtated forms of prayers. Every one is at liberty to ſet forth his neceſſities to the gods, in what words, and after what manner he pleaſes. Nay, there are among them, who think it needleſs to do it in any at all, upon a ſuppoſition, that the very inmoſt of their hearts, all their thoughts, wiſhes and deſires, are ſo fully known to the immortal gods, as diſtinctly their faces are ſeen in the looking-glaſs. Nor is it in the leaſt requiſite, that, by any particular mortification of their bodies, or other act of devotion, they ſhould prepare themſelves worthily to celebrate their feſtival days, ordinary or extraordinary, or the days of commemoration of their deceaſed parents, or neareſt relations. Even on thoſe days which are more particularly conſecrated to commemorate the death of their parents, and which they obſerve very religiouſly, they may eat or drink any thing they pleaſe, provided it be not otherwiſe contrary to the cuſtoms of the country. It is obſervable in general, that their feſtivals and holidays are days ſacred rather to mutual compliments and civilities, than to acts of holineſs and devotion; for which reaſon alſo they call them rebis, which implies as much as viſiting-days. It is true, indeed, that they think it a duty incumbent on them, on thoſe days, to go to the temple of Tenſio Daiſin, the firſt and principal object of their worſhip, and the temples of their other gods and deceaſed great men. And, although they are ſcrupulous enough in the obſervance of this duty, yet the beſt part of their time is ſpent with viſiting and complimenting their ſuperiors, friends and relations. Their feaſts, weddings, audiences, great entertainments, and in general all manner of public and private rejoicings, are made on theſe days preferably to others; not only becauſe they are then more at leiſure, but chiefly becauſe they fancy that their gods themſelves are very much delighted, when men allow themſelves reaſonable pleaſures and diverſions. All their

rebis,

rebis, or holidays in general, are unmoveable, and fixed to certain days. Some are monthly, others yearly; both which I proceed now more particularly to enumerate.

The monthly holidays are three in number. The firſt is called Tſitatz, and is the firſt day of each month. It deſerves rather to be called a day of compliments and mutual civilities, than a church or Sunday. The Japaneſe on this day riſe early in the morning, and paſs their time going from houſe to houſe to ſee their ſuperiors, friends, and relations; to pay their reſpects and compliments to them; and to wiſh them medito, or joy on the happy return of the new-moon. The remainder of the day is ſpent about the temples, and in other pleaſant places where there is agreeable walking. Some divert themſelves with drinking of ſoccana, a ſort of liquor peculiar to this country. Others paſs the afternoon in company with women. In ſhort, every one follows that day what pleaſures and diverſion he likes beſt. And this cuſtom is grown ſo univerſal, that not only the Sintoiſts, but the Japaneſe in general, of all ranks and religions, obſerve it as a cuſtom derived down to them from their anceſtors, and worthy, were it but on this ſole account, that ſome regard ſhould be paid to it.

The ſecond monthly holiday is the fifteenth of each month, being the day of the full moon. The gods of the country have a greater ſhare in the viſits the Japaneſe make on this day, than their friends and relations.

Their third monthly holiday is the twenty-eighth of each month, being the day before the new moon, or the laſt day of the decreaſing moon. Not near ſo much regard is had to this, than there is to either of the two former; and the Sintos temples are very little crowded on it. There is a greater concourſe of people on this day at the Budſdo's temples, it being one of the monthly holidays ſacred to Amida.

They have five great yearly rebi, or ſekſ, that is, feſtivals or holidays; which, from their number, are called goſekſ, that is, the five ſolemn feſtivals. They are purpoſely laid upon thoſe days which, by reaſon of their imparity, are judged to be the moſt unfortunate; and they have alſo borrowed their names from thence. They are, 1. Songuatz, or the new-year's day. 2. Sanguatz ſannitz, the third day of the third month. 3. Goguatz gonitz, the fifth day of the fifth month. 4. Sitſiguatz fanuka, the ſeventh day of the ſeventh month; and, 5. Kuguatz kunitz, the ninth day of the ninth month.

Theſe five great yearly feſtivals are again little elſe but feſta politica, days of univerſal rejoicings. It hath been already obſerved, that they were by their anceſtors purpoſely and prudently appointed to be celebrated on thoſe days, which were judged by their imparity to be the moſt unfortunate; and this, in order to divert their camis, or gods, by their univerſal mirth, and by their wiſhing of joy and happineſs to each other to decline and to avoid all unhappy accidents that might otherwiſe befal them: on this account alſo, and becauſe of their being days ſacred not ſo much to the worſhip of their gods as to joy and pleaſure, they are celebrated indifferently, not only by the Sintoiſts, but by the generality of the Japaneſe, whatever ſect or religion they otherwiſe adhere to.

But to take them into a more particular conſideration, I will begin with the Songuatz, or new-year's-day, which is celebrated in Japan with the utmoſt ſolemnity, preferably to all other holidays. The main buſineſs of the day conſiſts in viſiting and complimenting each other on the happy beginning of the new year; in eating and drinking; and going to the temples, which ſome do to worſhip, but far the greater part for pleaſure and diverſion. Whoever is able to ſtir, gets up betimes in the morning, puts on his beſt cloaths, and repairs to the houſes of his patrons, friends, and relations, to whom he makes, with a low bow, his medito, as they call it, or compliment ſuitable to the occaſion,

occaſion, and at the ſame time preſents them with a box, wherein are contained two or three fans, with a piece of the dried fleſh of the awabi, or auris marina, tied to them, and his name writ upon the box, for the information of the perſon to whom the preſent is made, in caſe he ſhould not be at home, or not at leiſure to receive company. The piece of the awabi fleſh in particular, is intended to remind them of the frugality, as well as the poverty of their anceſtors, who lived chiefly upon the fleſh of this ſhell, and to make them ſenſible of their preſent happineſs and plenty. In houſes of people of quality, where a number of viſiters on ſuch days muſt needs be very conſiderable, they keep a man on purpoſe, waiting at the entry of the houſe, or in one of the lowermoſt apartments, to receive both the compliments and preſents that are made that day; and to ſet down in writing the names of the perſons who came to wait upon his maſter, and what preſents they brought along with them. The forenoon being thus ſpent, and by repeated draughts of ſtrong liquors, which they are preſented with in ſeveral places, a good foundation laid for the enſuing frolic, they crown the ſolemnity of the day with a plentiful dinner, which is commonly provided by the head or chief of the family. This viſiting and rambling about from place to place, laſts three days, but the eating and drinking, and treating one another, is not diſcontinued for the whole month. The firſt three or four days every thing is provided for in plenty, and every one clad as elegantly and handſomely as his abilities will allow. Even poor labouring people, on this occaſion, wear a camiſijno, as they call it, or a garment of ceremony, with a ſcimiter ſtuck in their girdle. If they have none of their own, they borrow them of other people, for fear of being excluded from honeſt companies, and deprived of their ſhare in the univerſal mirth and pleaſure. Some few go to perform their devotions at the temples, particularly that of Tenſio Dai Sin.

The ſecond ſekſ, or great yearly feſtival, is called Sanguatz Sannitz, becauſe of its being celebrated on the third day of the third month. On this alſo, after the uſual compliments and viſits, which friends and relations pay one to another, and inferiors to their ſuperiors, every one diverts himſelf in the beſt manner he can. The ſeaſon of the year; the beginning of the ſpring; the trees, chiefly plum, cherry, and apricot-trees, which are then in full bloſſom, and loaded with numberleſs white and incarnate flowers, ſingle and double, and no leſs remarkable for their largeneſs and plenty than for their ſingular beauty, invite every body to take the diverſion of the country, and to behold Nature in her new and inimitable dreſs. But this fame feſtival is beſides a day of pleaſure and diverſion for young girls, for whoſe ſake a great entertainment is commonly prepared by their parents, whereto they invite their neareſt relations and friends. A large and ſpacious apartment is curiouſly adorned with puppets to a conſiderable value, which are to repreſent the court of the Dairi, or Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperor, with the perſon of Finakuge. A table with Japaneſe victuals is placed before each puppet, and, among other things, cakes made of rice and the leaves of young mugwort. Theſe victuals, and a diſh of ſaki, the gueſts are preſented with by the girls, for whoſe diverſion the entertainment is intended, or, if they be too young, by their parents. The following ſtory gave birth to this cuſtom: A rich man, who lived near Riuſagava, which is as much as to ſay the Bird-River, had a daughter called Bunsjo, who was married to one Symmios Dai Mioſin. Not having any children by her huſband for many years, ſhe very earneſtly addreſſed herſelf in her prayers to the camis, or gods of the country, and this with ſo much ſucceſs, that ſoon after ſhe found herſelf big, and was brought to bed of five hundred eggs. The poor woman extremely ſurpriſed at this extraordinary accident, and full of fear, that the eggs, if hatched, would produce monſtrous animals, packed them all up into a box, and threw them

into the river Riuſagava, with this precaution however, that ſhe wrote the word, foſjoroo, upon the box. Sometime after an old fiſherman, who lived a good way down the river, found this box floating, took it up, and having found it full of eggs, he carried them home to preſent them to his wife, who was of opinion that there could not be any thing extraordinary in them, and that certainly they had been thrown into the water for ſome good reaſon, and therefore ſhe adviſed him to carry them back, where he found them. But the old man replied: "We are both old, (ſaid he) my dear, and juſt on the brink of the grave, it will be a matter of very little conſequence to us whatever comes out of the eggs, and therefore I have a mind to hatch them, and to ſee what they will produce." Accordingly he hatched them in an oven, in hot ſand, and between cuſhions, as the way is in the Indies; and having afterwards opened them, they found in every one a child. To keep ſuch a number of children proved a very heavy burthen for this old couple. However they made a ſhift, and bred them up with mugwort-leaves minced, and boiled rice. But in time they grew ſo big, that the old man and his wife could not maintain them any longer, ſo that they were neceſſitated to ſhift for themſelves, as well as they could, and took to robbing on the highway. Among other projects, it was propoſed to them to go up the river to the houſe of a rich man, who was very famous for his great wealth in that part of the country. As good luck would have it, this houſe proved to be that of their mother. Upon application made at the door, one of the ſervants aſked what their names were; to which they anſwered, that they had no names; that they were a brood of five hundred eggs; that mere want and neceſſity had obliged them to call; and that they would go about their buſineſs, if they would be ſo charitable as to give them ſome victuals. The ſervant having brought the meſſage in to his lady, ſhe ſent him back to enquire, whether there had not been ſomething writ upon the box in which the eggs had been found; and being anſwered, that the word foſjoroo was found writ upon it, ſhe could then no longer doubt, but that they all were her children; and accordingly acknowledged and received them as ſuch, and made a great entertainment, whereat every one of the gueſts was preſented with a diſh of ſekana, cakes of mugwort and rice, and a branch of the apricot-tree. This is the reaſon they give, why, on this feſtival, branches of apricot-trees are laid over the kettle, and cakes made of mugwort and rice, which they call futſumotzi, that is, mugwort-cakes, and prepared after the following manner: the mugwort-leaves are ſoaked in water over night, then preſſed, dried and reduced to powder, afterwards mixed with rice, which hath been boiled in water, then again reduced to powder and mixed with boiled rice and adſuki, or red beans groſsly powdered, and ſo baked into cakes. The mother of theſe children was afterwards related among the goddeſſes of the country, by the name of Benſaiten. They believe that ſhe is waited upon in the happy regions of the gods by her five hundred ſons; and they worſhip her as the goddeſs of riches.

The third ſeku, or yearly feſtival, is Goguatz-Gonitz, or the fifth day of the fifth month. It is alſo called Tangono Seku, and is much of the ſame nature with the laſt; with this difference only, that it is intended chiefly for the diverſion of young boys, who in this, as well as in other countries, neglect no opportunity to make a holiday, and to play about. The inhabitants of Nagaſaki divert themſelves on the water on this and ſome following days, rowing up and down in their boats, which are for this purpoſe curiouſly adorned; and crying, according to the cuſtom of the Chineſe, Peiruun, Peiruun. Mugwort-leaves are put upon the roofs and over the doors of their houſes. It is commonly believed, that the mugwort gathered about this time of the year, and particularly on theſe holidays, makes the beſt and ſtrongeſt moxa, when three or four years

years old. This feſtival owes its origin to the hiſtory of Peiruun, a King of the iſland Manrigaſima, of whom, and the tragical deſtruction of this once rich and flouriſhing iſland, I have given a large account in my Amœnitates Exoticæ, faſc. iii. ſect. 13. whereto I refer the reader. (See the hiſtory of the Tea, in the Appendix.) It began to be celebrated at Nagaſaki, by the Foktſui people, who introduced it at firſt among the young boys, and kept it for ſome time, before elderly and grave people would conform themſelves to the cuſtom. It is ſaid, that at the place where the iſland ſtood, ſome remains of it do ſtill appear in low-water. The very beſt earth for porcelain-ware is found at the ſame place, and ſometimes entire veſſels of a fine, thin, greeniſh, old China are taken up by the divers, which the Japaneſe have a very great value for, both for their antiquity and for the good quality, which it is ſaid they have, not only to preſerve tea a long while, but even to reſtore old tea which begins to decay, to its former ſtrength and goodneſs.

The fourth great yearly feſtival is called Siſſiguatz Nanuka, becauſe of its being celebrated on the ſeventh day of the ſeventh month. They give it alſo the name of Siſſeki Tanabatta, which implies as much, and Tanomunoſeku, which is as much as to ſay an auxiliar feſtival. The uſual pleaſures and diverſions conſiſting in viſiting one another, in eating and drinking, are followed on this day with the ſame freedom as on other ſolemn days. The ſchool-boys in particular, among various ſorts of plays, erect poles or poſts of bamboos, and tie verſes of their own making to them, to ſhew their application and progreſs at ſchool.

The fifth and laſt of the great yearly feſtivals is Kunitz, or Kuguatz Kokonok, ſo called becauſe of its being celebrated on the ninth day of the ninth month. Drinking is the favourite diverſion on this feſtival, though without prejudice to other their uſual rejoicings. No expences are ſpared to provide victuals and good liquors in plenty, every one according to his ability. The joy and mirth is univerſal. Neighbours treat one another by turns that and ſome following days. Not even ſtrangers and unknown perſons are ſuffered to paſs by without being invited to make merry with the company. In ſhort, one would imagine that the Bacchanals of the Romans had been brought over into Japan, and eſtabliſhed there. At Nagaſaki the ſolemnity is ſo much the greater, as the feſtival of Suwa, formerly a renowned hunter, and now god and protector of hunting, luckily happens to fall upon this ſame day. All ſorts of diverſions and public ſhows, dancing, plays, proceſſions, and the like, (which they call matſuri, or an offering, and matſurn, that is, making an offering,) ſo greatly divert and amuſe the people, that many chuſe rather to loſe their dinner than to give over ſauntering and ſtaring about the ſtreets till late at night.

But beſides theſe five great yearly feſtivals, there are many more holidays obſerved in Japan, of leſs note indeed, and ſacred to particular gods and idols, in whoſe honour they are celebrated, either univerſally and throughout the empire, or only in ſuch particular places, which in a more peculiar manner acknowledge their favour and protection. It would be needleſs, and almoſt endleſs to mention them all: however, to give ſome ſatisfaction to my reader, I will confine myſelf to ſome of the moſt eminent. But before I proceed, I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that, for the major part, they are not of ſo great antiquity and long ſtanding as the great yearly feſtivals mentioned above, but of a later date, and inſtituted at different times in honour and memory of ſome of their Emperors, and other great men, who had either in their lifetime done ſignal ſervices to their country, or by their apparitions after their death, by extraordinary miracles wrought by them, and by their powerful aſſiſtance in private undertakings convinced their countrymen, that having been tranſported into the regions of immortal

ſpirits, they had no ſmall ſhare in the government of this world, and were worthy on this account, to have divine worſhip paid them.

Tenſio Dai Sin is the ſupreme of all the gods of the Japaneſe, and acknowledged as patron and protector of the whole empire. His annual feſtival falls upon the ſixteenth day of the ninth month, and is celebrated in all cities and villages throughout the empire, among other things, with ſolemn matſuris, as they call them, or proceſſions and public ſhows in honour, and often in preſence of his idol and prieſts. It is a cuſtom which obtains in all cities and villages, to have two ſuch matſuris celebrated every year with great pomp and ſolemnity in honour of that god, to whoſe more particular care and protection they have devoted themſelves. As to Tenſio Dai Sin, beſides his great yearly feſtival, which is on the ſixteenth day of the ninth month, the ſixteenth, twenty-firſt, and twenty-ſixth days of every month are likewiſe ſacred to him, but not celebrated with any great ſolemnity.

The ninth (common people add the nineteenth and twenty-ninth) of every month are ſacred to Suwa. All lovers of hunting, and ſuch perſons as recommend themſelves to Suwa's more immediate protection, never fail on theſe days to pay their duty and worſhip to him at his temples. His annual feſtival is celebrated with more than ordinary pomp and ſolemnity, on the ninth day of the ſixth month. The canuſis on this day make all thoſe that come to worſhip at Suwa's temples creep through a circle, or hoop, made of bamboos, and wound about with linen, in memory of a certain accident, which is ſaid to have happened to the ſaint in his life-time. But the greateſt of his yearly feſtivals is celebrated at Nagaſaki on the ninth day of the ninth month. This city hath a particular veneration for Suwa; and the matſuris, and other public and private rejoicings made on this occaſion, laſt three days ſucceſſively.

Tenſin hath two yearly feſtivals, one on the twenty-fifth day of the ſecond month, the other on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month, which laſt is celebrated with much greater ſolemnity than the firſt. His chief temple is at Saif, the place of his baniſhment. He hath another at Miaco, where he manifeſted himſelf by many miracles. His adorers reſort in pilgrimage to theſe two places from all parts of the empire, chiefly on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month. He hath alſo a private monthly holiday, every twenty-fifth day of the month.

The feſtival of Fatzman, a brother of Tenſio Dai Sin, is likewiſe celebrated on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month. He was in his lifetime called Ooſin, and was the ſixteenth Emperor of Japan.

The feſtival of Mori Saki Dai Gongen, is on the eleventh day of the third month. Simios Dai Mioſin. Sitenno.

Gotſutenno, or Giwon, hath his feſtival at Nangaſaki, on the fifteenth day of the ſixth month. His monthly holiday is the ſame with Fatzman's, but little regarded.

Inari Dai Mioſin, is the great god of the foxes. His yearly feſtival is on the eighth day of the eleventh month, and his monthly holiday every eighth day of the month.

Idſumo no O Jaſijro, that is, O Jaſijro of the province Idſumo, is another god, for whom they have a great reſpect. Amongſt ſeveral glorious exploits he killed a miſchievous terrible dragon. He is called alſo Osjuwo ni no Mikotto.

Kaſſino Dai Mioſin. She was Empreſs of Japan, and in her life-time called Singukoga.

Benſaiten. Her feſtival is on the ſeventh day of the eighth month. The hiſtory of this goddeſs is amply deſcribed at the beginning of this chapter.

Kumano Gongen. Naniwa Takakuno Mai Kokſirano Dai Mioſin was the ſeventeenth Emperor of Japan, and in his life time called Nintoku.

Aſkano Dai Mioſin, was the twenty-ſeventh Emperor of Japan, and when alive called Kei Tei.

Kimbo Senno Gogin, was in his life time called Ankan, and was the twenty-eighth Emperor of Japan.

The merchants worſhip and devote themſelves in a more peculiar manner to the four following gods, as gods of fortune and proſperity. 1. Jebiſu was Tenſio Daiſin's brother, but by him diſgraced and baniſhed into an uninhabited iſland. It is ſaid of him, that he could live two or three days under water. He is, as it were, the Neptune of the country, and the protector of fiſhermen, and ſea faring-people. They repreſent him ſitting on a rock, with an angling-rod in one hand, or the celebrated fiſu tai, or ſteenbraſſem in the other. 2. Daikoku, is ſaid to have the power, that wherever he knocks with his hammer, he can fetch out from thence any thing he wants, as for inſtance, rice, victuals, cloth, money, &c. He is commonly repreſented ſitting on a bale of rice, with his fortunate hammer in his right hand, and a bag laid by him, to put up what he knocks out. 3. Toſſitoku, and by ſome called Kurokuſi. The Japaneſe worſhip him at the beginning of the new year, in order to obtain from his aſſiſtance, ſucceſs and proſperity in their undertakings. He is repreſented ſtanding clad in a large gown with long ſleeves, with a long beard, a huge monſtrous forehead, and large ears, and a fan in his right hand. 4. Fottei, by ſome called Miroku, is repreſented with a great huge belly. His worſhippers expect from his benevolent aſſiſtance, among other good things, health, riches, and children.

Theſe are the greateſt of their gods, and the feſtival-days ſacred to them. There are many more ſaints and great men, whoſe memory is celebrated on particular days, becauſe of their noble actions, and great ſervices done to their country. But as they are confined to particular places, being called the ſaints of ſuch or ſuch a place, and beſides, as they were never canonized by the Mikaddo, who alone can make ſaints, nor honoured with an okurina, as they call it, or illuſtrious title, which is uſually given to new gods and ſaints, I did not think it worth while to make any enquiries about them.

Thus far, what an attentive traveller can learn in the country, concerning the Sintos religion, and the gods, who are the objects of its worſhip. A more extenſive and accurate account of both is contained in two Japaneſe books, one of which is called Nippon Odaiki, being an hiſtorical and chronological account of their Kintsju, or great men, and their memorable actions; the other Sin Dai Ki, that is, the hiſtory and actions of their great gods.

CHAP. XIV. — *Of the Sanga or Pilgrimage to Isje.*

THE Japaneſe are very much addicted to pilgrimages. They make ſeveral, and to different places. The firſt and chief goes to Isje, the ſecond to the thirty-three chief Quanwon temples of the empire, the third to ſome of the moſt eminent Sin, or Cami, and Fotoge or Buds temples, famous for the great miracles wrought there, and the help and benefit pilgrims found by going to worſhip there; ſuch are for inſtance, Nikotira, that is, the Temple of the Splendor of the Sun, in the province Osju, ſome temples of Fatzman, ſome temples of the great teacher Jakuſi, and ſome more, whereof every one is at liberty to chooſe, which he likes beſt, or which it beſt ſuits his convenience to reſort to. A true orthodox Sintoiſt viſits no other temples in pilgrimage, but thoſe of his own gods, and the temple Saif, in Tſikuſen, where Tenſin died. It may not be amiſs to obſerve in general, that of the three ſeveral ſorts of pilgrimages

mentioned above, the laſt are made indifferently, by the Sintoiſts as well as the Budſdoiſts, with this difference, however, that every one goes only to thoſe temples, and worſhips only thoſe gods, whom his religion commands him to worſhip. The ſecond, which is the pilgrimage to the-thirty three Quanwon temples, is peculiar to neither of theſe two religions, but made indifferently by the adherents of both, and looked upon by the generality of the Japaneſe as a ſure means to obtain happineſs in this world, and bliſs in that to come. But the firſt of all, which is made to Isje, I propoſe to take into a more particular conſideration in this chapter.

Sanga, in the literal ſenſe of the word, is as much as to ſay, the Aſcent, or going up the temple, and muſt be underſtood only of this moſt eminent temple of Tenſio Dai Sin, or Tenſio ko Dai Sin, that is according to the literal ſignification of theſe words, The great Hereditary Imperial God of the Celeſtial Generation. This Tenſio Dai Sin, is the greateſt of all the gods of the Japaneſe, and the firſt and chief object of the Sintos worſhip, on which account alſo his temple is called Dai Singu, that is, the Temple of the great God, for Dai ſignifies great Sin, and Cami, a god, a ſpirit, or immortal ſoul, and Gu in conjunction with theſe words, a mia, that is, a temple, or holy building erected in honour and memory of a god, or immortal ſpirit. The common people call it Isje Mia, or the temple of Isje, from a province of that name, wherein it ſtands. A particular and extraordinary holineſs is aſcribed to this province, becauſe Tenſio Dai Sin was born, lived and died there, whence alſo they derive the name Isje.

This temple, according to the account of thoſe that have been to ſee it, is ſeated in a large plain, and is a ſorry low building of wood, covered with a low, flattiſh, thatched roof. Particular care is taken to preſerve it as it was built originally, that it ſhould be a ſtanding monument of the extreme poverty and indigence of their anceſtors and founders of the temple, or the firſt men, as they call them. In the middle of the temple is nothing elſe but a looking-glaſs, caſt of metal, and poliſhed, according to the faſhion of the country, and ſome cut paper is hung round the walls; the looking-glaſs is placed there, as an emblem of the all ſeeing eye of this great god, and the knowledge he hath of what paſſes in the inmoſt heart of his worſhippers; the white cut paper is to repreſent the purity of the place, and to put his adorers in mind, that they ought not to appear before him, but with a pure unſpotted heart and clean body. This principal temple is ſurrounded with near an hundred ſmall chapels, built in honour of other inferior gods, which have little elſe of a temple but the mere ſhape, being for the greateſt part ſo low and ſmall, that a man can ſcarce ſtand upright in them. Each of theſe chapels is attended by a Canuſi, or ſeculiar prieſt of the Sintos religion. Next to the temples and chapels live multitudes of Nege, Lords or officers of the Temple, and Taije, as they alſo ſtyle themſelves, that is Evangeliſts or Meſſengers of the Gods, who keep houſes and lodgings to accommodate travellers and pilgrims. Not far off lies a town, or rather a large borough, which bears the ſame name with the temple, and is inhabited by inn-keepers, printers, paper-makers, book-binders, cabinet-makers, joiners, and ſuch other workmen, whoſe buſineſs and profeſſion are any ways related to the holy trade carried on at this place.

Orthodox Sintoiſts go in pilgrimage to Isje once a year, or at leaſt once in their life. Nay, it is thought a duty incumbent on every true patriot, whatever ſect or religion he otherwiſe adheres to, and a public mark of reſpect and gratitude, which every one ought to pay to Tenſio Dai Sin, if not, as to the god and protector of the nation, at leaſt, as to its founder and firſt parent. But beſides that they look upon it as a duty, there are many conſiderable advantages, which, as they believe, accrue to thoſe that

viſit in pilgrimage theſe holy places, ſuch as for inſtance, abſolution and delivery from ſin, aſſurances of a happy ſtate in the world to come, health, riches, dignities, children, and other temporal bleſſings in this life. To keep up the ſuperſtitious vulgar in theſe advantageous notions, every pilgrim is preſented by the Canuſis, for a ſmall conſideration, with an ofarrai, as they call it, that is, a great purification, being as it were, a public and undoubted inſtrument of the abſolution and remiſſion of their ſins, inſured to themſelves by his holy act. But as many people are not able to fetch them at Isje in perſon, by reaſon either of ſickneſs, and old age, or becauſe of their employments, attendance upon their Prince, or for ſome ſuch other weighty cauſe, care is taken not to let them want ſo great and ſingular a benefit, but to provide them at home. Many of the Budſdoiſts reſort in pilgrimage to this place, at leaſt once, if not oftener, in their life, were it but in order to get the reputation of a true patriot amongſt their countrymen. But ſtill there are very many who ſtay at home, and think it ſufficient for the eaſe and quietneſs of their conſcience, beſides the yearly indulgences of their own prieſts, to purchaſe the ofarrais from Isje, great quantities whereof are ſent yearly to all parts of the empire.

This pilgrimage is made at all times of the year, but the greateſt concourſe of people is in the three firſt months (March, April, and May,) when the ſeaſon of the year, and the good weather, make the journey very agreeable and pleaſant. Perſons of all ranks and qualities, rich and poor, old and young, men and women, reſort thither, the lords only of the higheſt quality, and the moſt potent Princes of the empire excepted, who ſeldom appear there in perſon. An embaſſy from the Emperor is ſent there once every year, in the firſt month, at which time alſo another with rich preſents goes to Miaco, to the Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Monarch. Moſt of the Princes of the empire follow the Emperor's example. As to the pilgrims, who go there in perſon, every one is at liberty to make the journey in what manner he pleaſes. Able people do it at their own expence in litters, or on horſeback, with a retinue ſuitable to their quality. Poor people go a foot, living upon charity which they beg along the road. They carry their bed along with them upon their back, being a ſtraw-mat rolled up, and have a pilgrim's ſtaff in their hands, and a pail hung by their girdle, out of which they drink, and wherein they receive people's charity, pulling off their hats much after the European manner. Their hats are very large, twiſted of ſplit reeds. Generally ſpeaking, their names, birth, and the place from whence they come, are writ upon their hats and pails, that in caſe ſudden death, or any other accident, ſhould befal them upon the road, it might be known who they are, and to whom they belong; thoſe that can afford it, wear a ſhort white coat without ſleeves, over their uſual dreſs, with their names ſtitched upon it before the breaſt and on the back. Multitudes of theſe pilgrims are ſeen daily on the road. It is ſcarce credible what numbers ſet out, only from the capital city of Jedo, and from the large province Osju. It is no uncommon thing at Jedo for children to run away from their parents, in order to go in pilgrimage to Isje. The like attempt would be more difficult in other places, where a traveller that is not provided with the neceſſary paſſports, would expoſe himſelf to no ſmall trouble. As to thoſe that return from Isje, they have the privilege, that the ofarrai, which they bring from thence, is allowed every where as a good paſſport.

After the pilgrim is ſet out on his journey to Isje, a rope with a bit of white paper twiſted round it, is hung up over the door of his houſe, as a mark for all ſuch as labour under an ima, as they call it, that is under a conſiderable degree of impurity, occaſioned chiefly by the death of their parents or near relations, to avoid entering the ſame, it having been obſerved, that when by chance, or through inadvertency, ſuch

an impure perſon came into a pilgrim's houſe, the pilgrim at the ſame time found himſelf very much troubled with ſtrange uneaſy dreams, or expoſed to ſome misfortunes. The like marks of purity are alſo hung up over the walks which lead to the mias, or temples.

But it is required beſides, that the pilgrim himſelf, when he is about, or hath already undertaken this holy journey, ſhould abſtain religiouſly from what will make a man impure, as amongſt other things from whoring, nay, lying with his own wife, not that otherwiſe it be thought an act of unholineſs, and unpleaſing to the gods to comply with the duties of married perſons, but becauſe they are apprehenſive that doing it at a time when their minds ſhould be wholly taken up with the holy action they are about to perform, would prove prejudicial to them. The Jammabos, that is, mountain prieſts (a certain religious order affecting a very auſtere life), in order to keep up theſe ridiculous notions in the minds of the ſuperſtitious, never fail to report about, and to make people believe ſtrange ſtories of perſons in this caſe, who were ſo firmly and cloſely joined one to another, that nothing but the power of their charms and magical ceremonies could bring them aſunder. Should a Fuſio, a perſon that labours under any degree of impurity, preſume to undertake this holy journey, before he hath ſufficiently purified himſelf, he would undoubtedly draw upon him and his family, the ſinbatz, that is the diſpleaſure and vengeance of the juſt and pure gods. The Siukkie, or prieſts of the Budſdo religion, ſtand excluded for ever from theſe holy places, becauſe they follow an impure profeſſion, and are obliged to attend ſick people, and to bury the dead.

When the pilgrim is come to Isje, the deſired end of his journey, which is done daily by great numbers, and upon ſome particular days by ſeveral thouſands, he repairs forthwith to one of the Canuſis, whom he is acquainted withal, or hath been addreſſed to, or by whom he hath been before furniſhed with ofarrais, and accoſts him in a civil and humble manner, bowing his forehead quite down to the ground, according to the country faſhion. The Canuſi upon this, either conducts him himſelf, with other pilgrims that applied to him for the ſame purpoſe, or commands his ſervant to go along with them, to ſhew them the ſeveral temples, and to tell them the names of the gods, to whom they were built, which being done, he himſelf carries them before the chief temple of Tenſio Dai Sin, where with great humility they proſtrate themſelves flat to the ground, and in this abject poſture addreſs their ſupplications to this powerful god, ſetting forth their wants and neceſſities, and praying for happineſs, riches, health, long life, and the like. After this manner it is, that they diſcharge their duty towards Tenſio Dai Sin, and compleat the end of their pilgrimage. They are entertained afterwards, as long as they ſtay at Isje, by the Canuſi, who lodges them at his own houſe, if they are not able to bear the expence of a lodging at a public inn. The pilgrims, however, are generally ſo grateful, as to make the Canuſi a handſome return for his civility, ſhould it be even out of what they got by begging, and he hath complaiſance enough not to refuſe it.

Having performed all the acts of devotion this pilgrimage requires, the pilgrim is by the Canuſi preſented with an ofarrai, or indulgence. This ofarrai is a ſmall oblong ſquare box, about a ſpan and a half long, two inches broad, an inch and half thick, made of ſmall thin boards, and full of thin ſmall ſticks, ſome of which are wrapt up in bits of white paper, in order to remind the pilgrim to be pure and humble, theſe two virtues being the moſt pleaſing to the gods. The name of the temple, Dai Singu, that is, the temple of the great god, printed in large characters, is paſted to the front

of

of the box, and the name of the Canuſi who gave the box (for there are great numbers that carry on this trade) on the oppoſite ſide, in a ſmaller character, with the noble title of Taiju, which is as much as to ſay, Meſſengers of the Gods, a title which all the officers of Mias aſſume to themſelves.

This ofarrai the pilgrims receive with great tokens of reſpect and humility, and immediately tie it under their hats, in order to keep it from the rain. They wear it juſt under their forehead, and balance it with another box, or a bundle of ſtraw, much of the ſame weight, which they faſten to the oppoſite ſide of the hat. Thoſe that travel on horſeback have better conveniences to keep and hide it. When the pilgrims are got ſafe home, they take eſpecial care for the preſervation of this ofarrai, as being a relick of very great moment and conſequence to them. And although the effects and virtues of it be limited only to a year, yet after this term is expired, they allow it a very honourable place in one of the chief apartments of their houſes, on a ſhelf made for this purpoſe, and raiſed above a man's height. In ſome places the cuſtom is to keep the old ofarrais over the doors of their houſes, underneath a ſmall roof. Poor people, for want of a better place, keep them in hollow trees behind their houſes. In like manner, the ofarrais of deceaſed people, and thoſe that are dropped upon the road, when found, are put up carefully in the next hollow tree.

Large quantities of theſe ofarrais are ſent by the Canuſis every year into all parts of the empire, to ſupply thoſe, who cannot conveniently, or are not willing to come and fetch them at Isje. Theſe ofarrai merchants make it their buſineſs to reſort to the principal and moſt populous towns towards the Sanguatz, as they call it, or New-year's-day, this being one of their moſt ſolemn feſtivals, and a day of great purification, and certainly the time when they are moſt likely to diſpoſe of their merchandize quickly, and to advantage. They ſell at the ſame time new almanacks, which are made by the command of the Mikaddo, or Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperor, and cannot be printed any where elſe but at Isje. One may buy an ofarrai and an almanack together for a maas, or an itzebo. Able people will give more by way of charity. Thoſe that buy them once, are ſure to be called upon the next year, and to be preſented with three things, to wit, a receipt from the Canuſi, or rather a compliment of thanks to the buyer, a new ofarrai, and a new almanack. Such as pay handſomely, and more than is due, which common people ſeldom do, receive moreover a ſakkant, or a varniſhed wooden cup, as a ſmall return for their generoſity.

The following account of the preſent ſtate and ſituation of the temples at Isje, is taken out of Itznobe, a Japaneſe author. There are two temples at Isje, about the length of twelve ſtreets diſtant from each other, both indifferent low ſtructures. The ground whereon they ſtand hath not above ſix mats in compaſs, the place where the Canuſis ſit in honour of Tenſio Dai Sin taken in. They are both covered with a thatched roof, and both built, which is very remarkable, without any one of the workmen's receiving the leaſt hurt in any part of his body. Behind theſe two temples on a ſmall eminence, ſtands the ſmall, but true temple of Tenſio Dai Sin, which is called Fongu, that is, the true Temple, and which hath been purpoſely built higher than the others, in like manner as the temple of Suwa is at Nangaſaki: within this temple, there is nothing to be ſeen but a looking-glaſs, and bits of white paper.

The firſt of the temples mentioned above is called Geku; it hath ſeveral Canuſis to attend it, and about fourſcore maſſia or ſmaller temples around it, built in honour of inferior gods, each about four mats large, and guarded by a Canuſi ſitting within to receive people's charity, that being his perquiſite for his attendance.

The

The ſecond Mia is called Naiku, and ſtands about the length of twelve ſtreets further off. It hath likewiſe great numbers of Canuſis, and forty Maſſia, or ſmaller temples round it, each with a Canuſi as above. The Canuſis of theſe ſmaller temples have a very ſingular title, being called Mia Dſuſume, which ſignifies temple-ſparrows.

Thoſe who have a mind to ſee theſe temples, and what is remarkable in and about them, without being conducted by a Canuſi, or his ſervants, muſt obſerve the following rules. They go, in the firſt place, to the river Mijangawa, which runs by the village Isje, oppoſite to the temples, there to waſh and to clean themſelves. Thence walking towards the houſes of the Canuſis, and other merchants, which are about the length of three or four ſtreets diſtant from the banks of the river, and paſſing the ſaid houſes, they come to a broad gravelly walk, which leads them ſtraight to the Geku Mia. Here they worſhip in the firſt place, and then go round to view the inferior temples, beginning on the right hand, and ſo going on till they come again to the ſaid temple, from whence they proceed ſtraight forward to the ſecond, called Naiku, where they worſhip as before, and ſee the Maſſias round it. From this ſecond temple they proceed further up a neighbouring hill, ſituate not far from the coaſts, and having walked the length of about fifteen ſtreets, they come to a ſmall cavern, called Awano Matta, that, is the the coaſt of heaven, which is not above twenty ikins diſtant from the ſea. It was in this cavern the great Tenſio Dai Sin hid himſelf, and thereby depriving the world, ſun and ſtars, of their light, ſhewed, that he alone is the lord and fountain of light, and the ſupreme of all the gods. This cavern is about a mat and a half large, with a ſmall temple or chapel, wherein they keep a cami or idol ſitting on a cow, and called Dainitz no rai, that is the great repreſentation of the ſun. Hard by live ſome Canuſis in two houſes built upon the coaſts, which are hereabouts very ſteep and rocky The pilgrim performs his devotions alſo at this cavern and temple, and then preſents the Canuſis with a few Putjes, deſiring them withal to plant a ſugi-plant in memory of his having been there. From the top of this hill, a large iſland is ſeen at a diſtance, lying about a mile and a half off the coaſts, which they ſay aroſe out of the ocean in the times of Tenſio Dai Sin. Theſe are the moſt remarkable things to be ſeen at Isje. Curious pilgrims before they return to Isje, go a couple of miles further to ſee a ſtately Budſdo temple, called Aſamadaki, where they worſhip a Quanwon, called Kokuſoboſatz.

CHAP. XV. — *Of the Jammabos, or Mountain-Prieſts, and other Religious Orders.*

THE ſuperſtitious Japaneſe are no leſs inclined to make religious vows, than they are to viſit in pilgrimage holy places. Many among them, and thoſe in particular, who aim at a quick unhindered paſſage into their Elyſian Fields, or a more eminent place in theſe ſtations of happineſs, devote themſelves to enter into a certain religious order of hermits, called Jammabos in the country-language. Others, who labour under ſome temporal misfortune, or are upon the point to go about ſome affair of conſequence, frequently make vow, that in caſe of delivery from preſent danger, or good ſucceſs in their undertakings, they will, out of reſpect and gratitude to the gods, go to worſhip at certain temples, or keep to a rigorous abſtinence on certain days, or build temples, or make valuable preſents to the prieſts, and extenſive charities to the poor, and the like.

Jammabos ſignifies properly ſpeaking, a mountain ſoldier. The character indeed, whereby this word is expreſſed, doth not altogether anſwer to this ſignification, which depends more upon the rules of their order, and their origianl eſtabliſhment, whereby all the individual members of this ſociety are obliged, in caſe of need, to fight for the gods

gods and the religion of the country. They are a ſort of hermits, who pretend to abandon the temporal for the ſake of the ſpiritual and eternal; to exchange an eaſy and commodious way of life for an auſtere and rigorous one: pleaſures for mortifications; ſpending moſt of their time in going up and down holy mountains, and frequently waſhing themſelves in cold water, even in the midſt of the winter. The richer among them, who are more at their eaſe, live in their own houſes. The poorer go ſtrolling and begging about the country, particularly in the province Syriga, in the neighbourhood of the high mountain Fuſi Jamma; to the top whereof they are by the rules of their order obliged to climb every year, in the ſixth month. Some few have mias, or temples, but, generally ſpeaking, ſo ill provided for, that they can ſcarce get a livelihood by them.

The founder of this order was one Gienno Gioſſa, who lived about 1100 years ago. They can give no manner of account of his birth, parents and relations. Nor had he any iſſue. He was the firſt that choſe this ſolitary way of life for the mortification of his body. He ſpent all this time erring and wandering through deſart, wild, and uninhabited places, which in the end proved no inconſiderable ſervice to his country, inſomuch, as thereby he diſcovered the ſituation and nature of ſuch places, which nobody before him ventured to view, or to paſs through, becauſe of their roughneſs and wild aſpect, and by this means found out new, eaſier and ſhorter roads from places to places, to the great advantage of travellers. His followers, in ſucceſs of time, ſplit in two differing orders. One is called Toſanfa. Thoſe who embrace this, muſt once a year climb up to the top of Fikooſan, a very high mountain in the province Buſen, upon the confines of Tſikuſen, a journey of no ſmall difficulty and danger, by reaſon of the height and ſteepneſs of this mountain, and the many precipices all round it, but much more, becauſe, as they pretend, it hath this ſingular quality, that all thoſe who preſume to aſcend it, when fuſios, that is, labouring under any degree of impurity, are by way of puniſhment for their impious raſhneſs poſſeſſed with the fox (others would ſay, the devil) and turn ſtark mad. The ſecond order is called, Fonſanfa. Thoſe who enter into this, muſt viſit in pilgrimage, once a year, the grave of their founder at the top of a high mountain in the province Joſtſijno, which by reaſon of its height is called Omine, that is, the top of the high mountain. It is ſaid to be exceſſive cold at the top of this mountain, the ſteepneſs and precipices whereof make its aſcent no leſs dangerous, than that of the other mentioned above. Should any one preſume to undertake this journey, without having firſt duly purified and prepared himſelf for it, he would run the hazard of being thrown down the horrid precipices, and daſhed to pieces, or at leaſt by a lingering ſickneſs, or ſome other conſiderable misfortune, pay for his folly, and the contempt of the juſt anger of the gods. And yet all theſe dangers and difficulties, notwithſtanding, all perſons, who enter into any of theſe two orders, muſt undertake this journey once a year. In order to this they qualify themſelves by a previous mortification, by virtue whereof they muſt for ſome time abſtain from lying with their wives, from impure food, and other things, by the uſe of which they might contract any degree of impurity, though never ſo ſmall, not forgetting frequently to bathe and to waſh themſelves in cold water. As long as they are upon the journey, they muſt live only upon what roots and plants they find on the mountain.

If they return ſafe home from this hazardous pilgrimage, they repair forthwith, each to the general of his order, who reſides at Miaco, make him a ſmall preſent in money, which if poor, they muſt get by begging, and receive from him a more honourrable title and higher dignity, which occaſions ſome alteration in their dreſs, and increaſes the reſpect that muſt be ſhewn them by their brethren of the ſame order. So far is ambition

ambition from being baniſhed out of theſe religious ſocieties. For thus they riſe by degrees, much after the ſame manner and in the ſame order as they do in the ſociety of the blind, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the latter part of this chapter.

The religious of this order wear the common habit of ſecular perſons, with ſome additional ornaments, directed by the ſtatutes of the order, each of which hath a peculiar name and meaning: they are,

Wakiſaſi, a ſcimeter of Fudo, which they wear ſtuck in their girdle on the left ſide. It is ſomewhat ſhorter than a katanna, and kept in a flat ſheath.

Sakkudſio, a ſmall ſtaff of the god Dſiſo, with a copper head, to which are faſtened four rings, likewiſe of copper. They rattle this ſtaff in their prayers upon uttering certain words.

Foranokai, a large ſhell, which will hold about a pint of water, and is wound like a buccinum, or trumpet, ſmooth, white, with beautiful red ſpots and lines. It is found chiefly about Array, in low water. It hangs down from their girdle, and ſerves them in the nature of a trumpet; having for this purpoſe a tube faſtened to the end, through which they blow upon approach of travellers, to beg their charity. It ſounds not unlike a cowherd's horn.

Dſuſukake, a twiſted band or ſcarf, with fringes at the end. They wear it about their neck. By the length of this ſcarf, as alſo by the ſhape and ſize of the fringes, it is known what titles and dignities they have been raiſed to by their ſuperiors.

Foki, a cap or head-dreſs, which they wear on their forehead. It is peculiar only to ſome few among them.

Oji, a bag wherein they keep a book, ſome money, and cloth. They carry it upon their back.

Jatzuwono warandzie, are their ſhoes or ſandals, which are twiſted of ſtraw, and the ſtalks of the tarate flower; which plant is in a peculiar repute of holineſs among them. They wear them chiefly in their penitential pilgrimages to the tops of the two holy mountains abovementioned.

Iza Taka no Dſiuſu, is their roſary, or ſtring of beads, by which they ſay their prayers. It is made of rough balls. The invention and uſe of it are of a later date than the inſtitution of the order, accordingly there is no mention made of it in the ſtatutes of the ſame. Kongo Dſuje, a thick ſtrong ſtaff, a very uſeful inſtrument for their journey to the top of the mountains aforeſaid.

The moſt eminent among them have the hair cut off ſhort behind their heads. Others let it grow, and tie it together. Many ſhave themſelves cloſe, as do in particular the novices upon their entering the order, in imitation of the Budſdo prieſts, of whom they have borrowed this cuſtom.

Theſe Sintos hermits are now very much degenerated from the auſterity of their predeceſſors; who, in imitation of their founder's example, and purſuant to the rules laid down by him, lived, from their firſt entering the order, upon nothing elſe but plants and roots, and expoſed themſelves to perpetual and very rude trials and mortifications, faſting, waſhing themſelves in cold water, erring through woods and foreſts, deſart and uninhabited places, and the like. In like manner they deviated very much from the ſimplicity of the religion they formerly profeſſed, admitting the worſhip of ſuch foreign idols as are thought by them to have the greateſt power and influence over the occurrences of human life. They enlarged their ſyſtem of divinity, and increaſed the number of ſuperſtitious ceremonies. Among other things, they betook themſelves to a ſort of trade, which proves very beneficial to them; and to impoſe upon the vulgar, they give out that they are peculiarly verſed in magical arts and

ſciences, pretending by virtue of certain ceremonies, and myſtical obſcure words and charms, to command all the gods worſhipped in the country, as well of the Sintoiſts as thoſe of the Budſdoiſts, the worſhip of whom was brought over from beyond ſea; to conjure and drive out evil ſpirits; to do many things beyond the power of nature; to dive into ſecrets and myſteries; to recover ſtolen goods, and to diſcover the thieves; to foretel future events; to explain dreams; to cure deſperate diſtempers; to find out the guilt or innocence of perſons accuſed of crimes and miſdemeanors, and the like.

I flatter myſelf the reader will not be diſpleaſed to receive ſome farther information about their way of proceeding in ſeveral of theſe particulars. To begin with the cure of diſtempers. The patient is to give the Jammabos as good an account as poſſibly he can of his diſtemper, and the condition he is in. The Jammabos, after a full hearing, writes ſome characters on a bit of paper, which characters, as he pretends, have a particular relation to the conſtitution of the patient, and the nature of his diſtemper. This done, he places the paper on an altar before his idols, performing many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, in order, as he gives out, to communicate a healing faculty to it, after which he makes it up into pills, whereof the patient is to take one every morning, drinking a large draught of water upon it, which again muſt be drawn up from the ſpring or river, not without ſome myſtery, and towards ſuch a corner of the world as the Jammabos directs. Theſe character-pills are called goof. It muſt be obſerved however, that the Jammabos ſeldom adminiſter and the patients ſtill ſeldomer reſolve to undergo this myſterious cure, till they are almoſt paſt all hopes of recovery. In leſs deſperate caſes recourſe is had to more natural remedies.

The trials of the guilt or innocence of perſons accuſed of crimes and miſdemeanors are made in the preſence of an idol called Fudo, ſitting amidſt fire and flames, not indeed in a judicial and public way, after the manner of the Brahmines, Siamites, and other heathens, nor by giving the queſtion, as is often done in Europe, chiefly in caſes of witchcraft, but privately in the houſe where the fact was committed, and in preſence of the domeſtics, either by a ſimple conjuring and uttering certain words, or by fire, or by a draught of khumano goo. If the firſt, a ſimple conjuration, proves ineffectual, recourſe is had to the ſecond, a trial by fire; to be performed by making the ſuſpected perſons walk thrice over a coal-fire, about a fathom long, which if they can do without being burnt on the ſoles of their feet, they are acquitted. Some are brought to confeſſion by a draught of khumano goo. Goo is a paper filled with characters and pictures of black birds, as ravens and others, and ſealed with the ſeals of the Jammabos. It is paſted to the doors of houſes to keep off evil ſpirits, and ſerves for ſeveral other ſuperſtitious purpoſes. It is made indifferently by all Jammabos, but the beſt come from Khumano, whence the name. A little bit tore off this paper, muſt be ſwallowed by the accuſed perſon in a draught of water; and it is ſaid, that if he be guilty, it will work and trouble him moſt cruelly till he confeſſes. They talk very big of the ſurpriſing and wonderful virtues of their charms and conjurations, whereby they pretend to be able to manage and handle burning coals and red-hot iron, without receiving any the leaſt hurt; ſuddenly to extinguiſh fires; to make cold water boiling hot and hot water ice-cold, in an inſtant; to keep people's ſwords and ſcimiters ſo faſt in the ſheath that no force is able to draw them out; to keep themſelves from being hurt by theſe or other weapons; and to perform many more ſuch uncommon and ſurpriſing things, which, if more nicely examined, would be found perhaps to be little elſe than juggler's tricks, and effects of natural cauſes. They call it jamaſſu, which ſignifies, conjuring ſtrokes. Theſe mighty ſtrokes are nothing elſe but certain motions of their hands and fingers, whereby they pretend to repreſent crocodiles, tigers, and

other monſtrous animals, at the ſame time uttering certain obſcure ſounds. By this, and by frequently altering theſe poſitions and repreſentations, as alſo by lifting up and letting fall their voice, they endeavour, they ſay, as with ſo many croſs ſtrokes, to come within reach of the object to be charmed, till at laſt having removed and cut through all obſtacles and hindrances, they obtain their deſired end.

One of their chief and moſt myſterious ſin, as they call them, or charms, is, when holding up both hands, and twiſting the fingers, as it were, one within another, they repreſent the Si Tenſi O, that is, the four moſt powerful gods of the thirty-third and laſt heaven. The poſition which they put their fingers in is thus: they hold up the two middle fingers one againſt another almoſt perpendicular, and make the two next fingers, on each ſide, croſs one another in ſuch a manner, that they point towards four different corners of the world, in repreſentation of theſe four gods, whom they call Tammonden, Tſigokten, Soſioten, and Kamokten. The two middle fingers held up, as I obſerved, almoſt perpendicularly, ſerve them, as they pretend, in the nature of a ſpy-glaſs, whereby to ſpy out the ſpirits and diſtempers, to ſee the kitz or fox, and the ma, or evil ſpirit, lodged in people's bodies, and to find out preciſely what ſort they be of, in order afterwards to ſquare their charms and ceremonious ſuperſtitions to the more effectual driving of them out. But this ſame poſition of the middle fingers with regard to the reſt is to repreſent beſides Fudo mio wo, that is, the holy great Fudo, formerly a Gioſia, a mighty devotee of their order, who, among other extraordinary mortifications, ſat down daily in the midſt of a large fire, though without receiving any hurt; and by whoſe powerful aſſiſtance they believe, on this account, to be able, not only to deſtroy the burning quality of fire when they pleaſe, but alſo to make it ſerve at command to what purpoſes they think fit. A lamp filled with an oil made of a certain black venomous water lizard, called inari, is kept continually burning before the idol of Fudo.

The Jammabos make a mighty ſecret of theſe charms and myſterious arts. However, for a handſome reward, they will communicate and teach them to other people, though under condition of ſecreſy. The account I have given in this chapter of this ſingular order, I had chiefly from a young Japaneſe, well verſed in the affairs of his country, whom during my ſtay in Japan I taught phyſic and ſurgery, and who had been one of their ſcholars himſelf. He further told me, that before they would let him into the ſecret, they made him undergo a very rude noviciate. And, in the firſt place, he was to abſtain from every thing that had life in it, and to ſubſiſt only upon rice and herbs for ſix days together. In the next place, they commanded him to waſh himſelf ſeven times a day in cold water, and kneeling down on the ground, with his buttocks to his heels, and clapping his hands over his head, to lift himſelf up ſeven hundred and fourſcore times every day. This laſt part of his trial he found alſo the rudeſt; for by getting up and down two or three hundred times, he brought himſelf all into a ſweat, and grew ſo tired and weary, that he was often upon the point to run away from his maſters; but being a young luſty fellow, ſhame rather than curioſity prevailed upon him to hold out to the laſt.

Thus much of the Jammabos. There are ſtill many more religious orders and ſocieties eſtabliſhed in this country, a particular account of which would ſwell this chapter to an unbecoming length. The ſuperſtitious veneration of the vulgar for their eccleſiaſtics; the eaſe and pleaſures of a religious life, great as they are, it is no wonder that the number of coſtly temples, rich monaſteries and convents, where, under the cloak of retirement and divine worſhip, the monks give themſelves up to an uninterrupted purſuit of wantonneſs and luxury, is grown to an exceſs ſcarce credible. But

there are alſo ſome particular ſocieties not purely eccleſiaſtical, nor confined to the clergy alone, but rather of a mixed nature, with an alloy of ſecularity. Out of many, that of the blind is not unworthy of conſideration; a ſingular, but very ancient and numerous body, compoſed of perſons of all ranks and profeſſions. Originally they made up but one ſociety, but in proceſs of time they ſplit into two ſeparate bodies; one of which is called Feekiſado, or the Blind Feekis, the other Buſſetz Sato, or the Blind Buſſetz. It will not be amiſs to enquire into the origin and conſtitutions of both. The Buſſetz Sato muſt be conſidered firſt, as being of a more ancient ſtanding. At preſent this ſociety is compoſed only of eccleſiaſtical perſons, whoſe rules and cuſtoms are not very different from thoſe of the Jammabos. Their founder was Senmimar, the Emperor Jengino Mikaddo, his third (and according to ſome authors, his fourth) ſon, and the occaſion of their inſtitution is recorded in Japaneſe hiſtories to have been as follows: Senmimar was a youth of incomparable beauty, and exceedingly beloved by all that came near him. It happened that a Princeſs of the imperial blood fell deſperately in love with him: her beauty and virtues proved charms as unreſiſtible to the young Prince as his graceful perſon and princely qualities had been to her. For ſome time the happy lovers enjoyed all the ſatisfaction and mutual returns of paſſion and friendſhip, when the death of the Princeſs intervening, Senmimar took it ſo much to heart, that not long after, through grief and ſorrow he loſt his ſight. Upon this, to perpetuate the memory of his dearly beloved, and to make known to poſterity what an unfortunate effect his unfeigned concern and ſorrow for her loſs had had upon himſelf, he reſolved, with his father's leave, and under his imperial charter, to erect a ſociety, whereinto none ſhould be admitted, but ſuch as had the misfortune to be blind by birth or accident. His deſign was put in execution accordingly. The new erected ſociety proſpered exceedingly, and flouriſhed, and got into great repute at court, and in the empire. For ſome centuries they continued united in one body, till a new ſociety of the Feki Blind, as they are now called, ſprung up, which in a ſhort time got ſo far the better of the former, many great men in the empire, who were blind, voluntarily entering into it, that by degrees they loſt much of their reputation, and were reduced very low in number, none being left at laſt but eccleſiaſtical perſons, to whom it remains now confined. Ever ſince their firſt inſtitution, the Feki Blind continued in uninterrupted poſſeſſion of all the eſteem and authority the Buſſetz had once enjoyed. Nay, being ſtill more numerous, they are alſo much more conſidered in proportion. They owe their origin to the civil wars between the Fekis and Gendzis, both contending for the empire. Whole volumes have been wrote of the long and bloody diſſenſions between theſe two once conſiderable and powerful parties, and the manifold calamities which thence befel the empire. The cauſe of Feki and his adherents appearing more juſt to the then reigning Dairi than that of Gendzi, he thought himſelf bound in conſcience to ſupport; which he did ſo effectually, that Gendzi and his party were defeated and almoſt totally deſtroyed. The victorious Feki, as ſucceſs is often followed by pride and ambition, ſoon forgot the obligations he lay under to the Dairi, and behaved himſelf with ſo much inſolence and ungratefulneſs towards him, that he reſolved to eſpouſe the intereſt, though almoſt totally ſunk, of Gendzi and his adherents; promiſing all manner of encouragement and aſſiſtance, if they would once more gather all their ſtrength together, and take up arms againſt Feki and his party. Affairs upon this ſoon took another turn; victory in a deciſive battle favoured the Gendzis; Feki himſelf was ſlain near Simonoſeki, and his whole army defeated, but few eſcaping. Amongſt thoſe who eſcaped with their lives, was Kakekigo, a general very much renowned for his valour and ſupernatural ſtrength, which, it was believed, he obtained from Quanwon, as a reward

for

for his conſtant devotion to that god. This general fled in a ſmall boat. Joritomo, general of the Gendzis, and himſelf a very reſolute ſoldier, knew of what conſequence it was to ſecure the perſon of Kakekigo; and till then thinking his victory incomplete, he cauſed him to be purſued and taken. However, when he was brought before him, he treated him kindly, and with all the reſpect due to a perſon of his rank and character, withal confining him ſo little, that Kakekigo found means ſeveral times to make his eſcape, but was as often retaken. The generous Joritomo had no thoughts of putting him to death, though his enemy and his priſoner. Nay, far from it, he put ſuch a value upon the friendſhip and affection of a perſon of his note, as to think it worth his while to purchaſe it at any price. One day, when he was preſſing him very cloſe to enter into his ſervice, upon whatever terms he pleaſed, the captive general returned him the following reſolute anſwer: "I was once, (ſaid he,) a faithful ſervant to a kind maſter. Now he is dead, no other ſhall boaſt of my faith and friendſhip. I own, that you have laid me under great obligations. I owe even my life to your clemency. And yet ſuch is my misfortune, that I cannot ſet my eyes on you, but with a deſign, in revenge of him and me, to cut off your head. Theſe, therefore, theſe deſigning inſtruments of miſchief I will offer to you, as the only acknowledgment for your generous behaviour towards me, my unhappy condition will allow me to give you." This ſaid, he plucks out both his eyes, and on a plate, preſents them to Joritomo, undaunted like that bold Roman, who, in ſight of Porſenna, burnt his right hand on the altar. Joritomo aſtoniſhed at ſo much magnanimity and reſolution, forthwith ſet the captive general at liberty, who thereupon retired into the province Fiuga, where he learnt to play upon the bywa, a particular muſical inſtrument uſed in Japan, and gave birth to this ſociety of the Feki Blind, of which he himſelf was the firſt Kengio or head. This is the account, Japaneſe hiſtories give of the original inſtitution of this ſociety, which is ſince grown very numerous, being compoſed of perſons of all ranks and profeſſions. They ſhave their heads, as do alſo the Buſſetz ſato, or eccleſiaſtical blind. Otherwiſe, being ſecular perſons, they wear alſo a ſecular habit, different however from the common dreſs of the Japaneſe, and different among themſelves according to their rank and dignities. They do not live upon charity, but make a ſhift, in their ſeveral capacities, to get a livelihood for themſelves, and to provide for the maintenance of their commonwealth, following divers profeſſions, not altogether inconſiſtent with their unhappy condition. Many of them apply themſelves to muſic, in which capacity they are employed at the courts of Princes and great men, as alſo upon public ſolemnities, feſtivals, proceſſions, weddings, and the like. Whoever is once admitted a member of this ſociety, muſt remain ſuch for life. They are diſperſed up and down the empire, but their general reſides at Miaco,, where the caſh of the company is kept. He is called Oſiokf, and hath 4300 thails a year allowed him for his maintenance by the Dairi. He governs the commonwealth, being aſſiſted by ten counſellors called Siu Ro, which ſignifies elder-men, alder-men, of which he, the general, himſelf is the eldeſt. They reſide at Miaco, and have, jointly with the general, power of life and death, with this reſtriction however, that no perſon can be executed, unleſs the ſentence be approved of, and the dead-warrant ſigned by the Lord Chief Juſtice of Miaco. The council of ten appoint their inferior officers, who reſide in the ſeveral provinces: ſome of theſe are called Kengio, as it were father provincials; being each in his province what the general is with regard to the whole ſociety. The founder himſelf took only the title of Ken Gio. But the ſociety being in proceſs of time grown very numerous, it was thought neceſſary to alter the government, and to appoint a court ſuperior to the Kengios Every Kengio hath his Kotos, as they are called, to aſſiſt and adviſe him. The Kotos

ſometimes govern particular diſtricts by themſelves. At Nagaſaki there is a Kengio and two Kotos, under whoſe command ſtand all the blind of that town and adjacent country. The Kengios and Kotos have many other inferior officers ſubordinate to them, who are called Sijbun, and are again ſubordinate to one another. They differ from the common body of the blind by wearing long breeches. As they have different ranks and titles among themſelves, ſo they are obliged every five years to purchaſe a new quan, that is, a new and higher title from their Kengio, for 20 to 50 thails. If they neglect, or are not able to do it, they are removed to a lower rank. The main body of the blind are comprehended under one general name of Mukwan. Theſe wear no breeches, and are divided into four quans, ranks, or claſſes. Thoſe of the fourth and laſt claſs are capable of being made Sijbuns, from which office they gradually riſe to the dignity of Kota, Kengio, and ſo on. Sometimes, through money or favour, they riſe very ſuddenly.

CHAP. XVI. — *Of the Budſdo, or Foreign Pagan Worſhip, and its Founder.*

FOREIGN idols, for diſtinction's ſake from the Kami, or Sin, which were worſhipped in the country in the moſt ancient times, are called Budſd and Fotoke. The characters alſo, whereby theſe two words are expreſſed, differ from thoſe of Sin and Kami. Budſdo, in the literal ſenſe, ſignifies the way of foreign idols, that is, the way of worſhipping foreign idols. The origin of this religion, which quickly ſpread through moſt Aſiatic countries to the very extremities of the Eaſt (not unlike the Indian fig-tree, which propogates itſelf, and ſpreads far round, by ſending down new roots from the extremities of its branches), muſt be looked for among the Brahmines. I have ſtrong reaſons to believe, both from the affinity of the name, and the very nature of this religion, that its author and founder is the very ſame perſon, whom the Brahmines called Budha, and believe to be an eſſential part of Wiſthnu, or their Deity, who made its ninth appearance in the world under this name, and in the ſhape of this man. The Chineſe and Japaneſe call him Buds and Siaka. Theſe two names indeed became in ſucceſs of time a common epithet of all gods and idols in general, the worſhip of whom was brought over from other countries: ſometimes alſo they were given to the ſaints and great men who preached theſe new doctrines. The common people in Siam call him Prah Pudi Dſau, that is, the Holy Lord, and the learned among them, in their pali, or holy language, Sammona Khodum. The Peguans call him Samman a Khutama.

His native country, according to the Japaneſe (with regard to whom he is chiefly conſidered in this place), is Magattakokf, or the province Magatta in the country Tenſik. Tenſik, in the literal ſenſe, ſignifies a heavenly country, a country of heavens. The Japaneſe comprehend under this name the iſland of Ceylon, the coaſts of Malabar and Cormandel, and in general all the countries of ſouth Aſia, the continent as well as the neighbouring iſlands, which are inhabited by Blacks, ſuch as the peninſula of Malacca, the iſlands of Sumatra, Java, the kingdoms of Siam, Pegu, &c.

He was born in the twenty-ſixth year of the reign of the Chineſe Emperor Soowo, who was fourth ſucceſſor of the famous Suno Buo, on the eighth day of the fourth month. This was according to ſome the year before our Saviour's nativity, 1029, and according to others, 1027 (when I was in Siam, in 1690), the Siamites then told 2232 years from their Budha, who, if he be the ſame with the Siaka of the Japaneſe, his birth comes up no higher than 542 years before Chriſt. His father was king of Magattakokf, a powerful kingdom in the country Tenſikf. I conjecture this to be the iſland

of

of Ceylon. The kingdom of Siam indeed is ſo called to this day by the common people in Japan.

Siaka, when he came to be nineteen years of age, quitted his palace, leaving his wife and an only ſon behind him, and voluntarily, of his own choice, became a diſciple of Arara Sennin, then a hermit of great repute, who lived at the top of a mountain called Dandokf. Under the inſpection of this holy man, he betook himſelf to a very auſtere life, wholly taken up with an almoſt uninterrupted contemplation of heavenly and divine things, in a poſture very ſingular in itſelf, but reckoned very proper for this ſublime way of thinking, to wit, ſitting croſs-legged, with his hands in the boſom placed ſo, that the extremities of both thumbs touched one another: a poſture which is thought to engage one's mind into ſo profound a meditation, and to wrap it up ſo entirely within itſelf, that the body lies for a while as it were ſenſeleſs, unattentive, and unmoved by any external objects whatſoever. This profound enthuſiaſm is by them called ſafen, and the divine truths revealed to ſuch perſons, ſatori. As to Siaka himſelf, the force of his enthuſiaſm was ſo great, that by its means he penetrated into the moſt ſecret and important points of religion, diſcovering the exiſtence and ſtate of heaven and hell, as places of reward and puniſhment, the ſtate of our ſouls in a life to come, the tranſmigration thereof, the way to eternal happineſs, the divine power of the gods in the government of this world, and many more things beyond the reach of human underſtanding, which he afterwards freely communicated to the numerous crowds of his diſciples, who, for the ſake of his doctrine and inſtructions, followed him in flocks, embracing the ſame auſtere way of life which he led himſelf.

He lived ſeventy-nine years, and died on the fifteenth day of the ſecond month, in the year before Chriſt 950.

The moſt eſſential points of his doctrine are as follows.

The ſouls of men and animals are immortal: both are of the ſame ſubſtance, and differ only according to the different objects they are placed in, whether human or animal.

The ſouls of men, after their departure from their bodies, are rewarded in a place of happineſs or miſery, according to their behaviour in this life.

The place of happineſs is called Gokurakf, that is, a place of eternal pleaſures. As the gods differ in their nature, and the ſouls of men in the merit of their paſt actions, ſo do likewiſe the degrees of pleaſure and happineſs in their Elyſian fields, that every one may be rewarded as he deſerves. However the whole place is ſo thoroughly filled with bliſs and pleaſure, that each happy inhabitant thinks his portion the beſt, and far from envying the happier ſtate of others, wiſhes only for ever to enjoy his own.

Amida is the ſovereign commander of theſe heavenly ſtations (for all his doctrine hath not been introduced by the Brahmines, till after our Saviour's glorious reſurrection). He is looked upon as the general patron and protector of human ſouls, but more particularly as the god and father of thoſe who happily tranſmigrate into theſe places of bliſs. Through his and his ſole mediation, men are to obtain abſolution from their ſins, and a portion of happineſs in the future life.

Leading a virtuous life, and doing nothing that is contrary to the commandments of the law of Siaka, is the only way to become agreeable unto Amida, and worthy of eternal happineſs.

The five commandments of the doctrine Siaka, which are the ſtanding rule of the life and behaviour of all his faithful adherents, are called Gokai, which implies as much as the five cautions, or warnings: they are,

Se Seo, the law not to kill any thing that hath life in it.

Tſu To, the law not to ſteal.
Sijain, the law not to whore.
Mago, the law not to lie.
Onſiu, the law not to drink ſtrong liquors; a law which Siaka moſt earneſtly recommended to his diſciples, to be by them ſtrictly obſerved.

Next to theſe five chief and general commandments, which contain in ſubſtance the whole law of Siaka, follow ten Sikkai, as they call them, that is, counſels or admonitions, being nothing elſe but the five firſt laws branched out, and applied to more particular actions, and tending to a ſtricter obſervance of virtue. For the ſake of the learned, and ſuch as aim at a more than ordinary ſtate of virtue and perfection, even in this world, a ſtill further ſubdiviſion hath been contrived into Gofiakkai, that is, five hundred counſels and admonitions, wherein are ſpecified, and determined with the utmoſt exactneſs and particularity, whatever actions have, according to their notions, the leaſt tendency to virtue and vice, and ought on this account to be done or omitted.

The number of theſe Gofiakkai being ſo very extenſive, it is no wonder that thoſe, who will oblige themſelves to a ſtrict obſervance thereof, are as few in proportion; the rather, ſince they tend to ſuch a thorough mortification of their bodies, as to meaſure and preſcribe the very minuteſt parts of their diet, allowing ſcarce ſo much as is neceſſary to keep them from ſtarving. Nothing but the ambition of acquiring a great repute of perfection and ſanctity in this world, and the deſire of being raiſed to a more eminent ſtation of happineſs in the next, can prompt any body to undergo ſuch a rude and ſevere diſcipline as is preſcribed by the Gofiakkai, and few there are, even among the beſt part of their clergy, who, for the ſake of a greater portion of happineſs in a future world, would willingly renounce the very leaſt pleaſures of this.

All perſons, ſecular or eccleſiaſtical, who by their ſinful life and vicious actions, have rendered themſelves unworthy of the pleaſures prepared for the virtuous, are ſent after their death to a place of miſery, called Dſigokf, there to be confined and tormented, not indeed for ever, but only during a certain undetermined time. As the pleaſures of the Elyſian fields differ in degrees, ſo do likewiſe the torments in theſe infernal places. Juſtice requires that every one ſhould be puniſhed, according to the nature and number of his crimes, the number of years he lived in the world, the ſtation he lived in, and the opportunities he had to be virtuous and good. Jemma, or with a more majeſtuous character, Jemma O (by which ſame name he is known alſo to the Brahmines, Siamites, and Chineſe), is the ſevere judge and ſovereign commander of this place of darkneſs and miſery. All the vicious actions of mankind appear to him in all their horror and heinouſneſs, by the means of a large looking-glaſs, placed before him, and called ſſofarino kagami, or the looking-glaſs of knowledge. The miſeries of the poor unhappy ſouls confined to theſe priſons of darkneſs are not ſo conſiderable and laſting, but that great relief may be expected from the virtuous life and good actions of their family, friends, and relations, whom they left behind. But nothing is ſo conducive to this deſirable end, as the prayers and offerings of the prieſts to the great and good Amida, who by his powerful interceſſion can prevail ſo far upon the almoſt inxorable judge of this infernal place, as to oblige him to remit from the ſeverity of his ſentence, to treat the unhappy impriſoned ſouls with kindneſs, at leaſt ſo far as it is not inconſiſtent with his juſtice, and the puniſhment their crimes deſerve, and laſt of all, to ſend them abroad into the world again as ſoon as poſſible.

When the miſerable ſouls have been confined in theſe priſons of darkneſs a time ſufficient to expiate their crimes, they are, by virtue of the ſentence of Jemma O, ſent back into the world, to animate, not indeed the bodies of men, but of ſuch vile creatures whoſe

whoſe natures and properties are nearly related to their former ſinful inclinations, ſuch as, for inſtance, ſerpents, toads, inſects, birds, fiſhes, quadrupeds, and the like. From the vileſt of theſe, tranſmigrating by degrees into others, and nobler, they at laſt are ſuffered again to enter human bodies, by which means it is put in their power, either by a good and virtuous life to render themſelves worthy of a future uninterrupted ſtate of happineſs, or by a new courſe of vices to expoſe themſelves once more to undergo all the miſeries of confinement in a place of torment, ſucceeded by a new unhappy tranſmigration.

Thus far the moſt eſſential points of the doctrine of Siaka.

Among the diſciples of Siaka aroſe ſeveral eminent men, who contributed greatly to the propagation of his doctrine, and were ſucceeded by others equally learned and zealous, inſomuch, that we need not wonder that his religion, within a very ſhort compaſs of time, ſpread to the very extremities of the Eaſt, even all the difficulties they had to ſtruggle with, notwithſtanding.

The moſt eminent of his diſciples were Annan and Kaſia, or with their full titles, Annan Sonsja, and Kaſia Sonsja. They collected his wiſe ſentences, and what was found after his death, written with his own hands on the leaves of trees, into a book, which, for its peculiar excellency, is called Fokekio, that is, the book of fine flowers (in compariſon with the holy Tarate-Flower), and ſometimes alſo, by way of pre-eminence, Kio, the book, as being the moſt perfect performance in its kind, and the bible of all eaſtern nations beyond the Ganges, who embraced Siaka's doctrine. The two compilers of it, for their care and pains, were related among the ſaints, and are now worſhipped jointly with Siaka, in whoſe temples, and upon whoſe altars, they are placed, one to his right, the other to his left hand.

Before the doctrine of Siaka was brought over into China, and from thence through Coræa into Japan, the old Sintos or Cami worſhip, mean and ſimple as it was, was yet the only one flouriſhing in this empire. They had but few temples, and few holidays, and the yearly pilgrimage to the temple of Tenſio Dai Sin at Isje, was thought the beſt and ſureſt way to happineſs. 'Tis true, in ſucceſs of time, the number of gods and ſaints encreaſed, their ſyſtem of divinity was embelliſhed with new fables, arts alſo and ſciences were improved, chiefly ſince the time of Synmu Ten O, their firſt monarch. But ſtill a certain ſimplicity prevailed, and people following the dictates of reaſon, aimed at nothing ſo much as to live morally well. The Chineſe alſo, before that time, followed the illuſtrious examples and moral precepts of their two great emperors Tee Gio, that is the Emperor Gio, who, according to their chronological computation, lived 2359 years before Chriſt, and his ſucceſſor Tee Siun, or the Emperor Siun, who though a peaſant, was yet, for his prudence and honeſty, made by Gio, firſt his co-partner in the government, and afterwards his ſucceſſor, though in prejudice to his, Gio's, twelve children, viz. ten ſons and two daughters. Theſe two illuſtrious princes were the two firſt Seſins. Seſin is a philoſopher, able to find out truth and wiſdom, merely by the force of his own underſtanding and without being taught by others. By miſtake, this ſame name hath been ſometimes given to ſome of their moſt eminent divines. Some hundred years after the reign of theſe princes, the Pagan doctrine of Roos aroſe in China. This man was born in Sokokf, that is, the province So, on the fourth day of the ninth month, 346 years after the death of Siaka, or 604 before our Saviour's nativity. They ſay, that his mother had been big with child 81 years, for which reaſon, when ſhe was brought to bed, they called him Roos, which implies as much as old ſon, or old child. They further add, that the ſoul of Kaſſoboſatz, or the holy Kaſſo, the eldeſt diſciple of Siaka, by tranſmigration dwelt in him, which made it eaſy to him to attain to ſuch a high pitch

of knowledge about the nature of gods and ſpirits, the immortality of our ſouls, a future ſtate, and ſuch other important points as are highly conducive to the inſtruction of ſuch as are deſirous of learning, and fill the credulous vulgar with admiration. He lived eighty-four years.

Meanwhile the doctrine and philoſophy of Roos got ground in China, another incomparable ſeſin appeared on the philoſophical ſtage of that empire. This was Kooſi, or as we Europeans call him, Confutius, born in the province Kok, on the fourth day of the eleventh month, 399 years after the death of Siaka, and 53 after the birth of Rooſi, who was then as yet alive. His birth was in a manner miraculous, attended with no obſcure ſigns of a future ſeſin. He had ſome natural marks on his head, like thoſe of the emperor Gio, and his forehead was of the ſame ſhape with that of the emperor Siun. At the time of his birth a muſic was heard in heaven, and two dragons were obſerved to attend when the child was waſhed. His ſtature, when grown up, was very noble and majeſtuous, of nine ſaku and nine ſuns, proportionable to the greatneſs of his genius. Paſſing over in ſilence what is fabulous and romantic, in the hiſtory of his life, it cannot be denied but that he had an incomparable underſtanding, and excellent ſenſe, and was perhaps the greateſt philoſopher the Eaſt ever produced. His writings and philoſophy maintained a conſtant uninterrupted reputation for now upwards of two hundred years, and are thought in China to have been brought down from heaven, as was formerly the philoſophy of Socrates in Greece. A profound reſpect is ſhewn to his memory both in China and Japan, by public as well as private perſons. Very lately the Emperor of Japan cauſed two temples to be built to him, in his capital Jedo, whither he repaired in perſon as ſoon as they were finiſhed, and on this occaſion ſet forth, in a handſome ſpeech to his courtiers, the merits of this great man, and the peculiar excellency of the maxims of government laid down by him. His picture is allowed the moſt honourable place in the houſes of philoſophers, and all perſons who apply themſelves to ſtudies and learning, never mention his name without particular tokens of reſpect. It is no wonder then, that the chimerical, and in ſeveral particulars, incomprehenſible doctrine of Rooſi was not able to ſtand its ground againſt the reaſonable and pleaſing moral of Confutius, but was, as it were, ſmothered in its infancy, and inſenſibly decreaſed, in proportion as the adherents of Confutius increaſed, of whom there was a concourſe from all parts of the empire, almoſt beyond imagination. He died in the ſeventy-third year of his age, leaving behind him many able men, who propagated his doctrine and philoſophy, not only by their teaching it to others, but gathered all his wiſe ſentences and moral maxims, which he communicated to them in his life-time, into a book, which is called Siudo, that is, the philoſophical way of life, or the way of life agreeable to philoſophy, which ever ſince, for now upwards of two thouſand years, hath been looked upon as a performance incomparable in its kind, and an excellent pattern of a good and virtuous life; a book extolled not only by the admirers of Confutius, but admired for its morals and political maxims, even by the adherents of the Budſdo and other religions, in the very ſame manner as the writings of the ancient Greek and Roman philoſophers, which have eſcaped the common ſhipwreck of time, deſervedly ſtand the admiration of all Europe, and a laſting monument of the excellent genius of their great authors.

While thus the doctrine and pleaſing philoſophy of Confutius began to flouriſh in China, and to ſpread to the neighbouring empire of Japan, the doctrine and religion of Siaka, which had then already penetrated to the kingdoms of Siam and Laos, was not like to meet with a favourable reception in this furthermoſt part of the Eaſt. If we believe the Japaneſe hiſtorians, the firſt that taught this religion in China, came

over thither about the year of Chriſt ſixty-three, and obtained leave to build a temple, which is ſtill called Fakubaſi, that is, the temple of the white horſe, becauſe the kio, or holy book of Siaka, was brought over on a white horſe. The greateſt difficulty the preachers of this new doctrine had to ſtruggle withal, was the philoſophy of Confutius, then ſhining in its full luſtre, and univerſally approved. And indeed it appears that for ſeveral hundred years the religion of Siaka made a very ſlow and inſignificant progreſs, till about the year of Chriſt 518, one Darma, a great ſaint, and thirty-third ſucceſſor on the holy ſee of Siaka, came over into China from Seitenſiku, as the Japaneſe writers explain it (that is from that part of the world which lies weſtward with regard to Japan), and laid, properly ſpeaking, the firſt ſure foundations of the Budſdoiſm in that mighty empire. The fame of his dignity and holineſs, the auſterity of his life, his ardent uninterrupted devotion, which was ſo ſtrong, that he did not ſcruple, in the height of his zeal, to cut off his own eyelids, becauſe they had once drawn him out of his enthuſiaſtic meditations into a ſleep, ſoon brought a crowd of admirers about him. But the moſt effectual and moſt perſuaſive arguments he made uſe of to induce people to the worſhip of the gods, were, the doctrine of the immortality of our ſouls, and the promiſes of a reward in a future life, which they ſhould not fail to obtain, if they would but worſhip them, as his doctrine, religion, and example ſhould direct. This new worſhip having once got ground in China, ſoon ſpread into Fakkuſai (which was then the name given to the peninſula of Coræa, and is now that of one of its three provinces), where the firſt Budz, or idol of Siaka, was erected and worſhipped in the year of Chriſt 543. Japan, whoſe inhabitants were then divided between the old religion of the country, and the philoſophical doctrines communicated to them from China, could now hold out no longer, but ſoon admitted the religion of Siaka, following in that, as they had done in many other things, the example of the neighbouring countries. The firſt Bukkio was brought over into Japan, about the year of Chriſt 550. About 18 years after, according to Japaneſe writers, a curious carved idol of Amida, which had been ſome years before brought over from Tenſiku into Fakuſai, appeared in a miraculous manner in the province Tſino Cami, all ſurrounded with ſparkling rays, upon which a temple was built in Sinano, in memory of this remarkable event, which was called Sanquoſi, and is ſtill the chief and largeſt temple of that province. About that time Kimmei ruled over Japan, who was no enemy to this religion, and connived at its introduction and ſpreading. This was the ſame emperor who divided the time into Nengos, in imitation of the Chineſe. The nengo then ſubſiſting, when this temple was built, was called Cengo.

CHAP. XVII. — *Of the Siuto, that is, the Doctrine and Way of Life of their Moraliſts and Philoſophers.*

SIUTO, in the literal ſenſe, ſignifies the way or method of the Philoſophers. Siudosja, or, in the plural number, Siudosju, are the philoſophers, who follow this method. Theſe people have, properly ſpeaking, no religion at all, that is, they conform themſelves to none of thoſe forms of worſhipping the gods, which are eſtabliſhed in the country. They ſay that the greateſt perfection and the ſupreme good, men are able to acquire, conſiſt in that pleaſure and delight which our minds find in a good and virtuous life. They admit of none but temporal rewards or puniſhments, and only ſuch as are the neceſſary conſequences of the practice of virtue or vice. They ſay, that we are obliged to be virtuous, becauſe nature hath endowed us with reaſon, on purpoſe, that living according to the dictates of reaſon, we ſhould ſhew our difference

and ſuperiority over irrational brutes. Kooſi, or Confutius, born in China 2243 years ago, computing from the 5th year of Genrokf (of Chriſt 1692), was the firſt who taught that the ſupreme good conſiſts in the practice of virtue, and muſt conſequently be looked upon as the founder of this philoſophical ſect. It hath been obſerved above, how prejudicial the Sioogakf, or the book wherein are contained his precepts and morals, proved to the then flouriſhing doctrine of Rooſi. Mooſi, one of Confutius's diſciples, was very inſtrumental in eſtabliſhing and propagating this philoſophy, which he publiſhed in Siſio, or four Books, which are ſtill held in great eſteem, and read in all countries, where the learned language, wherein they were written, is underſtood.

This philoſophy, ſo far as it relates to the practice of virtue and good morals, may be reduced to the following five points, which they call Dſin, Gi, Re, Tſi, and Sin. Dſin, teaches them to live virtuouſly: hence Dſinsja, a virtuous man; Gi, to do right and juſtice to every body; Re, to be civil and polite; Tſi, ſets forth the maxims of a good and prudent government; and Sin treats of a free conſcience and uprightneſs of heart. They admit no tranſmigration of ſouls, but believe an *animam mundi*, an univerſal ſoul, ſpirit or power, diffuſed throughout the whole world, which animates all things, which re-aſſumes the departing ſouls (as the ſea doth all rivers and waters that flow into it from all parts of the globe), as into a common receptacle, and lets them, as it were, flow out again indifferently to animate other creatures. This univerſal ſpirit they confound with the Supreme Being, attributing to one the ſame divine qualities which only belong to the other. They often make uſe of the word Ten, heaven or nature, in things which more immediately concern our life and actions. Thus, they thank heaven and nature for their victuals and the neceſſaries of life. Some among them, whom I converſed withal, admitted an intellectual or incorporeal being, but only as governor and director, not as the author of nature; nay, they pretended, that it is an effect of nature produced by In and Jo, heaven and earth, one active, the other paſſive; one the principle of generation, the other of corruption: after the ſame manner alſo they explained ſome other active powers of nature to be ſpiritual beings. They make the world eternal, and ſuppoſe men and animals to have been produced by In Jo, the heaven and five terreſtrial elements. Admitting no gods, they have no temples, no forms of worſhip. Thus far, however, they conform themſelves to the general cuſtom of the country, in that they celebrate the memory of their deceaſed parents and relations, which is done by putting all ſorts of victuals, raw and dreſſed, on a Biosju, as they call it, or table purpoſely made with this view, by burning candles before them, by bowing down to the ground as if they were yet alive, by monthly or anniverſary dinners, whereto are invited the deceaſed's family and friends, who appear all in the beſt cloth, and waſh and clean themſelves by way of preparation for three days before, during which time they abſtain from lying with their wives, and from all impure things, and by many other tokens of reſpect and gratitude. As to the burial of their dead, they do not burn them, but keep the corpſe three days, and then lay it on the back into a coffin, after the European manner, with the head raiſed. Sometimes the coffin is filled with ſpices and ſweet ſcented herbs, to preſerve the body from corruption, and when every thing is ready, they accompany it to the grave, and bury it without any further ceremony.

Theſe philoſophers do not only admit of ſelf-murder, but look upon it as a heroic and highly commendable action, and the only honourable means to avoid a ſhameful death, or to prevent falling into the hands of a victorious enemy.

They

They celebrate no feſtivals, nor will they pay any reſpect to the gods of the country, any more than common civility and good manners require. The practice of virtue, free conſcience, and a good and honeſt life, is all what they aim at. They were even ſuſpected of ſecretly favouring the Chriſtian religion; for which reaſon, after the ſaid religion had been entirely aboliſhed by croſs and fire, and proper means taken to prevent its ever reviving again, they alſo were commanded to have each the idol, or, at leaſt, the name of one of the gods worſhipped in the country, put up in their houſes, in a conſpicuous and honourable place, with a flower-pot, and incenſory before them. They commonly chuſe Quanwon or Amida, whoſe idols they place behind the hearth, according to the country faſhion. Some have beſides, of their own free choice, the Biofiu in their houſes, or elſe the name of ſome learned man. In their public ſchools is hung up the picture of Kooſi or Confutius. Formerly this ſect was very numerous. Arts and ſciences were cultivated and improved among them, and the beſt part of the nation profeſſed it. But that unparalleled perſecution of the Chriſtian religion weakened it very much, and it loſt ground ever ſince; the extreme rigour of the imperial edicts made people cautious even as to reading their books, which formerly have been the delight and admiration of the nation, held in as great an eſteem as the writings of Plato, Socrates and other heathen philoſophers are in Europe.

About thirty years ago, the Prince of Siſen and Inaba, a great Siudoſia and patron of learned men, endeavoured to revive this philoſophy, then almoſt extinct, in his dominions. In order to this, he founded an univerſity, endowed it with great privileges, and ſettled handſome penſions upon able learned men, whom he ſent for from all parts of the empire. The deſign of this undertaking was to open the eyes of his ſubjects, and to teach them, if poſſible, to make uſe of their reaſon, which they no ſooner did, but they began to ſee through the impertinent and ridiculous fables of their prieſts, and diſcovering their cheats refuſed to grant them any further ſubſiſtence, whereby this numerous crew, which till then lived only upon the charity of credulous people, was reduced to a ſtarving condition. Of ſo dangerous an innovation heavy complaints were made to both emperors, and the unhappy Prince was like to fall a ſacrifice to his good intentions, had he not, by a voluntary reſignation of his dominions to his ſon, prevented the fatal blow of the imperial diſgrace ready to fall upon him and his family. His ſon, though of a more prudent and reſerved behaviour, yet by his life and conduct leaves no room to doubt, but that his principles are nearly the ſame with thoſe of his father, an inſtance whereof, though foreign to my preſent purpoſe, will not be improper to cloſe this chapter.

On the Songuats, or New-year's-day, one of their greateſt feſtivals, there was a numerous appearance at court of gentlemen and ladies, who came thither in their richeſt apparel, to compliment the Prince on the occaſion of the day, and were by him entertained at dinner. Amongſt other preſents made to him that day, there happened to be a peacock and hen. Every one was delighted, and ſtruck with admiration, by the uncommon beauty of theſe ſcarce foreign birds, whence the Prince took occaſion to aſk their opinion, which of the two they thought was the cock, and which the hen. The gentlemen, out of civility to the ladies, unanimouſly pitched upon the moſt beautiful to be the hen; the ladies, on the contrary, very modeſtly apprehended, that the fineſt of the two was the cock. "You are in the right," anſwered thereupon the Prince, "nature itſelf will have the man beſt clad; and, it ſeems to me incomprehenſible, that the wife ſhould have more pride, and go richer dreſſed than her huſband,

who muſt be at the expence of maintaining her." An excellent New-year's ſermon from a heathen Prince. *

CHAP. XVIII. — *Preparations for our Journey to the Emperor's Court at Jedo or Yedo, with a Deſcription of the Manner of travelling in this Country.*

EVER ſince the time of Joritomo, the firſt ſecular monarch of Japan, who laid the foundation of the preſent form of government, it hath been a cuſtom obſerved, not only by the governors of the Imperial cities, and lords lieutenants of the provinces, lands and demeſnes, belonging to the crown, but likewiſe by all other Daimio, and Siomjo, as they are here called, that is, the lords of all ranks and qualities throughout this vaſt empire, to go to court once a year, and to pay their duties, the lords of a higher rank, who, for the extent of their power and dominions, could well be ſtiled Kings, or Princes, to the Emperor himſelf, the reſt only to his prime miniſters aſſembled in council. Both accompany their reverences with preſents proportionable to their quality and riches, in token of their acknowledging the ſupremacy of the Emperor. The Dutch, when they came to ſettle in Japan, conformed themſelves to this antient cuſtom, as did alſo in their time the Portugueſe. The reſident of our Eaſt India Company, and chief director of our trade for the time being, makes this journey, with a phyſician, or ſurgeon, and one or two ſecretaries, and attended with numerous flocks of Japaneſe of different ranks and qualities, whom the governors of Nagaſaki, as our magiſtrates in this country, whoſe inſtructions and orders we are to follow, appoint, as it were to honour and convoy us, as perſons that are going to ſee the ſupreme Majeſty of the empire, but in fact and chiefly, to guard and watch us, to keep a good eye over our conduct, to prevent us from having any ſuſpicious and unlawful converſation and communication with the natives, from conveying ſecretly to them croſſes, images, relicks, or any other things, which bear any relation to the Chriſtian religion, from preſenting them with other European rarities, or from ſelling the ſame to them in private, and more particularly to take care, that none of us ſhould eſcape into the country, there either to attempt the reviving and propagating of the Chriſtian faith, or otherwiſe to occaſion tumults and diſturbances, in prejudice of the tranquillity, now eſtabliſhed in the empire. So important a truſt being laid upon the Japaneſe companions of our journey, the reader may eaſily imagine, that none are choſe but perſons of known candour and fidelity, and who are otherwiſe employed in affairs relating to the inſpection and regulation of our trade, beſides ſome of the governors own domeſtics. Nay, far from relying merely on their faithfulneſs and ſincerity, though perhaps never ſo often approved of, all thoſe that are to go with us, from the leader down to the meaneſt ſervant, (thoſe only excepted, who muſt look after the horſes, and are frequently changed,) muſt, before they ſet out on this journey, oblige themſelves by a ſolemn and dreadful oath, ſigned as uſual with their blood, to give notice to the government at Nagaſaki, of whatever they obſerve to be done, either by the Dutch, or by their own countrymen, contrary to the ſtanding laws of the country, and the many particular inſtructions which are given them.

I went to the Emperor's court twice myſelf, to my very great ſatisfaction: the firſt time, in the year 1691, with Henry von Butenheim, a gentleman of great candour,

* The long account of the City of Nagaſacki, and of the Dutch trade being now rather antiquated, are omitted. The reader will prefer the obſervations of Thunberg.

affability,

affability, and generofity, and well verfed in the cuſtoms and language of the Japaneſe, who, by his good conduct, knew how to keep up the reputation of his maſters without prejudice to their intereſt; the ſecond time, in 1692, with Cornelius van Outhoorn, brother to the Governor-general at Batavia, a gentleman of great learning, excellent ſenſe, and well ſkilled in ſeveral languages, who, by his innate affability, found means particularly to ingratiate himſelf into the affection of this proud and jealous nation, and promoting the intereſt of his maſters, ſo much as lay in his power, diſcharged all the duties of his office to the entire ſatisfaction both of thoſe who ſent him, and of thoſe to whom he was ſent. I will here give a particular account, by way of a journal, of what occurred to me remarkable in theſe two journies, having firſt premiſed ſome general obſervations, which ſeemed to me to be neceſſary to facilitate the underſtanding of what I ſhall lay down in the journals themſelves, with all the ſincerity I am capable of.

The preparations for our journey conſiſt in the following particulars: The very firſt thing to be done, is to look out proper preſents for His Imperial Majeſty, for his privy councillors, and ſome other great officers at Jedo, Miako, and Oſacca, the whole amounting as near as poſſible, to a certain ſum, to ſort them, and particularly to aſſign to whom they are to be delivered. Afterwards they muſt be put up into leather bags, which are carefully wrapt up in mats, in order to preſerve them from all accidents in ſo long a journey, and for a farther ſecurity ſeveral ſeals are affixed unto them. It is the buſineſs of the governors of Nagaſaki to judge and determine what might prove acceptable to the court. They take out of the goods laid up in our warehouſes what they think proper, and give inſtructions to the departing director, about ſuch things as ſhould be ſent over from Batavia the next year. Sometimes ſome of their own goods they have been preſented with by the Chineſe, are put in among theſe preſents; becauſe, by this means, they can diſpoſe of them to the beſt advantage, either by obliging us to buy them at an exceſſive and their own price, or by exchanging them for other goods. Now and then ſome uncommon curioſities, either of nature or art, are brought over from Europe, and other parts of the world, on purpoſe to be preſented to the Emperor. But it often happens, that they are not approved of by theſe rigid cenſors. Thus, for inſtance, there were brought over in my time, two braſs fire-engines of the neweſt invention, but the governors did not think it proper that they ſhould be preſented to the Emperor, and ſo returned them to us, after they had firſt ſeen them tried and taken a pattern of them: another time the bird Caſuar was ſent over from Batavia, but likewiſe diſliked and denied the honour of appearing before the Emperor; becauſe they heard he was good for nothing but to devour a large quantity of victuals. After ſome time ſpent in chuſing and getting ready theſe preſents, they are brought on board a barge with neceſſary proviſions, three or four weeks before our departure, and ſent by water to Simonoſeki, a ſmall town, ſituate upon the extremity of the great iſland Nipon, where they wait our arrival by land. Formerly our ambaſſador, with his whole retinue, embarked at the ſame time, to go thither by water, whereby we ſaved a great deal of trouble and expence we muſt now be at in travelling by land, but a violent ſtorm having once put the whole company into imminent danger, and the voyage having been often, by reaſon of the contrary winds, too long and too tedious, the Emperor had ordered, that for the future we ſhould go thither by land. The barge, on board which the Imperial preſents are carried to Simonoſeki, is kept in the harbour of Nagaſaki, at the expence of the company, for this ſole purpoſe, and cannot be made uſe of for any other whatſoever. The preſents for the Imperial court, and other heavy baggage, being ſent before us, the

the reſt of the time till our departure is ſpent upon ſuch vaſt preparations for our journey, as if we deſigned ſome great expedition into a remote part of the world.

The firſt, and indeed the moſt eſſential part of theſe preparations, conſiſts in nominating, and giving proper inſtructions, to the ſeveral officers, and the whole retinue that is to go with us to court. The governors appoint one of their Jorikis, or military officers of the firſt rank, to be Bugio, that is, head and commander in chief. He is to repreſent the authority of his maſters, as a badge whereof he hath a pike carried after him. A Doſin or inferior military officer, is ordered to aſſiſt him in quality of his deputy. Both the joriki and doſin are taken from among the domeſticks of one of the governors, who ſtays that year at Nagaſaki. To theſe are added two beadles, by the name and in quality of Tſiooſin, or town-meſſengers. Both the tſiooſin and the doſin carry by virtue of their office a halter about them, to arreſt and ſecure, at command or wink from the joriki, any perſon guilty, or only ſuſpected to be guilty of any miſdemeanor. All theſe perſons, beſides the officers attending the bugio, are looked upon as military men, and as ſuch have the privilege of wearing two ſwords. It is from thence they are called Samurai, which ſignifies perſons who wear two ſwords, or ſoldiers, all perſons that are not either noblemen by birth, or in ſome military employment, being by a late imperial edict denied this privilege.

I have obſerved in the preceding book, that our interpreters are divided into two companies, the upper or ſuperior, conſiſting of the eight chief interpreters, and the inferior including all the reſt. The Ninban, or preſident for the time being, of each of theſe companies, is appointed of courſe to attend us in this journey. To theſe is now added a third, as an apprentice, whom they take along with them to qualify him for the ſucceſſion, and to ſhew him betimes, and by proper experience, how for the future he muſt behave himelf on the like occaſion. All the chief officers, and all other perſons that are able to do it, take ſome ſervants along with them, partly to wait upon them, partly for ſtate. The bugio, or commander in chief, and the principal interpreter take as many as they pleaſe; the other officers, each two or three, as they are able, or as their office requires. The Dutch captain, or ambaſſador may take three, and every Dutchman of his retinue is allowed one. The interpreters commonly recommend their favourites to us, the more ignorant they are of the Dutch language, the better it anſwers their intention. Not to mention ſome other perſons, who by order, or ſpecial leave of the governors and interpreters, make the journey in company with us, and indeed at our expence too, though otherwiſe they have no manner of buſineſs upon our account. All theſe future companions of our voyage, whom I have hitherto mentioned, have leave to make us ſome friendly viſits at Deſima, ſome time before our departure, in order to get before hand a little acquainted with us. There are many among them, who would willingly be more free and open with us, were it not for the ſolemn oath they muſt all take before their departure, but much more for the fear of being betrayed by others, ſince by virtue of the ſame oath, they are obliged, all and every one of them, to have a ſtrict and watchful eye, not only over the Dutch, but alſo over the conduct of each other, particularly with regard to the Dutch.

Another eſſential branch of the neceſſary preparations for our journey, is the hiring of horſes and porters, for us and our baggage. This is the chief interpreter's buſineſs, as keeper of our purſe, who is alſo appointed to take care, that whatever is wanted during the whole journey, be provided for. It is he likewiſe that gives orders to keep every thing in readineſs to march, the minute the bugio, as commander in chief, is pleaſed to ſet out.

tied

Two days before our departure from Nagaſaki, every one muſt deliver his cloak-bag and portmantle to proper people, to be bound up, ſo that in an inſtant they may be tied to the horſes, and again untied. This is not done after our European manner, but after a particular one of their own, which deſerves to be here deſcribed.

A plain wooden ſaddle, not unlike the pack-ſaddles of the Swediſh poſt-horſes, is girded on the horſe with a poitral, or breaſt leather, and crupper. Two latchets are laid upon the ſaddle, which hang down on both ſides of the horſe, in order to their being conveniently tied about two portmantles, which are put on each ſide, in that ſituation which is thought the moſt proper to keep them in a due balance. For when once tied together, they are barely laid on the horſe's back, without any other thong or latchet to tie them faſter, either to the ſaddle or to the horſe. However, to faſten them in ſome meaſure, a ſmall long box, or trunk, called by the Japaneſe adoſſki, is laid over both portmantles upon the horſe's back, and tied faſt to the ſaddle with thongs; over the whole is ſpread the traveller's covering and bedding, which are tied faſt to the adoſſki and ſide-trunks, with broad lined faſhes, the middle cavity between the two trunks, filled up with ſome ſoft ſtuff, is the traveller's ſeat, were he ſits, as it were, upon a flat table, otherwiſe commodiouſly enough, and either croſs-legged, or with his legs extended hanging down by the horſe's neck, as he pleaſes, or finds it moſt convenient. Particular care muſt be taken to ſit right in the middle, and not to lean too much on either ſide, which would either make the horſe fall, or elſe the ſide-trunks and rider. In going up and down hills the footmen and ſtable grooms hold the two ſide trunks faſt, for fear of ſuch an accident. The traveller mounts the horſe, and alights again, not one ſide as we Europeans do, but by the horſe's breaſt, which is very troubleſome for ſtiff legs. The horſes are unſaddled and unladen in an inſtant; for having taken the bed cloths away, which they do firſt of all, they need but untie a latchet or two, which they are very dextrous at, and the whole baggage falls down at once. The latchets, thongs, and girths, made uſe of for theſe ſeveral purpoſes are broad and ſtrong, made of cotton, and withal very neatly worked, with ſmall oblong, cylindrical pieces of wood at both ends, which are of great uſe to ſtrain the latchets, and to tie things hard.

The ſaddle is made of wood, very plain, with a cuſhion underneath, and a capariſon behind, lying upon the horſe's back, with the traveller's mark, or arms, ſtitched upon it. Another piece of cloth hangs down on each ſide, as a ſafeguard to the horſe, to keep it from being daubed with dirt. Theſe two pieces are tied together looſely under the horſe's belly. The head is covered with a net-work of ſmall but ſtrong ſtrings, to defend it, and particularly the eyes from flies, which are very troubleſome to them. The neck, breaſt, and other parts, are hung with ſmall bells.

The ſide-trunks or portmantles, which are filled only with light ſtuff, and ſometimes only with ſtraw, are a ſort of a ſquare trunk, made of ſtiff horſe-leather, about five ſpans long, three broad, and three deep. The cover is made likewiſe of leather, ſomewhat larger, and ſo deep as to cover the lower part down to the bottom. Though they hold out rain very well, yet for a greater ſecurity they are wrapt up in mats, with ſtrong ropes tied about them, for which reaſon, and becauſe it requires ſome time to pack them up, they are ſeldom unpacked till you are come to the journey's end, and the things which are moſt wanted upon the road are kept in the adoſſki.

The adoſſki is a ſmall thin trunk or caſe, about ſix ſpans in length, one broad and one deep. It contains one ſingle drawer, much of the ſame length, breadth, and depth. It hath a little door, or opening on one ſide, which can be locked up, and by which you can come conveniently at the drawer, without untying the adoſſki. What

things are daily wanted upon the road muſt be kept in this trunk. It ſerves likewiſe to faſten the two portmantles, or ſide-trunks, which would otherwiſe require a ſtick. It is made of thick ſtrong grey paper, and further, to ſecure it againſt all accidents of a long voyage, blue ſtrings are tied about it in form of a net very neatly.

To complete our traveller's equipage, ſome other things are requiſite, which are commonly tied to the portmantles. Such are,

A ſtring with ſenni, or puties, a braſs money, with a hole in the middle; they being more proper to buy what neceſſaries are wanted on the road than ſilver money, which muſt be weighed. People that travel on horſeback tie this ſtring behind them to one of the faſhes of their ſeats. Foot-travellers carry it in a baſket upon their back.

A lanthorn of varniſhed and folded paper, with the poſſeſſor's arms painted upon its middle. This is carried before travellers by their footmen upon their ſhoulder, in travelling by night. It is tied behind one of the portmantles, put up in a net or bag, which again hath the poſſeſſor's arms, or marks, printed upon it, as have in general the clothes and all other moveables, travellers of all ranks and qualities carry along with them upon their journies.

A bruſh made of horſe's hairs, or black cock feathers, to duſt your ſeat and cloths. It is put behind your ſeat on one ſide, more for ſhew than uſe.

A water-pail, which is put on the other ſide of the ſeat oppoſite to the bruſh, or any where elſe.

Shoes or ſlippers for horſes and footmen. Theſe are twiſted of ſtraw, with ropes likewiſe of ſtraw hanging down from them, whereby they are tied about the horſe's feet, inſtead of our European iron horſe-ſhoes, which are not uſed in this country. They are ſoon worn out in ſtony ſlippery roads, and muſt be often changed for new ones. For this purpoſe, the men that look after the horſes, always carry a competent ſtock along with them, tied to the portmantles, though they are to be met with in every village, and even offered them to ſale by poor children begging along the road. Hence it may be ſaid, that this country hath more farriers than perhaps any other, though in fact it hath none at all.

I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that beſides the ſeveral things hitherto mentioned, which travellers uſually carry along with them in their journies, I had for my own private uſe a very large Javan box, which I had brought with me from Batavia. In this box I privately kept a large mariner's compaſs, in order to meaſure the directions of the roads, mountains, and coaſts; but openly, and expoſed to every body's view, was an inkhorn, and I uſually filled it with plants, flowers, and branches of trees, which I figured and deſcribed, (nay under this pretext, whatever occurred to me remarkable:) doing this, as I did it free and unhindered, to every bodies knowledge, I ſhould be wrongly accuſed to have done any thing which might have proved diſadvantageous to the Company's trade in this country, or to have thereby thrown any ill ſuſpicion upon our conduct from ſo jealous and circumſpect a nation. Nay, far from it, I muſt own that from the very firſt day of our ſetting out, till our return to Nagaſaki, all the Japaneſe companions of our voyage, and particularly the bugio, or commander in chief, were extremely forward to communicate to me, what uncommon plants they met with, together with their true names, characters and uſes, which they diligently enquired into among the natives. The Japaneſe, a very reaſonable and ſenſible people, and themſelves great lovers of plants, look upon botany as a ſtudy both uſeful and innocent, which, purſuant to the very dictates of reaſon and the law of nature, ought to be encouraged by every body. Thus much I know by my own experience, that of all the nations I ſaw and converſed with in my long and tedious travels, thoſe the leaſt favoured

favoured botanical learning, who ought to have encouraged it moſt. Upon my return to Nagaſaki, Tonnemon, ſecretary and chief counſellor to the governors, being once at Deſima, ſent for me, and made me, by the chief interpreter Siukobé, the following compliment: that he had heard with great pleaſure from Afagina Sindaanoſin, our late bugio, how agreeably I had ſpent my time, and what diverſion I had taken upon our journey in that excellent and moſt commendable ſtudy of botany, whereof he, Tonnemon, himſelf, was a great lover and encourager. But I muſt confeſs likewiſe, that at the beginning of our journey, I took what pains, and tried what means I could to procure the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of my fellow travellers, obliging ſome with a ſubmiſſive humble conduct, and ready aſſiſtance, as to the phyſic and phyſical advice, others with ſecret rewards for the very meaneſt ſervices and favours I received from them.

A traveller muſt not forget to provide himſelf with a large cloak, againſt rainy weather. This is made of double varniſhed oiled paper, and withal ſo very large and wide, that it covers and ſhelters at once man, horſe and baggage. It ſeems the Japaneſe have learnt the uſe of it, together with the name kappa, from the Portugueze. Foot travellers wear it in rainy weather, inſtead of cloaks or coats of the ſame ſtuff.

To keep off the heat of the ſun travellers muſt be provided with a large hat, which is made of ſplit bamboos, or ſtraw, very neatly and artfully twiſted, in form of an extended ſombreiro, or umbrella. It is tied under the chin with broad ſilk bands, lined with cotton. It is tranſparent and exceedingly light, and yet, if once wet, will let no rain come through. Not only the men wear ſuch hats upon their journies, but alſo the women in cities and villages, at all times, and in all weather, and it gives them no diſagreeable look.

The Japaneſe upon their journies wear very wide breeches, tapering towards the end, to cover the legs, and ſlit on both ſides to put in the ends of their large long gowns, which would otherwiſe be troubleſome to them in walking or riding. Some wear a ſhort coat or cloak over the breeches. Some inſtead of ſtockings tie a broad ribbon about their legs. Ordinary ſervants, chiefly Norimon men and pikebearers, wear no breeches at all, and for expedition ſake tack their gowns quite up to their belt, expoſing their back and privy parts naked to every body's view, which they ſay, they have no reaſon at all to be aſhamed of.

The Japaneſe of both ſexes never go abroad without fans, as we Europeans ſeldom do without gloves. Upon their journeys they make uſe of a fan, which hath the roads printed upon it, and tells them how many miles they are to travel, what inns they are to go to, and what price victuals are at. Some inſtead of ſuch a fan make uſe of a road book, which are offered them to ſale by numbers of poor children begging along the road. The Dutch are not permitted, at leaſt publickly, to buy any of theſe fans or road books.

After this manner travellers equip themſelves for their journies in this country. A Japaneſe on horſe-back, tucked up after this faſhion, makes a very odd comical figure at a diſtance. For beſides that they are generally ſhort-ſized and thick, their large hat, wide breeches and cloaks, together with their ſitting croſs legged, make them appear broader than long. Upon the road they ride one by one. Merchants have their horſes, with the heavy baggage, packed up in two or three trunks or bales, led before them. They follow ſitting on horſeback, after the manner above deſcribed. As to the bridle, the traveller hath nothing to do with that, the horſe being led by it by one of his footmen, who walks at the horſe's right ſide next by the head, and

together with his companions, ſings ſome merry ſong or other, to divert themſelves and to animate their horſes.

The Japaneſe look upon our European way of ſitting on horſeback, and holding the bridle one's ſelf, as warlike, and properly becoming a ſoldier. For this very reaſon they ſeldom or never uſe it in their journies. It is more frequent among people of quality in cities, when they go a viſiting one another. But even then the rider (who makes but a ſorry appearance, when ſitting after our manner,) holds the bridle merely for form, the horſe being nevertheleſs led by one, and ſometimes two footmen, who walk on each ſide of the head, holding it by the bit. The ſaddling of their horſes differs but little from ours. Their ſaddles come nearer our German ſaddles, than thoſe of any Aſiatic nation. The ſtirrup-leathers or gambados, are very ſhort. A broad round leather hangs down on both ſides, after the faſhion of the Tartars, for to defend the legs. The ſtirrup is made of iron, or ſowaas, and withal very thick and heavy, not unlike the ſole of a foot, and open on one ſide, for the rider to get his foot looſe with eaſe in caſe of a fall. The ſtirrups are commonly of an exceeding neat workmanſhip, and inlaid with ſilver. The reins are not of leather, as ours but of ſilk, and faſtened to the bit. Not to mention at preſent ſome other ornaments.

Beſides going on horſeback, there is another more ſtately and expenſive way of travelling in this country, and that is, to be carried in norimons and cangos, or particular ſorts of chairs, or litters. The ſame is uſual likewiſe in cities. People of quality are carried about after this manner for ſtate, others for eaſe and convenience. There is a wide difference between the litters men of quality go in, and thoſe of ordinary people: the former are ſumptuous and magnificent, according to every one's rank and riches; the latter are plain and ſimple. The former are commonly called norimons, the latter cangos. The vulgar (in all nations maſter of the language) have called them by two different names, though in fact they are but one thing. Norimon ſignifies, properly ſpeaking, a thing to ſit in; cangos, a baſket or doſſer. Both ſorts riſe through ſuch a variety of degrees, from the loweſt to the higheſt, from the plaineſt to the moſt curious, that a fine cangos is ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from a plain and ſimple norimon, but by its pole. The pole of a cangos is plain, maſſy, all of one piece, and ſmaller than that of a norimon, which is large, curiouſly adorned, and hollow. The pole of a norimon is made up of four thin boards, neatly joined together in form of a wide arch, and much lighter than it appears to be. The bigneſs and length of theſe poles hath been determined by the political laws of the empire, proportionable to every one's quality. Princes and great lords ſhew their rank and nobility, amongſt other things particularly, by the length and largeneſs of the poles of their norimons. People, who fancy themſelves to be of greater quality than they really are, are apt now and then to get the poles of their norimons or cangos made larger than they ought to have them. But then alſo, they are liable to be obliged by the magiſtrates, if they come to know of it, to reduce them to their former ſize, with a ſevere reprimand, if not a conſiderable fine into the bargain. This regulation however doth not concern the women; for they may, if they pleaſe, make uſe of larger poles than otherwiſe their own and their huſband's quality would entitle them to. The norimon itſelf is a ſmall room, of an oblong ſquare figure, big enough for one perſon conveniently to ſit or lie in, curiouſly twiſted of fine thin ſplit bamboos, ſometimes japanned and finely painted, with a ſmall folding door on each ſide, ſometimes a ſmall window before and behind. Sometimes it is fitted up for the

conveniency of ſleeping in it. It ends in a ſmall roof, which in rainy weather is covered with a covering of varniſhed paper. It is carried by two, four, eight, or more men, according to the quality of the perſon in it, who, if he be a Prince, or lord of a province, they carry the pole on the palms of their hands, otherwiſe they lay it upon their ſhoulders. All theſe norimon-men are clad in the ſame livery, with the coat of arms, or mark of their maſters. They are every now and then relieved by others, who in the mean time walk by the norimon's ſide. But of this more in another place. The cangos are not near ſo fine, nor ſo well attended. They are much of the ſame figure, but ſmaller, with a ſquare, ſolid, ſometimes with a round pole, which is either faſtened to the upper part of the roof, or put through it underneath. The cangos commonly made uſe of for travelling, chiefly for carrying people over mountains, are very poor and plain, and withal ſo ſmall, that one cannot ſit in them without very great inconveniency, bowing his head downward, and laying the legs acroſs; for they are not unlike a baſket with a round bottom, and flat roof, which one reaches with his head. In ſuch cangos we are carried over the rocks and mountains, which are not eaſily to be paſſed on horſeback. Three men are appointed for every cango, who indeed, for the heavineſs of their burden, have enough to do.

CHAP. XIX. — *A general Deſcription of the Way by Water and Land, from Nagaſaki to Jedo, the Emperor's Reſidence.*

MANY centuries ago the empire of Japan hath been divided into ſeven great tracts of land, as I have ſhewn at large in the fifth chapter of the firſt book, wherein I laid down a general geographical deſcription of it. To make travelling eaſy and convenient, every one of theſe tracts is bound by a highway, and becauſe in ſucceſs of time they have been again ſubdivided into ſeveral provinces, ſo there are particular ways leading to and from every one of theſe provinces, and all ending into the great highway, as ſmall rivers looſe themſelves into great ones. They borrowed their names from that tract, or province, to which they lead. But of this more in another place.

Theſe highways are ſo broad and large, that two companies, though never ſo great, can conveniently and without hindrance, paſs by one another. In this caſe that company, which according to their way of ſpeaking, goes up, that is, to Miaco, takes the left ſide of the way, and that which comes from Miaco, the right. All the highways are divided, for the inſtruction and ſatisfaction of travellers, into meaſured miles, which are all marked, and begin from the great bridge at Jedo, as the common centre of all highways. This bridge is by way of pre-eminence called Niponbas, that is, the bridge of Japan. By this means a traveller, in whatever part of the empire he be, may know at any time, how many Japaneſe miles it is from thence to Jedo, the imperial reſidence. The miles are marked by two ſmall hills, thrown up one on each ſide of the way, oppoſite one to another, and planted at the top with one or more trees.

At the end of every tract, province, or ſmaller diſtrict, a wooden, or ſtone poſt, or pillar, is ſet up in the highway, with characters upon it, ſhewing what provinces, or lands they are, which there bound one upon another, and to whom they belong.

The like poſts, or pillars, are erected at the entry of ſideways, which turn off from the great highway, likewiſe with characters upon them, ſhewing what province, or dominion they lead to, and how many leagues the next remarkable place is from thence.

In

In our journey to court we paſs through two of theſe chief highways, and go by water from one to the other, ſo that our whole journey is divided into three parts. In the firſt place we ſet out from Nagaſaki, to go by land acroſs the iſland Kiusju, to the town of Kokura, where we arrive in five days time. From Kokura we paſs the ſtreights in ſmall boats going over to Simonoſeki, which is about two leagues off, where we find our above-mentioned barge, riding at anchor and waiting our arrival, this harbour being very convenient and ſecure. The way from Nagaſaki to Kokura, is called by the Japaneſe Saikaido, which is as much as to ſay, the weſtern grounds way. At Simonoſeki we go on board our barge to proceed from thence to Oſacca, where we arrive in eight days, more or leſs, according as the wind proves favourable or contrary; ſometimes we go no farther with our barge, than Fiogo, becauſe of the ſhallowneſs and unſafe riding at anchor in the harbour of Oſacca. Oſacca is a city very famous for the extent of its commerce, and the wealth of its inhabitants. It lies about thirteen Japaneſe water leagues from Fiogo, which we make in ſmall boats, leaving our large barge at that place to wait our return. From Oſacca we go again by land, over the continent of the great iſland Nipon, ſo far as Jedo, the Emperor's reſidence, where we arrive in about fourteen days or more. The way from Oſacca to Jedo is by the Japaneſe called Tookaido, that is, the ſea or coaſtway. We ſtay at Jedo about twenty days, or upwards, and having had our audience of His Imperial Majeſty, and paid our reſpects to ſome of his chief miniſters and great favourites, we return to Nagaſaki the ſame way, completing our whole journey in about three months time.

Our journey from Nagaſaki to Jedo is at leaſt of three hundred and twenty three Japaneſe leagues of different length. From Nagaſaki to Kokura they compute fifty-three leagues and a half, from Kokura to Oſacca, a hundred thirty-ſix at leaſt, and a hundred forty-ſix at fartheſt, and from Oſacca to Jedo a hundred thirty-three leagues and thirteen tsjo, ſo that the whole comes to three hundred and twenty-three at leaſt, and at fartheſt three hundred and thirty-three Japaneſe leagues, which may be computed equal to about two hundred German miles.

The Japaneſe leagues, or miles, are not equally long. The land leagues upon the iſland Kiuſiu, and in the province Isje, are of fifty tsjo each, the other common leagues only of thirty-ſix. Tsjo is the meaſure of the length of a ſtreet. Upon good roads I found the former long leagues to be of a good hour's riding, the latter and ſhorter only of three quarters of an hour. The tsjo contains ſixty kin, or mats, according to their way of meaſuring, or about as many European fathoms, ſo that the great leagues contain three thouſand, and the ſmall ones two thouſand one hundred and ſixty kins or fathoms each. As to their water leagues, two and a half make a German mile, without their country, but within it, as they expreſs themſelves that is, between and about their iſlands, they meaſure them according to the courſe of the coaſts, without any certainty at all, ſo that I am not well able to determine what proportion they bear to the land leagues, or German miles; only I found in general, that they are ſhorter than the land leagues.

In moſt parts of Saikaido, and every where upon Tookaido, between the towns and villages, there is a ſtraight row of firs planted on each ſide of the road, which by their agreeable ſhade make the journey both pleaſant and convenient. The ground is kept clean and neat, convenient ditches and outlets are contrived to carry the rain water off towards low fields, and ſtrong dikes are caſt up to keep off that which comes down from higher places. This makes the road at all times good and pleaſant, unleſs it be juſt rainy weather and the ground ſlimy. The neighbouring villages

muſt jointly keep them in repair, and take care that they be ſwept and cleaned every day. People of great quality, in their journies, cauſe the road to be ſwept with brooms, juſt before they paſs it; and there lie heaps of ſand in readineſs at due diſtances (which are brought thither ſome days before) to be ſpread over the road in order to dry it in caſe it ſhould rain upon their arrival. The lords of the ſeveral provinces, and the Princes of the imperial blood in their journies, find at every two or three leagues diſtance, huts of green-leaved branches erected for them, with a private apartment, where they may ſtep in for their pleaſures, or neceſſities. The inſpectors for repairing the highway, are at no great trouble to get people to clean them; for whatever makes the roads dirty and naſty, is of ſome uſe to the neighbouring country people, ſo that they rather ſtrive, who ſhould firſt carry it away. The pine-nuts, branches and leaves, which fall down daily from the firs, are gathered for fuel, and to ſupply the want of wood, which is very ſcarce in ſome places. Nor doth horſes' dung lie long upon the ground, but it is ſoon taken up by poor country children and ſerves to manure the fields. For the ſame reaſon care is taken, that the filth of travellers be not loſt, and there are in ſeveral places, near country people's houſes, or in their fields, houſes of office built for them to do their needs. Old ſhoes of horſes and men, which are thrown away as uſeleſs, are gathered in the ſame houſes, and burnt to aſhes along with the filth, for common dung, which they manure all their fields withal. Proviſions of this naſty compoſition are kept in large tubs, or tuns, which are buried even with the ground, in their villages and fields, and being not covered, afford full as ungrateful and putrid a ſmell of radiſhes (which is the common food of country people) to tender noſes, as the neatneſs and beauty of the road is agreeable to the eyes.

In ſeveral parts of the country the roads go over hills and mountains, which are ſometimes ſo ſteep and high, that travellers are neceſſitated to get themſelves carried over them in cangos, ſuch as I have deſcribed in the preceding chapter, becauſe they cannot without great difficulty and danger paſs them on horſeback. But even this part of the road, which may be called bad in compariſon to others, is green and pleaſant, for the abundance of ſprings of clear water and verdant buſhes, and this all the year round, but particularly in the ſpring, when the flower-bearing trees and ſhrubs, as the ſuſi, tſubacki, ſatſuki, utſugi, temariqua, being then in their full bloſſom, prove ſuch an additional beauty, affording to the eye ſo curious a view, and filling the noſe with ſo agreeable a ſcent, as one ſhould ſcarce meet with any where elſe.

Several of the rivers we are to croſs over, chiefly upon Tookaido, run with ſo impetuous a rapidity towards the ſea, that they will bear no bridge nor boat, and this by reaſon, partly of the neighbouring ſnow-mountains, where they ariſe, partly of the frequent great rains, which will ſwell them to ſuch a degree, as to make them overflow their banks. Theſe muſt be forded through in ſhallow places. Men, horſes, and baggage, are delivered up to the care of certain people, bred up to this buſineſs, who are well acquainted with the bed of the river, and the places which are the moſt proper for fording. Theſe people, as they are made anſwerable for their paſſenger's lives, and all accidents that might befal them in the paſſage, exert all their ſtrength, care and dexterity to ſupport them with their arms, againſt the impetuoſity of the river, and the ſtones rolling down from the mountains, where the rivers ariſe. Norimons are carried over by the ſame people upon their arms.

The chief of theſe rivers is the formidable Ojingawa, which ſeparates the two provinces Tootomi and Surunga. The paſſage of this river is what all travellers are apprehenſive of, not only for its uncommon rapidity and ſwiftneſs but becauſe ſometimes,

times, chiefly after rains, it ſwells ſo high, that they are neceſſitated to ſtay ſeveral days on either bank, till the fall of the water makes it paſſable, or till they will venture the paſſage, and deſire to be ſet over at their own peril. The rivers Fuſi, Jedagawa, and Abikawa, in the laſt mentioned province, are of the like nature, but not ſo much dreaded.

There are many other ſhallow and rapid rivers; but becauſe they are not ſo broad as thoſe above-mentioned, nor altogether ſo impetuous, paſſengers are ferried over them in boats, which are built after a particular faſhion proper for ſuch a paſſage, with flat thin bottoms, which will give way, ſo that if they run aground, or upon ſome great ſtone, they may eaſily and without any danger ſlide over it and get off again. The chief of theſe are, the river Tenriu in the province Tootomi; Fudſikawa, in the province Suruga; Benrju, in the province Muſaſi, and the river Aſkagawa, which is particularly remarkable, for that its bed continually alters, for which reaſon inconſtant people are compared to it in proverb.

Strong broad bridges are laid over all other rivers, which do not run with ſo much rapidity, nor alter their beds. Theſe bridges are built of cedar-wood, and very curiouſly kept in conſtant repair, ſo that they look at all times as if they had been but lately finiſhed. They are railed on both ſides. The perpendicular rails ſtand at about a fathom's diſtance from each other, and there are two upon every arch, if they be not of a larger ſize, for the commodious paſſage of boats and ſhips under the bridge. As one may travel all over Japan without paying any taxes or cuſtoms, ſo likewiſe they know nothing of any money to be paid by way of a toll for the repair of highways and bridges. Only in ſome places the cuſtom is, in winter-time, to give the bridge-keeper, who is to look after the bridge, a ſenni, or farthing for his trouble.

The moſt famous bridges in Japan, and the moſt remarkable for their ſtructure and largeneſs are, 1. Setanoſas, is the bridge over the river Jedogawa, where it comes out of a large freſh water lake, in the province Oomi. This bridge is ſupported, in the middle, by a ſmall iſland, and conſequently conſiſts of two parts, the firſt whereof hath 36 kins, or fathoms, in length, and the ſecond 96. This river, which runs through Oſacca, and then looſes itſelf into the ſea, hath ſeveral other bridges laid over it, ſome whereof are ſtill larger. There is one for inſtance, near the ſmall town of Udſi, two near Fuſimi, two near Jodo and ſeven in the city of Oſacca, not to mention ſome ſmaller ones, which are laid over its arms. This river is alſo navigable for ſmall boats, but they do not come up higher than Udſi. 2. Jafagibas, near the city Okafacki, in the province Mikawa, is 208 fathoms long. This river is alſo navigable for ſmall boats, which from the ſea-ſide come up ſo far as this bridge. 3. Joſidanobas, near the city Joſida, in the ſame province, is 120 kins, or fathoms, long. In high-water even large barges can come up this river as far as this city. 4. Rokugonoſas, in the province Muſaſi, was 109 kins long. This bridge was, by the impetuoſity of the river, much ſwelled by great rains, waſhed away in 1687, and in all likelihood will never be rebuilt, becauſe the river being very near the reſidence of the Emperor, its ſecurity ſeems to require, that there be no bridge over it. 5. Niponbas, that is, the bridge of Japan, ſo called by way of pre-eminence. It lies juſt oppoſite to the imperial palace, in the middle of the capital city of Jedo, and is particularly famous, becauſe the leagues, which all the highways in Japan are divided into, begin to be computed from thence, and are continued to the very extremities of this mighty and powerful empire. All the bridges are laid over the banks of the river at leaſt two fathoms on each ſide, and open with their rails like two wings. For this reaſon four kins, or fathoms, muſt be added to the length above-mentioned.

That

That part of our journey to court which we are to make by water, is made along the coaſts of the great iſland Nipon, which we have on our left, ſteering our courſe ſo as to continue always in ſight of land, not above one or two leagues off at fartheſt, that in caſe of a ſtorm ariſing, it ſhould not be out of our power forthwith to put into ſome harbour or other. Coming out of the ſtreights of Simonoſeki, we continue for ſome time in ſight of the ſouth caſtern coaſts of the iſland Kiusju, which we went over by land, going from Nagaſaki to Kokura. Having left the coaſts of Kiuſiu, we come in ſight of thoſe of the iſland Tſiokoku, we then make the iſland Awadſi, and ſteering between this iſland on our right, and the main continent of the province Idſumi, on our left, we at laſt put into the harbour of Oſacca, and ſo end that part of our journey to court which muſt be made by ſea. All theſe coaſts are very much frequented, not only by the Princes and lords of the empire, with their retinues, travelling to and from court, but likewiſe by the merchants of the country going from one province to another to traffic, to diſpoſe of their goods and to buy others, ſo that one may chance, on ſome days, to ſee upwards of an hundred ſhips under ſail. The coaſts hereabouts are rocky and mountainous, and many of the mountains cultivated up to their very tops; otherwiſe they are well inhabited, and ſtocked with villages, caſtles and ſmall towns. There are very good harbours in ſeveral places, where ſhips put in at night to lie at anchor, commonly upon good clean ground in four to eight fathoms.

In this voyage we paſs by innumerable ſmall iſlands, particularly the ſtreights between Tſikoko and Nipon are full of them. They are all mountainous, and are for the moſt part barren and uncultivated rocks. Some few have a tolerable good ſoil and ſweet water. Theſe are inhabited, and the mountains, though never ſo ſteep, cultivated up to their tops. The mountains of ſuch iſlands as are inhabited, (as alſo of the main continent of Nipon) have ſeveral rows of firs planted for ornament's ſake along their ridge at top, which makes them look at a diſtance as if they were fringed, and withal affords a very curious proſpect. There is hardly an iſland of the inhabited ones, but what hath a convenient harbour, with good anchoring ground where ſhips may lie ſafe. All Japaneſe pilots know this very well, and will ſometimes come to an anchor upon very ſlight pretences. Nor indeed are they much to be blamed for an over carefulneſs, or too great a circumſpection, which ſome would be apt to call fear and cowardice. For it muſt be conſidered, that by the laws of the empire, their ſhips muſt not be built ſtrong enough to bear the ſhocks and toſſing of huge raging waves; the cabin itſelf, and the goods on board, are ſcarce ſecure from rain and ſea water before they drop anchor and take down the maſt. The deck is built ſo looſe that it will let the water run through, before the maſt hath been taken down, and the ſhip covered, partly with mats, partly with the ſails. The ſtern is laid quite open, and if the ſea runs high, the waves will beat in on all ſides. In ſhort, the whole ſtructure is ſo weak and thin, that a ſtorm approaching, unleſs anchor be forthwith caſt, the ſails taken in, and the maſt let down, it is in danger every moment to be ſhattered to pieces and ſunk.

CHAP. XX. — *A general Deſcription of the ſeveral Edifices and Buildings, public and private, we met with along the Road.*

IN our journey to court we met with the following ſtructures and buildings: all ſorts of ſhips and barges in our voyage by ſea; and in our journey by land, many ſacred and civil, public and private buildings; as for inſtance, caſtles, cities, boroughs, villages, hamlets, poſt-houſes, inns, eating-houſes, public places for proclamations and orders

from the government, places of executions, temples, convents, idols and relics; of all which I propoſe to give a general deſcription in this and the following chapter.

All the ſhips and boats we met with in our voyage by ſea, were built of fir or cedar-wood, both which grow in great plenty in the country. They are of a different ſtructure, according to the purpoſes, and the waters they are built for. The pleaſure-boats, which make up one ſort, and are made uſe of only for going up and falling down rivers, or to croſs ſmall bays, are again widely different in their ſtructure, according to the poſſeſſor's fancy. Commonly they are built for rowing. The firſt and lowermoſt deck is flat and low. Another more lofty, with open windows, ſtands upon it; and this may be by folding ſcreens divided as they pleaſe into ſeveral partitions. The roof, and ſeveral parts of the ſhip, are curiouſly adorned with variety of flags and other ornaments. The figures of theſe boats will give the reader a better idea, than could be expected from the moſt accurate deſcription.

The merchant ſhips which venture out at ſea, though not very far from the coaſts, and ſerve for the tranſport of men and goods from one iſland or province to another, are the largeſt naval buildings of this country. They deſerve a more accurate deſcription, as by their means trade and commerce is carried on with all parts of the empire. They are commonly fourteen fathom long, and four fathom broad, built for ſailing as well as rowing; they run tapering from the middle towards the ſtem; both ends of the keel ſtand out of the water conſiderably. The body of the ſhip is not built roundiſh as our European ones, but that part which ſtands below the ſurface of the water runs almoſt in a ſtraight line towards the keel. The ſtern is broad and flat, with a wide opening in the middle, which reaches down almoſt to the bottom of the ſhip, and lays open all the inſide to the eye. This opening was originally contrived for the eaſier management of the rudder, but ſince the Emperor hath taken the reſolution to ſhut up his dominions to all foreigners, orders were iſſued at the ſame time, that no ſhip ſhould be built without ſuch an opening; and this in order to prevent his ſubjects from attempting to venture out to the main ſea, on any voyage whatever. The deck is ſomewhat raiſed towards the ſtern. It is broader on the ſides where it is flat and ſtraight. It conſiſts only of deal boards laid looſe, without any thing to faſten them together. It riſes but little above the ſurface of the water, when the ſhip hath its full lading. It is almoſt covered with a ſort of a cabin, full a man's height, only a ſmall part of it towards the ſtem being left empty, for to lay up the anchor and other tackle. This cabin juts out of the ſhip about two foot on each ſide, and there are folding windows round it, which may be opened or ſhut, as pleaſure or occaſion require. In the furthermoſt part are the cabins, or rooms for paſſengers, ſeparate from each other by folding ſkreens and doors, with the floors covered with fine neat mats. The furthermoſt cabin is always reckoned the beſt, and for this reaſon aſſigned to the chief paſſenger. The roof, or upper deck, is flattiſh, and made of neat boards curiouſly joined together. In rainy weather the maſt is let down upon the upper deck, and the ſail extended over it for ſailors, and the people employed in the ſhip's ſervice to take ſhelter under it, and to ſleep at night. Sometimes, and the better to defend the upper deck, it is covered with common ſtraw mats, which for this purpoſe lie there at hand. The ſhip hath but one ſail, made of hemp, and withal very large. She hath alſo but one maſt, ſtanding up about a fathom behind her middle towards the ſtern. This maſt, which is of the ſame length with the ſhip, is wound up by pullies, and again let down upon the deck, when the ſhip comes to an anchor. The anchors are of iron, and the cables twiſted of ſtraw, and ſtronger than one would imagine. Ships of this burden have commonly thirty or forty hands a-piece to row them, if the wind fails. The

watermen's benches are towards the ſtern. They row according to the air of a ſong, or the tune of ſome words, or other noiſe, which ſerves at the ſame time to direct and regulate their work, and to encourage one another. They do not row after our European manner, extending their oars ſtraight forwards, and cutting juſt the ſurface of the water, but let them fall down into the water almoſt perpendicularly, and then lift them up again. This way of rowing not only anſwers all the ends of the other, but is done with leſs trouble, and ſeems to be much more advantageous, conſidering either the narrowneſs of the paſſage, ſhips ſometimes chance to have, when they paſs either through ſtreights, or by one another, or that the benches of the rowers are raiſed conſiderably above the ſurface of the water. Their oars are beſides made in a particular manner, calculated for this way of rowing, being not all ſtraight, like our European oars, but ſomewhat bent, with a moveable joint in the middle, which, yielding to the violent preſſion of the water, facilitates the taking of them up. The timber pieces and boards are faſtened together in their joints and extremities with hooks and bands of copper. The ſtem is adorned with a knot of fringes, made of thin long black ſtrings. Men of quality, in their voyages, have their cabin hung all about with cloth, whereupon is ſtitched their coats of arms. Their pike of ſtate, as the badge of their authority, is put up upon the ſtern on one ſide of the rudder. On the other ſide there is a weather-flag for the uſe of the pilot. In ſmall ſhips, as ſoon as they come to an anchor, the rudder is wound up and put aſhore; ſo that one may paſs through the opening of the ſtern, as through a back door, and walking over the rudder as over a bridge, get aſhore. Thus much of the ſhips. I proceed now to other ſtructures and buildings, travellers meet with in their journies by land.

It may be obſerved in general, that all the buildings of this country, either eccleſiaſtical or civil, public or private, are by no means to be compared to ours in Europe, neither in largeneſs nor magnificence, they being commonly low and built with wood. By virtue of the laws of the empire, the houſes of private perſons are not to exceed ſix kins, or fathoms, in height. Nay, it is but ſeldom they build their houſes ſo high, unleſs they deſign them for warehouſes. Even the palaces of the Dairi, or Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperor, thoſe of the Secular Monarch, and of all the Princes and lords of the empire, are not above one ſtory high. And although there be many common houſes, chiefly in towns, of two ſtories, yet the upper ſtory, if otherwiſe it deſerves that name, is generally very low, unfit to be inhabited, and good for little elſe, but to lay up ſome of the leaſt neceſſary houſehold goods, it being often without a cieling, or any other cover but the bare roof. The reaſon of their building their houſes ſo very low, is the frequency of earthquakes this country is ſubject to, and which prove much more fatal to lofty and maſſy buildings of ſtone than to low and ſmall houſes of wood. If the houſes of the Japaneſe be not ſo large, lofty, or ſo ſubſtantially built as ours, they are, on the other hand, greatly to be admired for their uncommon neatneſs and cleanlineſs, and curious furniture. I could not help taking notice, that their furniture and the ſeveral ornaments of their apartments, make a far more graceful and handſome appearance in rooms of a ſmall compaſs, than they would do in large lofty halls. They have none, or but few partition walls, to divide their rooms from each other; but, inſtead of them make uſe of folding ſkreens made of coloured or gilt paper, and laid into wooden frames, which they can put on or remove, whenever they pleaſe, and by this means enlarge their rooms, or make them narrower, as it beſt ſuits their fancy or convenience. The floors are ſomewhat raiſed above the level of the ſtreet, and are all made of boards, neatly covered with lined, well ſtuffed, fine mats, the borders whereof

are curiouſly fringed, embroidered, or otherwiſe neatly adorned. Another law of the country imports, that all mats ſhould be of the ſame ſize in all parts of the empire, to wit, a kin or fathom long, and half a kin broad. All the lower part of houſe, the ſtaircaſe leading up to the ſecond ſtory, if there be any, the doors, windows, poſts and paſſages are curiouſly painted and varniſhed. The cielings are neatly covered with gilt or ſilver coloured paper, embelliſhed with flowers, and the ſkreens in ſeveral rooms curiouſly painted. In ſhort, there is not one corner in the whole houſe but what looks handſome and pretty, and this the rather, ſince all their furniture being the produce of the country, may be bought at an eaſy rate. I muſt not forget to mention, that it is very healthful to live in theſe houſes, and that in this particular they are far beyond ours in Europe, becauſe of their being built all of cedar-wood, or firs, whereof there is a great plenty in the country; and becauſe of the windows being generally contrived ſo, that upon opening of them, and upon removing the ſkreens which ſeparate the rooms, a free paſſage is left for the air to ſtrike through the whole houſe. I took notice, that the roof, which is covered with planks, or ſhingles of wood, reſts upon thick, ſtrong, heavy beams, as large as they can get them, and that the ſecond ſtory is generally built ſtronger and more ſubſtantial than the firſt. This they do by reaſon of the frequent earthquakes, which happen in this country, becauſe they obſerve, that in caſe of a violent ſhock, the preſſure of the upper part of the houſe upon the lower, which is built much lighter, keeps the whole from being overthrown.

The caſtles of the Japaneſe nobility are built, either on great rivers, or upon hills and riſing grounds. They take in a vaſt deal of room, and conſiſt commonly of three different fortreſſes, or encloſures, which either cover and defend, or if poſſible, encompaſs one another. Every encloſure is ſurrounded and defended by a clean deep ditch, and a thick ſtrong wall built of ſtone or earth, with ſtrong gates. Guns they have none. The principal and innermoſt caſtle, or incloſure, is called ſon mas, that is, the true, or chief caſtle. It is the reſidence of the Prince or lord who is in poſſeſſion of it, and as ſuch it is diſtinguiſhed from others by a ſquare, large, white tower, three or four ſtories high, with a ſmall roof encompaſſing each ſtory, like a crown or garland. In the ſecond, called ninmas, that is, the ſecond caſtle, are lodged the gentlemen of the Prince's bed-chamber, his ſtewards, ſecretaries, and other chief officers, who are to give a more conſtant attendance about his perſon. The empty ſpaces are cultivated, and turned either into gardens, or ſown with rice. The third and outwardmoſt is called ſotogamei, that is, the outwardmoſt defence, as alſo ninnomas, that is, the third caſtle. It is the abode of a numerous train of ſoldiers, courtiers, domeſtics, and other people, every body being permitted to come into it. The white walls, baſtions, gates, each of which hath two or more ſtories built over it, and above all the beautiful tower of the innermoſt caſtle, are extremely pleaſant to behold at a diſtance. There is commonly a place without the caſtle called oo-te-guts, that is, the great frontier mouth, deſigned for a rendezvous and review of troops. Hence it appears, that conſidering war and ſieges are carried on in this country without the uſe of great guns, theſe caſtles are well enough defended, and of ſufficient ſtrength to hold out a long ſiege. The proprietors are bound beſides to take particular care, that they be kept in conſtant repair. However, if there be any part thereof going to ruin, the ſame cannot be rebuilt, without the knowledge and expreſs leave of the Emperor. Much leſs doth the Emperor ſuffer new ones to be built in any part of his dominions. The caſtles where the Princes or lords reſide, are commonly ſeated at the extremity of ſome large town, which encompaſſes them in the form of a half moon.

Moſt

Moſt of the towns are very populous, and well built. The ſtreets are, generally ſpeaking, regular, running ſtraight forward, and croſſing each other at right angles, as if they had been laid out at one time, and according to one general ground-plot. The towns are not ſurrounded with walls and ditches. The two chief gates, where people go in and out, are no better than the ordinary gates which ſtand at the end of every ſtreet, and are ſhut at night. Sometimes there is part of a wall built contiguous to them on each ſide, merely for ornament's ſake. In larger towns, where there is ſome Prince or other reſides, theſe two gates are a little handſomer, and kept in better repair, and there is commonly a ſtrong guard mounted there, all out of reſpect for the reſiding Prince. The reſt of the town generally lies open to the fields, and is but ſeldom incloſed even with a common hedge or ditch. The frontier towns of the imperial demeſnes, or crown lands, although they be not fortified with any great art, yet in thoſe narrow paſſages which lead to them, and which cannot be well avoided, they are defended with ſtrong gates, where a good imperial inquiſition guard is conſtantly mounted. In our journey to court I counted thirty-three towns and reſidences of Princes of the empire, ſome whereof we paſſed through, but ſaw others only at a diſtance. Common towns and large villages or boroughs, I computed from ſeventy-five to eighty or upwards: not to mention ſome large palaces, inhabited only by ſheriffs of counties, or ſurveyors of ſome tracts of land; as alſo ſome others built to lodge men of great quality in their journies to and from court. I could not help admiring the great number of ſhops we met with in all the cities, towns and villages, whole large ſtreets being ſcarce any thing elſe but continued rows of ſhops on both ſides; and I own, for my part, that I could not well conceive, how the whole country is able to furniſh cuſtomers enough, only to make the proprietors get a livelihood, much leſs to enrich them.

The villages along the highways in the great iſland Nipon are but thinly inhabited by country people and labourers, the far greater part of the inhabitants being made up by other people, who reſort there to get their livelihood, either by ſelling ſome odd things to travellers, or by ſervile daily labour. Hence it is, that moſt villages conſiſt only of one long ſtreet, bordering on each ſide of the highway, which is ſometimes extended to ſuch a length, as to reach the next village within a quarter of a mile, more or leſs. Hence likewiſe it is, that ſome villages have two names; for having been originally two villages, which by the gradual increaſe of the inhabitants and houſes came to be joined together, each part retained its former name, though by people not apprized of this diſtinction the name of either part is ſometimes by miſtake given to the whole village. I muſt here deſire the reader to obſerve, that the names and words are not always written and pronounced after the ſame manner, it being not inconſiſtent with the beauty of the Japaneſe language to abbreviate ſome words, to alter ſome letters in others, juſt as it pleaſes every one's fancy, or to add to ſome ſyllables the letter *n*, which they do frequently for the ſake of an eaſier and more agreeable pronunciation. Thus ſometimes they write Fonda for Fon Tomida; Mattira for Matzidira; Tagawa for Takawa, Firangawa for Firakawa; Nangaſaki for Nagaſaki, and ſo on. I thought it neceſſary once for all to make this obſervation, and to entreat the reader, not to take it amiſs if he meets with the ſame names differently written in different places.

The houſes of country people and huſbandmen are ſo ſmall and poor, that a few lines will ſerve to give the reader a full idea of them. They conſiſt of four low walls, covered with a thatched or ſhingled roof. In the back part of the houſe the floor is ſomewhat raiſed above the level of the ſtreet, and there it is they place the hearth; the reſt is covered with neat mats. Behind the ſtreet-door hangs a row of coarſe ropes made of ſtraw, not to hinder people from coming in or going out, but to ſerve inſtead of a lattice-

window,

window, to prevent ſuch as are without from looking in and obſerving what paſſes within doors. As to houſhold goods they have but few. Many children and great poverty is generally what they are poſſeſſed of, and yet with ſome ſmall proviſion of rice, plants, and roots, they live content and happy.

Paſſing through cities and villages, and other inhabited places, we always found upon one of the chief public ſtreets a ſudanotſiuſi, as they call it, being a ſmall place encompaſſed with grates, for the ſupreme will, as the uſual way of ſpeaking is in this country, that is for the imperial orders and proclamations. It is the lord, or governor, of every province, that publiſhes them in his own name for the inſtruction of paſſengers. They are written, article by article, in large fair characters, upon a ſquare table of a foot or two in length, ſtanding upon a poſt at leaſt two fathoms high. We ſaw ſeveral of theſe tables as we travelled along, of different dates, and upon different ſubjects. The chief, largeſt and oldeſt contains the edict againſt the Roman Catholic religion, ſetting forth alſo proper orders relating to the inquiſition, (which I have deſcribed at large in the third chapter of the preceding book) ſpecifying what reward is to be given to any perſon or perſons that diſcover a Chriſtian, or a prieſt. The lords or governors of provinces put up their own orders and edicts in the ſame place. This is the reaſon why there are ſometimes ſo many ſtanding behind or near one another, that it is ſcarce poſſible to ſee and to read them all. Sometimes alſo there are pieces of money, in gold and ſilver, ſtruck or nailed to ſome, which are to be given as a reward to any perſon or perſons that will diſcover any fact, perſon, or criminal therein mentioned. Theſe grated proclamation-caſes, are commonly placed, in great cities juſt at the entry, in villages and hamlets in the middle, of the chief ſtreets, where there is the greateſt paſſage through, or in any other place, where they are the moſt likely to be taken notice of. Going along the road in ſuch places as are not inhabited, there are ſome other orders and inſtructions for paſſengers put up in the like manner, but upon lower poſts. Theſe come from the ſheriffs, ſurveyors of the roads, and other inferior officers, and although the things therein ordered, or intimated, be generally very trifling, yet they may involve a tranſgreſſor, or negligent obſerver, into great troubles and expence.

Another remarkable thing we met with, as we travelled along, were the places of public executions. Theſe are eaſily known by croſſes, poſts, and other remains of former executions. They commonly lie without the cities, or villages, on the weſt ſide. It is the common opinion, ſuppoſed to hold true in all countries,—the more laws the more offenders. As to the magiſtrates of this, it is no inconſiderable proof of their wiſdom and circumſpection, as well as the tenderneſs and love for their people, that they made it their endeavour to put a ſtop even to all imaginable opportunities, which might tempt and induce people to commit crimes, by expreſs and ſevere laws, which are ſo far from being not or but ſlightly obſerved, that none but corporal puniſhments, or an unavoidable death, are known to attend the leaſt tranſgreſſion thereof. Hence it is, that in this heathen country fewer capital crimes are tried before the courts of juſtice, and leſs criminal blood ſhed by the hands of public executioners, than perhaps in any part of Chriſtianity. So powerfully works the fear of an inevitable ſhameful death upon the minds of a nation, otherwiſe ſo ſtubborn as the Japaneſe, and ſo regardleſs of their lives, that nothing elſe but ſuch an unbound ſtrictneſs would be able to keep them within due bounds of continence and virtue. It is true indeed, Nagaſaki cannot boaſt of that ſcarcity of executions. For beſides, that this place hath been in a manner conſecrated to cruelty and blood, by being made the common butchery of many thouſand Japaneſe Chriſtians, who

who in the laſt perſecution ſealed up their faith with their blood. There have not been ſince wanting criminals and frequent executions, particularly of thoſe people who, contrary to the ſevere imperial edicts, cannot leave off carrying on a ſmuggling trade with foreigners, and who alone, perhaps of the whole nation, ſeem to be more pleaſed with this unlawful gain than frightened by the ſhameful puniſhment which they muſt inevitably ſuffer, if caught in the fact, or betrayed to the governors. But it is time to turn off our eyes from theſe unpleaſing objects, and to proceed to conſider others more agreeable.

Of all the religious buildings to be ſeen in this country, the tira, that is, the Bud's temples, or temples built to foreign idols, with the adjoining convents, are doubtleſs the moſt remarkable, as being far ſuperior to all others, by their ſtately height, curious roofs, and numberleſs other beautiful ornaments, which agreeably ſurprize and amaze the beholder. Such as are built within cities or villages, ſtand commonly on riſing grounds, and in the moſt conſpicuous places. Others which are without, are built in the aſcent of hills and mountains. All are moſt ſweetly ſeated; a curious view of the adjacent country, a ſpring or rivulet of clear water, and the neighbourhood of a wood, with pleaſant walks being neceſſary qualifications of thoſe ſpots of ground, theſe holy ſtructures are to be built upon. For they ſay, that the gods are extremely delighted with ſuch high and pleaſant places, and I make no doubt but that their prieſts readily condeſcend to be of the ſame opinion, they being the moſt proper for their own pleaſures and diverſion. All theſe temples are built of the beſt cedars and firs, and adorned within with many carved images. In the middle of the temple ſtands a fine altar, with one or more gilt idols upon it, and a beautiful candleſtick, with ſweet ſcented candles burning before it. The whole temple is ſo neatly and curiouſly adorned, that one would fancy himſelf tranſported into a Roman Catholic church, did not the monſtrous ſhape of the idols which are therein worſhipped evince the contrary. They are not unlike the pagods of the Siamites and Chineſe, both in ſtructure and ornaments, which it is not here the proper place to give a more accurate deſcription of. The whole empire is full of theſe temples, and their prieſts are without number. Only in and about Miaco they count 3893 temples, and 37,093 ſiukku, or prieſts, to attend them.

The ſanctity of the mija, or temples ſacred to the idols, as of old worſhipped in the country, requires alſo that they ſhould be built in ſome eminent place, or at leaſt at ſome diſtance from unclean common grounds. I have elſewhere obſerved, that they are attended only by ſecular perſons. A neat broad walk turns in from the highway towards theſe temples. At the beginning of the walk is a ſtately and magnificent gate, built either of ſtone or of wood, with a ſquare table about a foot and a half high, on which the name of the god, to whom the temple is conſecrated, is written or engraved in golden characters. Of this magnificent entry one may juſtly ſay, *parturiunt montes:* for if you come to the end of the walk, which is ſometimes ſeveral hundred paces long, inſtead of a pompous magnificent building, you find nothing but a low mean ſtructure of wood, often all hid amidſt trees and buſhes, with one ſingle grated window to look into it, and within either all empty, or adorned only with a looking-glaſs of metal, placed in the middle, and hung about with ſome bundles of ſtraw, or cut white paper, tied to a long ſtring in form of fringes, as a mark of the purity and ſanctity of the place. The ſame white paper is alſo hung round the tooris, and galleries adjoining to moſt of them. The moſt magnificent gates ſtand before the temples of Tenſio Daiſin, Fatzman, and that Cami, or god, whom particular places chuſe to worſhip as their tutelar god, and him who takes a more particular care to protect and defend them. I need not enlarge upon this ſubject, having already and amply

amply conſidered it in the ſecond chapter of the 3d book, and likewiſe in the fourth chapter of the 4th book.

Other religious objects travellers meet with along the roads, are the fotoge, or foreign idols of ſtone, chiefly thoſe of Amida, and Dſiſoo, as alſo other monſtrous images and idols, which we found upon the highways in ſeveral places, at the turning-in of ſideways, near bridges, convents, temples, and other buildings. They are ſet up partly as an ornament to the place, partly to remind travellers of the devotion and worſhip due to the gods, and the paths of virtue and piety which they ought to tread in. For this ſame purpoſe draughts of theſe idols, printed upon entire or half-ſheets of paper, are paſted upon the gates of cities and villages, upon wooden poſts, near bridges, upon the proclamation-caſes above deſcribed, and in ſeveral other places upon the highway, which ſtand the moſt expoſed to the traveller's view. Travellers however are not obliged to fall down before them, or to pay them any other mark of worſhip and reſpect than they are otherwiſe willing to do.

On the doors and houſes of ordinary people (for men of quality ſeldom ſuffer to have theirs thus disfigured) there is commonly paſted a ſorry picture of one of their lares, or houſe-gods, printed upon one half-ſheet of paper. The moſt common is the black-horned Giwon, otherwiſe called Godſu Ten Oo, that is, according to the literal ſignification of the characters, this word is expreſſed by, the ox-headed prince of heaven, whom they believe to have the power of keeping the family from diſtempers, and other unlucky accidents, particularly from the ſekbio, or ſmall-pox, which proves fatal to great numbers of their children. Others fancy they thrive extremely well, and live happy, under the protection of a countryman of Jeſo, whoſe monſtrous frightful picture they paſte upon their doors, being hairy all over his body, and carrying a large ſword with both hands, which they believe he makes uſe of to keep off and as it were to parry all ſorts of diſtempers and misfortunes, endeavouring to get into the houſe. On the fronts of new and pretty houſes, I have ſometimes ſeen dragons or devils heads painted with a wide open mouth, large teeth and fiery eyes. The Chineſe and other Indian nations, nay, even the Mahometans in Arabia and Perſia, have the ſame placed over the doors of their houſes, by the frightful aſpect of this monſtrous figure, to keep off, as the latter ſay, the envious from diſturbing the peace in families. Often alſo they put a branch of the ſanna ſkimmi tree over their doors, which is in like manner believed to bring good luck into their houſes; or elſe liverwort, which they fancy hath the particular virtue to keep off evil ſpirits; or ſome other plants or branches of trees. In villages they often place their indulgence-boxes, which they bring back from their pilgrimage to Isje, over their doors, thinking alſo by this means, to bring happineſs and proſperity upon their houſes. Others paſte long pieces of paper to their doors, which the adherents of the ſeveral religions, ſects and convents, are preſented with by their clergy, for ſome ſmall gratuity. There are odd unknown characters, and divers forms of prayers, writ upon theſe papers, which the ſuperſtitious firmly believe to have the infallible virtue of conjuring and keeping off all manner of misfortunes. Nay they hang up theſe very papers within doors, in ſeveral apartments of their houſes. Many more amulets of the like nature are paſted to their doors, ſuch as are particularly directed againſt the plague, diſtempers, and particular misfortunes. There is alſo one directed againſt poverty. Houſes with this laſt mark muſt needs be very ſafe from thieves and houſe-breakers.

CHAP. XXI. — *Of the Poſt-houſes, Inns, Eating-houſes, and Tea-booths.*

To accommodate travellers, there is in all the chief villages and hamlets a poſt-houſe belonging to the lord of the place, where at all times they may find a competent number of horſes, porters, footmen, and what elſe they might be wanting to continue the journey in readineſs, at certain ſettled prices. Horſes, or men, which are either much fatigued by their journey, or were hired no further, may be exchanged at theſe places. Travellers of all ranks and qualities, with their retinues, reſort to theſe poſt-houſes, which are by the Japaneſe called ſiuku, becauſe of that conveniency of finding every thing ready they may have occaſion for. They lie at one and a half to four miles diſtance from each other, but are generally ſpeaking not ſo good, nor ſo well furniſhed upon Kiusju, in the way from Nagaſaki to Kokura, as we found them upon the great iſland Nipon, where we came to fifty-ſix, going from Oſacca to Jedo. The poſt-houſes, properly ſpeaking, are not built for innkeeping, but only for convenient ſtabling of horſes, for which reaſon and in order to prevent the exchanging horſes and men from being troubleſome to the public ſtreets, there is a ſpacious court belongs to each. Clerks and book-keepers there are enough, who keep accounts, in their maſter's name, of all the daily occurrences. The price of all ſuch things, as are to be hired at theſe poſt-houſes, is ſettled in all parts of the empire, not only according to the diſtance of places from each other, but with due regard had to the goodneſs or badneſs of the roads, to the price of victuals or forage, and the like. One way with another, a norikaki, that is, a horſe to ride on, with two portmantles and an adoſſki, or trunk, may be had for 33 ſenni a mile. A Karaſſiri, that is, a horſe, which is only ſaddled, and hath neither men nor baggage to carry, will coſt 25 ſenni; porters, and cangos men, 19 ſenni, and ſo on. Meſſengers are waiting day and night at all theſe poſt-houſes, in order to carry the letters, edicts, proclamations, &c. of the Emperor, and the Princes of the empire, which they take up the moment they are delivered at the poſt-houſe, and carry them to the next with all ſpeed. They are kept in a ſmall black varniſhed box, bearing the coat of arms of the Emperor, or Prince who ſent them, and the meſſenger carries them upon his ſhoulder tyed to a ſmall ſtaff. There are always two of theſe meſſengers run together, that in caſe any accident ſhould befal either of them upon the road, the other may take his place and deliver the box at the next ſiuku. All travellers whatſoever, even the Princes of the empire, and their retinues, muſt retire out of the way, and give a free paſſage to thoſe meſſengers, who carry letters or orders from the Emperor, which they take care to ſignify at a due diſtance, by ringing a ſmall bell, which for this particular purpoſe they always carry about them.

There are inns enough, and tolerable good ones, all along the road. The beſt are in thoſe villages, where there are poſt-houſes. At theſe even Princes and princely retinues may be conveniently lodged, treated ſuitably to their rank, and provided with all neceſſaries. They are, like other well built houſes, only one ſtory high, or if there be two ſtories, the ſecond is low, and good for little elſe but ſtowage. The inns are not broader in front than other houſes, but conſiderably deep, ſometimes forty fathom, with a Tſuboo, that is, a ſmall pleaſure-garden behind, encloſed with a neat, white wall. The front hath only lattice windows, which are kept open all day long, as are alſo the folding ſkreens, and moveable partitions, which divide the ſeveral apartments, unleſs there be ſome man of quality with his retinue at that time lodged there. This lays open to travellers, as they go along, a very agreeable perſpective view croſs the whole houſe into the garden behind. The floor is raiſed about half a fathom above the level of the ſtreet, and jetting out to ſome diſtance both towards the ſtreet and gar-

den, forms a ſort of a ſmall bench, or gallery, which is covered with a roof, where travellers paſs their time, diverting themſelves with ſitting, or walking. From thence alſo they mount their horſes, for fear of dirting their feet by mounting in the ſtreet. In ſome great inns there is a paſſage contrived for the eaſe and conveniency of people of quality, that coming out of their norimons, they may walk directly to their apartments, without being obliged to paſs through the fore-part of the houſe, which is commonly not over clean, and beſides very obſcure, making but an indifferent figure. It is covered with poor ſorry mats, and the rooms divided only by common lattice windows. The kitchen alſo is in this fore-part of the houſe, and often fills it with ſmoke, they having no chimneys, but only a hole in the roof to let the ſmoke paſs through. Here foot travellers and ordinary people live among the ſervants. People of faſhion are accommodated in the back part of the houſe, which is kept clean and neat to admiration. Not the leaſt ſpot is to be ſeen upon the walls, floors, carpets, poſts, windows, ſkreens, in ſhort no where in the room, which looks at all times as if it were quite new, and but newly furniſhed. There are otherwiſe no tables, chairs, benches, or other houſhold goods to be found in theſe rooms. They are only adorned with ſome Miſeratſies, as they call them, which are commonly things of value, artfully made and held in great eſteem by this nation. They are put into or hung up in the rooms, for travellers to ſpend ſome of their leiſure moments to conſider and to examine them, which indeed ſome of them very well deſerve. The tſubo, or garden behind the houſe, is alſo very curiouſly kept for travellers to divert themſelves with walking therein, and beholding the fine beautiful flowers it is commonly adorned with. A more accurate deſcription, both of the miſeratsſe and tſuboo, will I hope not be thought improper, but I ſhall firſt take a ſhort and general ſurvey of the rooms themſelves.

The rooms in Japaneſe houſes have ſeldom more than one ſolid wall, which is pargetted and caſt over with clay of Oſacca, it being a good fine ſort, and ſo left bare without any other ornament. It is beſides made ſo thin, that the leaſt kick would break it to pieces. On all other ſides the room is encloſed, either with windows or folding ſkreens and doors, which move in double joints both above and below, on purpoſe that they might be eaſily put on, or removed, as occaſion requires. The lower joints are cut in a ſill, which runs even with the carpets covering the floor, and the upper joints run in a beam, which comes down about two or three feet lower than the ceiling. The paper windows, which let the light come into the room, have wooden ſhutters on both ſides, which are hid in the day time, but put on at night, leſt any body ſhould get into the houſe out of the court, or from the gallery, which runs along the outſide of the houſe. The beams, in which the joints are, are in like manner caſt over with clay of Oſacca, as is alſo the place from thence up to the ceiling. The ceiling is ſometimes neither planed nor ſmoothed, by reaſon of the ſcarcity and curious running of the veins and grain of the wood, in which caſe it is only covered with a thin ſlight couch of a tranſparent varniſh, to preſerve it from decaying. Sometimes they paſte it over with the ſame ſort of variouſly coloured and flowered paper, which their ſkreens are made of.

In the ſolid wall of the room there is always a tokko, as they call it, or a ſort of a cupboard, raiſed about a foot or more above the floor, and very near two feet deep. It commonly ſtands in that part of the wall which is juſt oppoſite to the door, it being reckoned the moſt honourable, as in Ruſſian houſes that corner where they hang up their bog, or ſaint. Juſt below this tokko, or cupboard, two extraordinary fine carpets are laid one upon the other, and both upon the ordinary mats or carpets, which cover the floor. Theſe are for people of the firſt quality to ſit upon, for upon the arrival of travellers

travellers of leſs note, they are removed out of the way. At the ſide of the tokko is a tokkiwari, as they call it, or ſide-cupboard, with ſome few boards in the middle, ſtanding over one another in a very particular manner, the view whereof affords ſome amuſement to a curious traveller. The boards themſelves are called Tſigaidanna, and ſerve for the landlord or travellers, if they pleaſe, to lay their moſt eſteemed book upon it, they holding it, as the Mahometans do their Alcoran, too ſacred to be laid on the ground. Upon the arrival of the Dutch, this ſacred book of the landlord is put out of the way. Above the tſigai is a particular drawer, where they put up the inkhorn, paper, writings, books, and other things of this kind. Here alſo travellers find ſometimes the wooden trunk, which the natives uſe at night inſtead of pillows. It is almoſt cubical, hollow, and made of ſix thin boards joined together, curiouſly varniſhed, ſmoothed, and very neat without, about a ſpan long, but not quite ſo broad, that travellers, by turning it as they pleaſe, may lay their head in that poſture which they find the moſt eaſy. Travellers have no other night clothes or bedding to expect from the landlord, and muſt carry their own along with them, or elſe lie on the carpet, which covers the floor, covering themſelves with their own clothes, and laying their heads on this piece of wood, as on a pillow. In that ſide of the room which is next to the tokko, is commonly a very fine balcony, of an uncommon but very beautiful ſtructure, ſerving for the perſon who is lodged in this, as in the chief room of the houſe, to look out into the neighbouring garden, or fields, or upon the next water, without ſtirring from the carpets placed below the tokko.

Beneath the floor, which is covered with fine well-ſtuffed mats and carpets, is a ſquare walled hole, which in the winter ſeaſon, after having firſt removed the carpets, they fill with aſhes, and lay coals upon them to keep the room warm. The landladies in their room, put a low table upon this fire hole, and ſpread a large carpet or table-cloth over it, for people to ſit underneath, and to defend themſelves againſt the cold, much in the ſame manner as they do in Perſia under a kurtſij. In rooms where there are no fireholes, they make uſe in the winter of braſs or earthen pots, very artfully made, and filled with aſhes, with two iron ſticks, which ſerve them inſtead of firetongs, much after the ſame manner as they uſe two other ſmall ſticks at table, inſtead of forks.

I come now to the above-mentioned miſeratſies, as they call them, being curious and amuſing ornaments of their rooms. In our journey to court, I took notice of the following, though not altogether in one room, but in the ſeveral inns we came to, as we went along; 1. a paper neatly bordered with a rich piece of embroidery, inſtead of a frame, either with the picture of a ſaint, done with a coarſe pencil to all appearance, and in a few, perhaps three or four ſtrokes, wherein however the proportions and reſemblance have been ſo far obſerved, that ſcarce any body can miſs finding out whom it was deſigned to repreſent, nor help admiring the ingenuity and ſkill of the maſter; or elſe a judicious moral ſentence of ſome noted philoſopher, or poet, writ with his own hand; or the hand of ſome noted writing-maſter in that city or province, who had a mind to ſhew his ſkill by a few haſty ſtrokes or characters, indifferent enough at firſt view, but nevertheleſs very ingeniouſly drawn, and ſuch as will afford ſufficient matter of amuſement and ſpeculation to a curious and attentive ſpectator. And leſt any body ſhould call their being genuine into queſtion, they are commonly ſigned, not only by the writing-maſters themſelves, but have the hands and ſeals of ſome other witneſſes put to them. They are hung up no where elſe but in the tokko, as the moſt honourable place of the room, and this becauſe the Japaneſe ſet a very great value upon them. 2. The pictures of old Chineſe, as alſo of birds, trees, landſcapes and other

things, upon white ſkreens, done by ſome eminent maſter, or rather ſcratched with a few haſty, affected ſtrokes, after ſuch a manner, that unleſs ſeen at a proper diſtance, they ſcarce appear natural. 3. A flower-pot ſtanding under the tſigaidanna, which they take particular care to keep conſtantly in good order, filled with all ſorts of curious flowers, and green branches of trees, ſuch as the ſeaſon affords, and curiouſly ranged according to the rules of art, it being as much an art in this country to range a flower-pot in proper order, as it is in Europe to carve, or to lay the table-cloth and napkins. Sometimes, there is inſtead of a flower pot, a perfuming pan of excellent good workmanſhip, caſt in braſs or copper, reſembling a crane, lion, dragon, or other ſtrange animal. I took notice once, that there was an earthen pot of Cologne, ſuch as they uſe to keep Spa-water in, with all the cracks and fiſſures carefully mended, put in lieu of a flower-pot, it being eſteemed a very great rarity, becauſe of the diſtant place it came from, of the clay it was made of, and of its uncommon ſhape. 4. Some ſtrange, uncommon pieces of wood, wherein the colours and grain either naturally run after a curious and unuſual manner, or have been brought by art to repreſent ſomething extraordinary. Sometimes, the tſigaidanna itſelf is made of ſuch a ſcarce ſort of wood, and ſometimes the frame and caſe of the balcony, or the tokko, or the tokowara, or the door which leads into the room, or that which opens into the gallery towards the garden, ſometimes alſo, the pillars and poſts which are in the room, chiefly that which ſupports the tokko. Whatever things they be that are made of ſuch uncommon pieces of wood, they very often, for fear of leſſening the natural beauties, keep them rough and unpoliſhed, with the bark on in ſeveral places, and only to preſerve them, as well as for neatneſs ſake, they cover them with a thin, ſlight, tranſparent varniſh. 5. Some neat and beautiful net-work, or branched work, adorning either the balcony and windows towards the garden, or the tops of the doors, ſkreens and partitions of the chief appartments. 6. Some other ſcarce and uncommon piece of wood, or a branch of a tree, or a piece of a rotten root of an old ſtump, remarkable for their monſtrous deformed ſhape, which are either hung up in ſome corner of the room, or lie in the tokowara.

After this manner the chief and back apartments are furniſhed in great inns, and houſes of ſubſtantial people. The other rooms gradually decreaſe from that cleanlineſs, neatneſs, and delicacy of furniture, becauſe the ſkreens, windows, mats, carpets, and other ornaments and houſhold goods, after they have for ſome time adorned the chief apartments, and begin to be ſpotted, and to grow old, are removed by degrees into the other rooms, there to be quite worn. The chief and largeſt of the other rooms is that where they keep their plate, China ware, and other houſhold goods, ranged upon the floor in a curious and very particular order, according to their ſize, ſhape, and uſe. Moſt of theſe goods are made of wood, thin, but ſtrongly varniſhed, the greateſt part upon a dark red ground. They are waſhed with warm water every time they are uſed, and wiped clean with a cloth, and ſo laid by againſt the next time. By this means, if they be lackered, and the varniſh good, they will, though conſtantly uſed, keep clean and neat, and in their full luſtre for ſeveral years.

The ſmall gallery or walk which jets out from the houſe towards the garden, leads to the houſe of office, and to a bathing-ſtove or hot-houſe. The houſe of office is built on one ſide of the back part of the houſe, and hath two doors to go in. Going in you find at all times, a couple of new ſmall mats, made either of ſtraw or Spaniſh broom, lying ready for the uſe of thoſe perſons who do not care to touch the ground with their bare feet, although it be kept neat and clean to admiration, being always covered with mats. You let drop what you need, ſitting after the Aſiatic faſhion, through a hole cut in the floor. The trough underneath is filled with light chaff, wherein

wherein the filth loſes itſelf inſtantly. Upon the arrival of people of quality, the board which is oppoſite to your face ſitting in this neceſſary poſture, is covered with a clean ſheet of paper, as are alſo the bolts of the two doors, or any other part they are likely to lay hold of. Not far from the little-houſe ſtands a baſon filled with water, to waſh your hands after this buſineſs is over. This is commonly an oblong rough ſtone, the upper part whereof is curiouſly cut out into the form of a baſon; a new pail of bamboos hangs near it, and is covered with a neat fir or cypreſs board, to which they put a new handle every time it hath been uſed; to wit, a freſh ſtick of the bamboo cane, it being a very clean ſort of a wood, and in a manner naturally varniſhed.

The bagnio, or bathing place, is commonly built on the backſide of the garden. They build it of cypreſs wood. It contains either a froo, as they call it, a hot-houſe to ſweat in, or a ciſſroo, that is a warm bath, and ſometimes both together. It is made warm and got ready every evening, becauſe the Japaneſe uſually bathe or ſweat, after their day's journey is over, thinking by this means to refreſh themſelves and to ſweat off their wearineſs. Beſides, as they can undreſs themſelves in an inſtant, ſo they are ready at a minute's warning to go into the bagnio; for they need but untie their ſaſh, and all their cloaths fall down at once, leaving them quite naked, excepting a ſmall band which they wear cloſe to the body about the waiſt. For the ſatisfaction of the curious I will here inſert a more particular deſcription of their froo, or hot-houſe, which they go into only to ſweat. It is an almoſt cubical trunk or ſtove, raiſed about three or four feet above the ground, and built cloſe to the wall of the bathing place, on the outſide. It is not quite a fathom high, but one fathom and a half long, and of ſame breadth. The floor is laid with ſmall planed laths or planks, which are ſome few inches diſtant from each other, both for the eaſy paſſage of the riſing vapours, and the convenient outlet of the water, people waſh themſelves withal. You are to go or rather to creep in through a ſmall door or ſhutter. There are two other ſhutters, one on each ſide, to let out the ſuperfluous damp. The empty ſpace beneath this ſtove, down to the ground, is encloſed with a wall to prevent the damps from getting out on the ſides. Towards the yard is a furnace juſt beneath the hot-houſe. The fire-hole is ſhut up towards the bathing ſtove, to prevent the ſmoke getting in there. Part of the furnace ſtands out towards the yard, where they put in the neceſſary water and plants. This part is ſhut with a clap-board when the fire is burning, to make all the damp and vapours aſcend through the inner and open part into the hot-houſe. There are always two tubs, one of warm the other of cold water, put into theſe hot-houſes, for ſuch as have a mind to waſh themſelves, either for their diverſion, or out of neceſſity.

The garden is the only place we Dutchmen, being treated in all reſpects little better than priſoners, have liberty to walk into. It takes in all the room behind the houſe. It is commonly ſquare with a back door, and walled in very neatly, like a ciſtern or pond, for which reaſon it is called tſubo, which in the Japaneſe language, ſignifies a large water-trough or ciſtern. There are few good houſes and inns, but what have their tſubo. If there be not room enough for a garden, they have at leaſt an old ingraſted plum, cherry, or apricot tree. The older, the more crooked and monſtrous this tree is, the greater value they put upon it. Sometimes they let the branches grow into the rooms. In order to make it bear larger flowers, and in greater quantity, they commonly cut it to a few, perhaps two or three branches. It cannot be denied, but that the great number of beautiful, incarnate, and double flowers, which they bear in the proper ſeaſon, are a ſurpriſingly curious ornament to this back part of the houſe, but they have this diſadvantge that they bear no fruit. In ſome ſmall houſes, and inns of leſs

note, where there is not room enough, neither for a garden nor trees, they have at leaſt an opening or window to let the light fall into the back rooms, before which, for the amuſement and diverſion of travellers, is put a ſmall tub, full of water, wherein they commonly keep ſome gold or ſilver fiſh, as they call them, being fiſh with gold or ſilver coloured tails alive. For a farther ornament of the ſame place, there is generally a flower-pot or two ſtanding there. Sometimes they plant ſome dwarf trees there, which will grow eaſily upon pumice or other porous ſtone, without any ground at all, provided the root be put into the water, from whence it will ſuck up ſufficient nouriſhment. Ordinary people often plant the ſame kind of trees before the ſtreet-doors, for their diverſion, as well as for an ornament to their houſes. But to return to the tſubo or garden; if it be a good one, it muſt have at leaſt thirty feet ſquare, and conſiſt of the following eſſential parts: 1. The ground is covered partly with roundiſh ſtones of different colours, gathered in rivers or upon the ſea-ſhore, well waſhed and cleaned, and thoſe of the ſame kind laid together in form of beds, partly with gravel, which is ſwept every day, and kept clean and neat to admiration, the large ſtones being laid in the middle, as a path to walk upon, without injuring the gravel, the whole in a ſeeming but ingenious confuſion. 2. Some few flower-bearing plants planted confuſedly, though not without ſome certain rules. Amidſt the plants ſtands ſometimes a ſaguer, as they call it, or ſcarce outlandiſh tree, ſometimes a dwarf-tree or two. 3. A ſmall rock or hill in the corner of the garden, made in imitation of nature, curiouſly adorned with birds and inſects, caſt in braſs, and placed between the ſtones; ſometimes the model of a temple ſtands upon it, built, as for the ſake of the proſpect they generally are, on a remarkable eminence, or the borders of a precipice. Often a ſmall rivulet ruſhes down the ſtones with an agreeable noiſe, the whole in due proportions, and as near as poſſible reſembling nature. 4. A ſmall buſh, or wood, on the ſide of the hill, for which the gardeners chuſe ſuch trees as will grow cloſe to one another, and plant and cut them according to their largeneſs, nature, and the colour of their flowers and leaves, ſo as to make the whole very accurately imitate a natural wood or foreſt. 5. A ciſtern, or pond, as mentioned above, with live fiſh kept in it, and ſurrounded with proper plants, that is ſuch as love a watery ſoil, and would loſe their beauty and greenneſs if planted in a dry ground. It is a particular profeſſion to lay out theſe gardens, and to keep them ſo curiouſly and nicely as they ought to be, as I ſhall have an opportunity to ſhew more at large in the ſequel of this hiſtory. Nor doth it require leſs ſkill and ingenuity to contrive and fit out the rocks and hills above mentioned, according to the rules of art. What I have hitherto obſerved will be ſufficient to give the reader a general idea of the inns in Japan. The accommodation travellers meet with in the ſame, I intend to treat of in a chapter by itſelf.

There are innumerable ſmaller inns, cook-ſhops, ſacki or ale-houſes, paſtry-cooks, and confectioners' ſhops, all along the road, even in the midſt of woods and foreſts, and at the tops of mountains, where a weary foot traveller, and the meaner ſort of people, find at all times, for a few farthings, ſomething warm to eat, or hot tea-water or ſacki, or ſomewhat elſe of this kind, wherewithal to refreſh themſelves. It is true, theſe cook-ſhops are but poor ſorry houſes, if compared to larger inns, being inhabited only by poor people, who have enough to do to get a livelihood by this trade; and yet even in theſe, there is always ſomething or other to amuſe paſſengers, and to draw them in; ſometimes a garden and orchard behind the houſe, which is ſeen from the ſtreet looking through the paſſage, and which by its beautiful flowers, or the agreeable ſight of a ſtream of clear water falling down from a neighbouring, natural, or artificial hill, or by ſome other curious ornament of this kind, tempts people to come in and to repoſe

themſelves in the ſhadow; at other times a large flower-pot ſtands in the window, filled with flowering branches of trees (for the flowers of the plants, though never ſo beautiful, are too common to deſerve a place in ſuch a pot), diſpoſed in a very curious and ſingular manner; ſometimes a handſome well-looking houſe-maid, or a couple of young girls well dreſſed, ſtand under the door, and with great civility invite people to come in and to buy ſomething. The eatables, ſuch as cakes, or whatever it be, are kept before the fire, in an open room, ſticking to ſkewers of bamboos, to the end that paſſengers as they go along may take them, and purſue their journey without ſtopping. The landladies, cooks, and maids, as ſoon as they ſee any body coming at a diſtance, blow up the fire, to make it look as if the victuals had been juſt got ready. Some buſy themſelves with making the tea, others prepare the ſoup in a cup; others fill cups with ſacki or other liquors, to preſent them to paſſengers, all the while talking and chattering and commending their merchandize with a voice loud enough to be heard by their next neighbours of the ſame profeſſion.

The eatables ſold at theſe cook-ſhops beſides tea, and ſometimes ſacki, are mansje, a ſort of round cakes, which they learnt to make from the Portugueſe; they are as big as common hens' eggs, and ſometimes filled within with black bean flour and ſugar; cakes of the jelly of the kaad's root, which root is found upon mountains, and cut into round ſlices, like carrots, and roaſted; ſnails, oyſters, ſhell-fiſh, and other ſmall fiſh, roaſted, boiled, or pickled; Chineſe laxa is a thin ſort of a pap or paſte, made of fine wheat flour, cut into ſmall, thin, long ſlices, and baked; all ſorts of plants, roots, and ſprigs, which the ſeaſon affords, waſhed and cleaned, then boiled in water with ſalt; innumerable other diſhes peculiar to this country, made of ſeeds of plants, powdered roots and vegetable ſubſtances, boiled or baked, dreſſed in many different ways, of various ſhapes and colours; a ſtill ſubſiſting proof of the indigent and neceſſitous way of life of their anceſtors, and the original barreneſs of the country, before it was cultivated and improved to what it now is. The common ſauce for theſe and other diſhes is a little ſoje, as they call it, mixed with ſakki or the beer of the country. Sansjo leaves are laid upon the diſh for ornament's ſake, and ſometimes thin ſlices of fine ginger and lemon peel. Sometimes they put powdered ginger, ſansjo, or the powder of of ſome root growing in the country, into the ſoup. They are alſo provided with ſweetmeats of ſeveral different colours and ſorts, which generally ſpeaking are far more agreeable to the eye than pleaſing to the taſte, being but indifferently ſweetened with ſugar, and withal ſo tough that one muſt have good teeth to chew them. Foot travellers find it ſet down in their printed road-books, which they always carry about them, where and at what price the beſt victuals of the kind are to be got.

It now remains to add a few words concerning the tea, the rather ſince moſt travellers drink ſcarce any thing elſe upon the road. It is ſold at all the inns and cook-ſhops along the road, beſides many tea-booths ſet up only for this trade, in the midſt of fields and woods, and at the tops of mountains. The tea ſold at all theſe places is but a coarſe ſort, being only the largeſt leaves which remain upon the ſhrub after the youngeſt and tendereſt have been plucked off at two different times, for the uſe of people of faſhion, who conſtantly drink it before or after their meals. Theſe larger leaves are not rolled up and curled as the better ſort of tea is, but ſimply roaſted in a pan, and continually ſtirred whilſt they are roaſting, leſt they ſhould get a burned taſte. When they are done enough, they put them by in ſtraw baſkets under the roof the houſe, near the place where the ſmoke comes out. They are not a bit nicer in preparing it for drinking, for they commonly take a good handful of the tea-leaves and boil them in a large iron kettle full of water. The leaves are ſometimes wrapt up in a ſmall bag, but

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if not, they have a little baſket ſwimming in the kettle, which they make uſe of to keep the leaves down, when they have a mind to take out ſome of the clear decoction. Half a cup of this decoction is mixed with cold water, when travellers aſk for it. Tea thus prepared ſmells and taſtes like lye, the leaves it is made of, beſides that they are of a very bad ſort, being ſeldom leſs than a year old; and yet the Japaneſe eſteem it much more healthful for daily uſe, than the young tender leaves prepared after the Chineſe manner, which they ſay affect the head too ſtrongly, though even theſe loſe a great part of their narcotic quality when boiled.

I omit taking notice in this place of the ſhops and warehouſes, which are without number within and without cities, in villages and hamlets, by reaſon of their being not very different from ours in Germany, and becauſe I have elſewhere mentioned the goods and manufactures of the country, which are therein expoſed to ſale.

CHAP. XXII. — *Of the great Numbers of People who daily travel on the Roads.*

IT is ſcarce credible, what numbers of people daily travel on the roads in this country, and I can aſſure the reader, from my own experience, having paſſed it four times, that Tokaido, which is one of the chief and indeed the moſt frequented of the ſeven great roads in Japan, is upon ſome days more crowded than the public ſtreets in any the moſt populous towns in Europe. This is owing partly to the country being extremely populous, partly to the frequent journies which the natives undertake, oftener than perhaps any other nation, either willingly and out of their own free choice, or becauſe they are neceſſitated to it. For the reader's ſatisfaction, I will here inſert a ſhort preliminary account of the moſt remarkable perſons, companies, and trains, travellers daily meet upon the road.

The Princes and lords of the empire, with their numerous retinues, as alſo the governors of the imperial cities and crown-lands, deſerve to be mentioned in the firſt place. It is their duty to go to court once a year, and to pay their homage and reſpect to the Secular Monarch, at certain times determined by the ſupreme power. Hence, they muſt frequent theſe roads twice every year, going up to court and returning from thence. They are attended in this journey by their whole court, and commonly make it with that pomp and magnificence which is thought becoming their own quality and riches, as well as the majeſty of the powerful monarch whom they are going to ſee. The train of ſome of the moſt eminent among the Princes of the empire fills up the road for ſome days. Accordingly, though we travelled pretty faſt ourſelves, yet we often met the baggage and fore-troops, conſiſting of the ſervants and inferior officers, for two days together, diſperſed in ſeveral troops, and the Prince himſelf followed but the third day, attended with his numerous court, all marching in admirable order. The retinue of one of the chief Daimios, as they are called, is computed to amount to about 20,000 men, more or leſs; that of a Sjomio, to about 10,000; that of a governor of the imperial cities and crown-lands, to one, or ſeveral hundreds, according to his or revenues.

If two or more of theſe Princes, and lords, with their numerous retinues, ſhould chance to travel the ſame road at the ſame time, they would prove a great hindrance to one another, particularly if they ſhould happen at once to come to the ſame ſiuku or village, foraſmuch as often whole great villages are ſcarce large enough to lodge the retinue of one ſingle Daimio. To prevent theſe inconveniences, it is uſual for great Princes and lords to beſpeak the ſeveral ſiukus they are to paſs through, with all the inns, ſometime before; as for inſtance, ſome of the firſt quality, a month, others a week

a week or two before their arrival. Moreover the time of their future arrival is notified in all the cities, villages, and hamlets they are to pafs through, by putting up fmall boards on high poles of bamboos, at the entry and end of every village, fignifying in a few characters, what day of the month fuch or fuch a lord is to pafs through that village, to dine or to lie there.

To fatisfy the reader's curiofity, it will not be amifs to defcribe one of thefe princely trains, omitting the fore-runners, baggage, led-horfes, cangos, and palanquins, which are fent a day or two before. But the account, which I propofe to give, muft not be underftood of the retinue of the moft powerful princes and petty kings, fuch as the lords of Satzuma, Cango, Owari, Kijnokuni, and Mito, but only of thofe of fome other Daimios, feveral of which we met in our journey to court, the rather as they differ but little, excepting only the coats of arms, and particular pikes, fome arbitrary order in the march, and the number of led-horfes, faffanbacks, norimons, cangos, and their attendants.

1. Numerous troops of fore-runners, harbingers, clerks, cooks, and other inferior officers, begin the march, they being to provide lodgings, victuals, and other neceffary things, for the entertainment of their Prince and Maftcr, and his court. They are followed by,

2. The Prince's heavy baggage, packed up either in fmall trunks, fuch as I have above defcribed, and carried upon horfes, each with a banner, bearing the coat of arms and the name of the poffeffor, or elfe in large chefts covered with red lackered leather, again with the poffeffor's coat of arms, and carried upon men's fhoulders, with multitudes of infpectors to look after them.

3. Great numbers of fmaller retinues, belonging to the chief officers and noblemen attending the Prince, with pikes, fcymeters, bows and arrows, umbrellos, palanquins, led-horfes, and other marks of their grandeur, fuitable to their birth, quality, and office. Some of thefe are carried in Norimons, others in Cangos, others go on horfeback.

4. The Prince's own numerous train, marching in an admirable and curious order, and divided into feveral troops, each headed by a proper commanding officer: as, 1. Five, more or lefs, fine led-horfes, led each by two grooms, one on each fide, two footmen walking behind. 2. Five or fix, and fometimes more porters, richly clad, walking one by one, and carrying faffanbacks, or lackered chefts, and japaned neat trunks and baskets upon their fhoulders, wherein are kept the gowns, cloaths, wearing-apparel, and other neceffaries for the daily ufe of the Prince; each porter is attended by two footmen, who take up his charge by turns. 3. Ten, or more fellows, walking again one by one, and carrying rich fcymeters, pikes of ftate, fire-arms, and other weapons in lackered wooden cafes, as alfo quivers with bows and arrows. Sometimes for magnificence-fake, there are more faffanback bearers, and other led-horfes follow this troop. 4. Two, three, or more men, who carry the pikes of ftate, as the badges of the Prince's power and authority, adorned at the upper end with bunches of cock-feathers, or certain rough hides, or other particular ornaments, peculiar to fuch or fuch a Prince. They walk one by one, and are attended each by two footmen. 5. A gentleman carrying the Prince's hat, which he wears to fhelter himfelf from the heat of the fun, and which is covered with black velvet. He is attended likewife by two footmen. 6. A gentleman carrying the Prince's fomberiro or umbrello, which is covered in like manner with black velvet, attended by two footmen. 7. Some more faffanbacks and varnifhed trunks, covered with varnifhed leather, with the Prince's coat of arms upon them, each with two men to take care of it. 8. Sixteen, more or lefs, of the Prince's pages, and gentlemen of his bed-chamber, richly clad, walking

two and two before his norimon. They are taken out from among the firſt quality of his court. 9. The Prince himſelf ſitting in a ſtately norimon or palanquin, carried by ſix or eight men, clad in rich liveries, with ſeveral others walking at the norimon's ſides, to take it up by turns. Two or three gentlemen of the Prince's bed-chamber walk at the norimon's ſide, to give him what he wants and aſks for, and to aſſiſt and ſupport him in going in or out of the norimon. 10. Two or three horſes of ſtate, the ſaddles covered with black. One of theſe horſes carries a large elbow-chair, which is ſometimes covered with black velvet, and placed on a norikako of the ſame ſtuff. Theſe horſes are attended each by ſeveral grooms and footmen in liveries, and ſome are led by the Prince's own pages. 11. Two pike-bearers. 12. Ten or more people carrying each two baſkets of a monſtrous large ſize, fixed to the ends of a pole, which they lay on their ſhoulders in ſuch a manner, that one baſket hangs down before, another behind them. Theſe baſkets are more for ſtate than for any uſe. Sometimes ſome faſſanback bearers walk among them, to encreaſe the troop. In this order marches the Prince's own train, which is followed by

5. Six or twelve led-horſes, with their leaders, grooms, and footmen, all in liveries.

6. A multitude of the Prince's domeſtics, and other officers of his court, with their own very numerous trains and attendants, pike-bearers, faſſanback-bearers, and footmen in liveries. Some of theſe are carried in cangos, and the whole troop is headed by the Prince's high-ſteward carried in a norimon.

If one of the Prince's ſons accompanies his father in this journey to court, he follows with his own train immediately after his father's norimon.

The chair of ſtate, umbrellos, quivers, bows and arrows, ſome banners, and other enſigns of honour and authority, which are uſually carried before the princes of the empire, and men of great quality, are repreſented in Kempfer's Plates.

It is a ſight exceedingly curious and worthy of admiration, to ſee all the perſons who compoſe the numerous train of a great Prince, the pike-bearers only, the norimon-men and liverymen excepted, clad in black ſilk, marching in an elegant order, with a decent becoming gravity, and keeping ſo profound a ſilence, that not the leaſt noiſe is to be heard, ſave what muſt neceſſarily ariſe from the motion and ruſhing of their habits, and the trampling of the horſes and men. On the other hand it appears ridiculous to an European, to ſee all the pike-bearers and norimon-men, with their habits tucked up above the waſte, expoſing their naked backs to the ſpectators' view, having only their privities covered with a piece of cloath. What appears ſtill more odd and whimſical, is to ſee the pages, pike-bearers, umbrello and hat-bearers, faſſanback or cheſt-bearers, and all the footmen in liveries, affect a ſtrange mimic march or dance, when they paſs through ſome remarkable town or borough, or by the train of another prince or lord. Every ſtep they make, they draw up one foot quite to their back, in the mean time ſtretching out the arm on the oppoſite ſide as far as they can, and putting themſelves in ſuch a poſture, as if they had a mind to ſwim through the air. Meanwhile the pikes, hats, umbrellos, faſſanbacks, boxes, baſkets, and whatever elſe they carry, are danced and toſſed about in a very ſingular manner, anſwering the motion of their bodies. The norimon-men have their ſleeves tied with a ſtring as near the ſhoulders as poſſible, and leave their arms naked. They carry the pole of the norimon either upon their ſhoulders, or elſe upon the palm of the hand, holding it up above their heads. Whilſt they hold it up with one arm, they ſtretch out the other, putting the hand into a horizontal poſture, whereby, and by their ſhort deliberate ſteps and ſtiff knees, they affect a ridiculous fear and circumſpection. If the Prince ſteps out of his norimon into one of the green huts which are purpoſely built for him, at convenient diſtances on the road,

or

or if he goes into a private houſe, either to drink a diſh of tea, or to drop his needs, he always leaves a cobang with the landlord as a reward for his trouble. At dinner and ſupper the expence is much greater.

All the pilgrims who go to Isje, whatever province of the empire they come from, muſt travel over part of this great road. This pilgrimage is made at all times of the year, but particularly in the ſpring; and it is about that time vaſt multitudes of theſe people are ſeen upon the roads. The Japaneſe of both ſexes, young and old, rich and poor, undertake this meritorious journey, generally ſpeaking on foot, in order to obtain at this holy place indulgencies and remiſſion of their ſins. Some of theſe pilgrims are ſo poor, that they muſt live wholly upon what they get by begging along the road. It is particularly on this account, and by reaſon of their great number, that they are exceedingly troubleſome to the princes and lords, who, at that time of the year, go to court, or come from thence, though otherwiſe they addreſs themſelves in a very civil manner, bare-headed, and with a low ſubmiſſive voice, ſaying, "Great lord, be pleaſed to give the pilgrim a farthing towards the expence of his journey to Isje," or words to this effect. Of all the Japaneſe, the inhabitants of Jedo and the province Osju are the moſt inclined to this holy pilgrimage, and frequently reſort to Isje, often without the knowledge of their parents and relations, or leave from their magiſtrates, which they are otherwiſe obliged to take in that and other provinces. Nay children, if apprehenſive of a ſevere puniſhment for their miſdemeanors, will run away from their parents and go to Isje, there to fetch an ofarrai, or indulgence, which, upon their return, is deemed a ſufficient expiation of their crimes, and a ſure means to reconcile them to them. Multitudes of theſe pilgrims are obliged to paſs whole nights, lying in the open fields, expoſed to all the injuries of wind and weather, ſome for want of room in inns, all the inns and houſes of great villages being at ſome times of the year not ſufficient to harbour them; others out of poverty: and of theſe laſt many are found dead upon the road, in which caſe their ofarrai, if they have any about them, is carefully taken up, and hid in the next tree or buſh. Sometimes idle and lazy fellows, under pretence of this pilgrimage, go begging all the year round, or ſo long as they can get enough wherewithal to ſubſiſt and to carry on this idle way of life. Others make this pilgrimage in a comical and merry way, drawing people's eyes upon them, as well as getting their money. Some of theſe form themſelves into a ſociety, which is generally compoſed of four perſons, clad in white linen, after the faſhion of the kuge, or perſons of the holy eccleſiaſtical court of the Dairi, or eccleſiaſtical hereditary Emperor. Two of them walking a grave, ſlow, deliberate pace, and ſtanding often ſtill, carry a large barrow adorned and hung about with fir-branches, and cut white paper, on which they place a large bell made of light ſubſtance, or a kettle, or ſomething elſe taken out and alluding to ſome old romantic hiſtory of their gods and anceſtors; whilſt a third, with a commander's ſtaff in his hand, adorned out of reſpect to his office, with a bunch of white paper, walks or rather dances before the barrow, ſinging with a dull heavy voice a ſong relating to the ſubject they are about to repreſent. Meanwhile the fourth goes before the houſes, or addreſſes himſelf to charitable travellers, and receives and keeps the money which is given them out of charity. Their day's journies are ſo ſhort, that they can eaſily ſpend a whole ſummer upon ſuch an expedition.

The Siunre are another remarkable ſight travellers meet with upon the roads. Siunre are people who go to viſit in pilgrimage the thirty-three chief Quanwon temples, which lie diſperſed in ſeveral provinces of the empire. They commonly travel two or three together, ſinging a miſerable Quanwon ſong from houſe to houſe, and ſometimes play-

ing upon a fiddle, or upon a guitar, as vagabond beggars do in Germany: however they do not importune travellers for their charity. They have the names of ſuch Quanwon temples as they have not yet viſited, writ upon a ſmall board hanging about their neck in proper order. They are clad in white, after a very ſingular faſhion, peculiar only to this ſect. Some people like it ſo well to ramble about the country after this manner, that they will apply themſelves to no other trade and profeſſion to get a livelihood by, but chuſe to end their days in this perpetual pilgrimage.

Sometimes one meets with very odd ſtrange ſights; as for inſtance, people running ſtark naked about the ſtreets in the hardeſt froſts, wearing only a little ſtraw about their waſte to cover their privities. Theſe people generally undertake ſo extraordinary and troubleſome a journey, to viſit certain temples, purſuant to religious vows, which they promiſed to fulfil in caſe they ſhould obtain from the bounty of their gods deliverance from ſome fatal diſtemper they themſelves, their parents or relations laboured under, or from ſome other great misfortunes they were threatened with. They live very poorly and miſerably upon the road, receive no charity, and proceed on their journey by themſelves, almoſt perpetually running.

Multitudes of beggars crowd the roads in all parts of the empire, but particularly on the ſo much frequented Tokaido. Among them there are many luſty young fellows, who ſhave their heads. This cuſtom of ſhaving the head hath been originally introduced by Sotoktais, a zealous propagator of the Fotoge, or doctrine of the foreign pagan worſhip, and was kept up ever ſince. For being vigorouſly oppoſed in the propagation of his doctrine by one Moria, he commanded all that had embraced his worſhip, to ſhave part of their heads, to be thereby diſtinguiſhed from the adherents of Moria, and likewiſe ordered, that their male-children ſhould have their whole head ſhaved, after the manner of their prieſts, and by virtue of this ſolely enjoy the privilege of begging.

To this ſhaved begging tribe belongs a certain remarkable religious order of young girls called Bikuni, which is as much as to ſay nuns. They live under the protection of the nunneries at Kamakura and Miaco, to whom they pay a certain ſum a year, of what they get by begging, as an acknowledgment of their authority. Some pay beſides a ſort of tribute or contribution to the Khumano temples at Isje. Their chief abode is in the neighbourhood of Khumano, from whence they are called Khumano No Bikuni, or the nuns of Khumano, for diſtinction's ſake from other religious nuns. They are, in my opinion, by much the handſomeſt girls we ſaw in Japan. The daughters of poor parents, if they be handſome and agreeable, apply for and eaſily obtain this privilege of begging in the habit of nuns, knowing that beauty is one of the moſt perſuaſive inducements for travellers to let them feel the effects of their generoſity. The jammabos, or begging mountain-prieſts (of whom more hereafter) frequently incorporate their own daughters into this religious order, and take their wives from among theſe bikunis. Some of them have been bred up in bawdy-houſes, and having ſerved their time there, buy the privilege of entering into this religious order, therein to ſpend the remainder of their youth and beauty. They live two or three together, and make an excurſion every day ſome few miles off their dwelling-houſes. They particularly watch people of faſhion who travel in norimons, or in cangos, or on horſeback. As ſoon as they perceive ſome body a coming, they draw near and addreſs themſelves, though not altogether, but ſingly, every one accoſting a gentleman by herſelf, ſinging a rural ſong: if he proves very liberal and charitable, ſhe will keep him company and divert him for ſome hours. As on the one hand very little religious blood ſeems to circulate in their veins, ſo on the other

other it doth not appear that they labour under any conſiderable degree of poverty. It is true indeed, they conform themſelves to the rules of their order by ſhaving their heads, but they take care to cover and to wrap them up in caps or hoods made of black ſilk. They go decently and neatly dreſſed after the faſhion of ordinary people, and wear gloves without fingers on their arms. They wear alſo a large hat to cover their faces, which are often painted, and to ſhelter themſelves from the heat of the ſun. They commonly have a ſhepherd's rod or hook in their hands. Their voice, geſtures, and apparent behaviour, are neither too bold and daring, nor too much dejected and affected, but free, comely, and ſeemingly modeſt. However, not to extol their modeſty beyond what it deſerves, it muſt be obſerved, that they make nothing of laying their boſoms quite bare to the view of charitable travellers, all the while they keep them company under pretence of its being cuſtomary in the country, and that for ought I know, they may be, though never ſo religiouſly ſhaved, full as impudent and laſcivious as any whore in a public bawdy-houſe.

Having thus given an account of theſe Bikunis, it will not be improper to add a few words of another religious begging order of the Jammabos, as they are commonly called, that is mountain-prieſts, or rather Jammabus, that is mountain-ſoldiers, becauſe at all times they go armed with ſwords and ſcimiters. They do not ſhave their heads, and follow the rules of the firſt founder of this order, who mortified his body by climbing up ſteep high mountains, at leaſt they conform themſelves thereunto in their dreſs, apparent behaviour, and ſome outward ceremonies, for they are fallen far ſhort of his rigorous way of life. They have their head, or general of their order, reſiding at Miaco, to whom they are obliged to bring up a certain ſum of money every year, and in return obtain from him a higher dignity, with ſome additional ornament whereby they are known among themſelves. They commonly live in the neighbourhood of ſome famous Cami temple, and accoſt travellers in the name of that Cami which is worſhipped there, making a ſhort diſcourſe of his holineſs and miracles, with a loud coarſe voice, meanwhile, to make the noiſe ſtill louder, they rattle their long ſtaffs loaded at the upper end with iron rings to take up the charity-money which is given them; and laſt of all they blow a trumpet made of a large ſhell. They carry their children along with them upon the ſame begging errand, clad like their fathers, but with their heads ſhaved. Theſe little baſtards are exceedingly troubleſome and importunate with travellers, and commonly take care to light of them, as they are going up ſome hill or mountain, where, becauſe of the difficult aſcent, they cannot well eſcape, nor indeed otherwiſe get rid of them without giving them ſomething. In ſome places they and their fathers accoſt travellers in company with a troop of Bikunis, and with their rattling, ſinging, trumpeting, chattering, and crying, make ſuch a horrid frightful noiſe, as would make one mad or deaf. Theſe mountain-prieſts are frequently addreſſed to by ſuperſtitious people, for conjuring, fortune-telling, foretelling future events, recovering loſt goods, and the like purpoſes. They profeſs themſelves to be of the Cami religion, as eſtabliſhed of old, and yet they are never ſuffered to attend or to take care of any of the Cami temples.

There are many more beggars travellers meet with along the roads. Some of theſe are old, and in all appearance honeſt men, who, the better to prevail upon people to part with their charity, are ſhaved and clad after the faſhion of the Siuko or Budſdo prieſts. Sometimes there are two of them ſtanding together, each with a ſmall oblong book before him, folded much after the ſame manner as public inſtruments are in the chancery of Siam. This book contains part of their Fokekio, or Bible, printed in the ſignificant or learned language. However, I would not have the reader think, as if they

they themſelves had any underſtanding in that language, or knew how to read the book placed before them. They only learn ſome part of it by heart, and ſpeak it aloud, looking towards the book, as if they did actually read in it, and expecting ſomething from their hearers as a reward for their trouble. Others are found ſitting near ſome river or running water, making a ſiegaki, a certain ceremony for the relief of departed ſouls. This ſiegaki is made after the following manner: They take a green branch of the ſanna ſkimmi tree, and murmuring certain words with a low voice, waſh and ſcour with it ſome ſhavings of wood, whereon they had written the names of ſome deceaſed perſons. This they believe to contribute greatly to relieve and refreſh their departed ſouls confined in purgatory, and, for ought I know, it may anſwer the purpoſe full as well as any number of maſſes, as they are celebrated to the ſame end in Roman Catholic countries. Any perſon that hath a mind to purchaſe the benefit of this waſhing for himſelf or his relations and friends, throws a ſenni upon the mat, which is ſpread out near the beggar, who doth not ſo much as offer to return him any manner of thanks for it, thinking his art and devotion deſerve ſtill better, beſides, that it is not cuſtomary amongſt beggars of note to thank people for their charity. Any one who hath learned the proper ceremonies neceſſary to make the ſiegaki, is at liberty to do it. Others of this tribe, who make up far the greater part, ſit upon the road all day long upon a ſmall coarſe mat. They have a flat bell, like a broad mortar, lying before them, and do nothing elſe but repeat with a lamentable ſinging tune the word Namanda, which is contracted from Namu Amida Budſu, a ſhort form of prayers wherewith they addreſs the god Amida, as the patron and advocate of departed ſouls. Meanwhile they beat almoſt continually with a ſmall wooden hammer upon the aforeſaid bell, and this they ſay, in order to be the ſooner heard by Amida, and I am apt to think, not without an intent to be the better taken notice of by paſſengers too.

Since I have hitherto entertained the reader with an account of the beggars, and numerous begging companies of this country, I muſt beg leave, before I quit this ſubject, to mention two or three more. Another ſort we met with as we went along were differently clad, ſome in an eccleſiaſtical, others in a ſecular habit. Theſe ſtood in the fields next to the road, and commonly had a ſort of an altar ſtanding before them, upon which they placed the idol of their Briaréus, or Quanwon, as they call him, carved in wood and gilt; or the pictures of ſome other idols ſcurvily done; as for inſtance, the picture of Amida, the ſupreme judge of departed ſouls; of Jemau O, or the head keeper of the priſon whereunto the condemned ſouls are confined; of Dſiſoo, or the ſupreme commander in the purgatory of children, and ſome others; wherewith, and by ſome repreſentations of the flames and torments prepared for the wicked in a future world, they endeavour to ſtir up in paſſengers compaſſion and charity.

Other beggars, and theſe to all appearance honeſt enough, are met ſitting along the road, clad much after the ſame manner with the Quanwon beggars, with a Dſiſoo ſtaff in their hand. Theſe have made a vow not to ſpeak during a certain time, and expreſs their want and deſire only by a ſad, dejected, woeful countenance.

Not to mention numberleſs other common beggars, ſome ſick, ſome ſtout and luſty enough, who get people's charity by praying, ſinging, playing upon fiddles, guitars, and other muſical inſtruments, or performing ſome juggler's tricks, I will cloſe the account of this vermin with an odd remarkable ſort of a beggar's muſic, or rather chime of bells, we ſometimes, but rarely, meet with in our journey to court, and which is from the number of bells called fatſio canne, the chime or muſic of eight. A young boy with a ſort of a wooden roof or machine pendant from his neck, and a rope with eight ſtrings about it, from which hang down eight bells of different ſounds, turns round

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in a circle, with a ſwiftneſs ſcarce credible, in ſuch a manner, that both the machine which reſts upon his ſhoulders, and the bells turn round with him horizontally, the boy in the mean while with great dexterity and quickneſs beating them with two hammers, makes a ſtrange odd ſort of a melody. To increaſe the noiſe, two people ſitting near him beat, one upon a large, the other upon a ſmaller drum. Thoſe who are pleaſed with their performance throw them ſome ſennis, or farthings, upon the ground.

The crowd and throng upon the roads in this country is not a little increaſed by numberleſs ſmall retail merchants and children of country people, who run about from morning to night, following travellers, and offering them to ſale their poor, for the moſt part eatable, merchandize; ſuch as for inſtance ſeveral cakes and ſweetmeats, wherein the quantity of ſugar is ſo inconſiderable, that it is ſcarce perceptible; other cakes of different ſorts, made of flour, ſoccani, or elſe all ſorts or roots boiled in water and ſalt, road books, ſtraw-ſhoes for horſes and men, ropes, ſtrings, tooth-pickers, and a multitude of other trifles made of wood, ſtraw, reed and bamboos, ſuch as the ſituation of every place affords.

In ſome places, both within and without cities and villages, one meets ſometimes empty cangos and palanquins, or empty and ſaddled, though otherwiſe but mean-looking, horſes, with the men to attend them, who offer themſelves and their horſes to carry weary foot-travellers to the next poſt-houſe, or where they pleaſe, for a ſmall matter. Commonly they have been already employed, and would be obliged to return empty to the place from whence they ſet out if they did not pick up ſomebody by the way that will, or hath occaſion to make uſe of them.

To complete the account I propoſed to give, of what multitudes of people travellers daily meet with along the road, I muſt not forget to take particular notice of numberleſs wenches, the great and ſmall inns, tea-booths and cook-ſhops, chiefly in villages and hamlets, in the great iſland Nipon, are abundantly and at all times furniſhed withal. About noon, when they have done dreſſing and painting themſelves, they make their appearance, ſtanding under the door of the houſe, or ſitting upon the ſmall gallery or bench which is before the houſe, from whence, with a ſmiling countenance and good words, they invite the ſeveral travelling troops that paſs by, to call in at their inn preferably to others. In ſome places, where there are ſeveral inns ſtanding near one another, chiefly in the Siuku, or ſuch villages as have poſt-houſes, they make with their chattering and rattling no inconſiderable noiſe, and prove not a little troubleſome. The two villages Akaſaki and Goy, lying near one another, are particularly famous on this acconut, all the houſes therein being ſo many inns, or rather bawdy-houſes, each furniſhed with no leſs than three, ſix or ſeven of theſe wenches, for which reaſon alſo they are called the great ſtorehouſe of Japaneſe whores, and by way of banter, the common grind-mill. Very ſeldom any Japaneſe paſs through theſe villages, but they pick up ſome of theſe whores and have to do with them. I cannot forbear mentioning in this place a ſmall miſtake of Mr. Caron, in his account of Japan, where he ſhews ſo tender a regard for the honour of the Japaneſe ſex (perhaps out of reſpect to his lady, who was a Japan woman,) as to aſſert, that beſides the public and privileged bawdy-houſes, this trade is not carried on in any other city or village throughout the empire. It is unqueſtionably true, that there is hardly a public inn upon the great iſland Nipon, but what may be called a bawdy-houſe; and if there be too many cuſtomers reſort to one place, the neighbouring innkeepers will friendly and willingly lend their own wenches, on condition that what money they get ſhall be faithfully paid them. Nor is it a new cuſtom come up but lately in this country, or ſince Mr. Caron's time; on the contrary, it is of very old date, and took its riſe many hundred years ago, in the times of

that brave general and firſt ſecular monarch Joritimo, who, apprehenſive leſt his ſoldiers weary of his long and tedious expeditions, and deſirous to return home to their wives and children, ſhould deſert his army, thought it much more adviſeable to indulge them in this particular, and to gratify their carnal appetites by allowing public and private bawdy-houſes. It is upon the ſame account, that the Chineſe uſed to call Japan the bawdy-houſe of China, for this unlawful trade being utterly and under ſevere penalties forbid throughout all the Chineſe Emperor's dominions, his ſubjects frequently reſorted to Japan, there to ſpend their money in company with ſuch wenches.

CHAP. XXIII. — *Of our Journey to the Emperor's Court in general; and how we were accommodated on the Road.*

ALL the princes, lords and vaſſals of the Japaneſe empire, being obliged to make their appearance at court once a year, it hath been determined by the Emperor, what time and what day they are to ſet out on their journey. The ſame was obſerved with regard to the Dutch, and the 15th or 16th day of the firſt Japaneſe month, which commonly falls in with the middle of our February hath been fixed for our conſtant departure for times to come. It is towards that time we get every thing ready to ſet out, having firſt ſent the preſents we are to make at Oſacca, Miaco, and at the Emperor's court, (ſorted and carefully packed,) together with the victuals and kitchen-furnitute for our future voyage by ſea, and other heavy baggage, to the city of Simonoſeki, on board a barge built for this ſole purpoſe. Every other year this barge muſt be provided with new tackle, and the cabin hung with new furniture, according to the cuſtom of the country, and it is with no little expence that it is kept in conſtant good repair. If ſhe grows out of uſe, a new one muſt be bought or built for a conſiderable ſum. All the preſents and other goods being put on board, ſhe ſets ſail for Simonoſeki, ſome time before our own departure, becauſe as we make that part of our journey by land, and in leſs time, ſhe muſt wait our arrival there, in order to take us and our retinue on board, and to carry us to Oſacca. Formerly we went on board ourſelves in the harbour of Nagaſaki, and made the whole voyage from thence to Oſacca by ſea, but a very ſudden and violent ſtorm having once befallen and put us into imminent danger, the Emperor, out of a tender regard for the ſecurity of our perſons, hath ſince ordered, that we ſhould make this firſt part of our journey by land. Three or four weeks after this barge hath ſet ſail to Simonoſeki, and a few days before our departure, our reſident attended with his uſual train, goes to viſit the two governors of Nagaſaki, at their palaces, in order to take his leave of them, and to recommend the Dutch, who remain in our factory, to their favour and protection. The next day, all the goods and other things which muſt be carried along with us, either by horſes or men are marked, every bale or trunk with a ſmall board, whereon is writ the poſſeſſor's name, and what things are therein contained.

The very day of our departure all the officers of our iſland, and all perſons who are any ways concerned with our affairs particularly the future companions of our voyage, come over to Deſima early in the morning. They are followed ſoon after by both governors, attended with their whole numerous court, or elſe by their deputies, who come to viſit us, and to wiſh us a good journey, as perſons that are now going to have the ſingular honour of being admitted into the preſence of the ſupreme majeſty of the empire. The governors, or their deputies, having been entertained as uſual upon this occaſion, and taken their leave, are by us accompanied out of our iſland, which is done commonly about nine in the morning, at which time alſo we ſet out on our journey.

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The bugio, or commander in chief of our train, and the Dutch reſident enter their norimons. The chief interpreter, if he be old, is carried in an ordinary cangos: others mount on horſeback, and the ſervants go a-foot. All the Japaneſe officers of our iſland, and ſeveral friends and acquaintances of the Japaneſe companions of our voyage, keep us company out of the town ſo far as the next inn.

Our train is not the ſame in the three ſeveral parts of our journey to court. In that part which we make by land from Nagaſaki to Kokura, travelling over the iſland Kiusju, it may amount with all the ſervants and footmen, as alſo the gentlemen, whom the lords of the ſeveral provinces, we paſs through, ſend to compliment us, and to keep us company during our ſtay in their dominions, to about an hundred perſons. In our voyage by ſea it is not much leſs, all the ſailors and watermen taken in. But in the laſt part of our journey, when paſſing over the great iſland Nipon, we go from Oſacca to Jedo, it is conſiderably greater, and conſiſts of no leſs than an hundred and fifty people, and this by reaſon of the preſents and other goods, which came from Nagaſaki as far as Oſacca by ſea, but muſt now be taken out and carried by land to Jedo by horſes and men. All our heavy baggage is commonly ſent away ſome hours before we ſet out ourſelves, leſt it ſhould be a hindrance to us, as alſo to give timely notice to our landlords of our arrival.

Our days journies are very long and conſiderable; for we ſet out early in the morning, and ſave only one hour we reſt at dinner, travel till evening, and ſometimes till late at night, making from ten to thirteen Japaneſe miles a day. In our voyage by ſea, we put into ſome harbour and come to an anchor every night, advancing forty Japaneſe water-leagues a day at fartheſt.

We are better treated, and more honourably received, every where in our journey over Kiusju, than we are upon the great iſland Nipon, and, in general, we have much more civility ſhewn us by ſtrangers, I mean by the natives of Japan, than by the Nagaſakian companions of our voyage, and our own ſervants, who eat our bread and travel at our expence. In our journey acroſs the iſland Kiusju, we have nearly the ſame honours and civility done us by the lords of the ſeveral provinces we paſs through, which they ſhew only to travelling Princes and their retinues. The roads are ſwept and cleaned before us, and in cities and villages they are watered to lay the duſt. The common people, labourers, and idle ſpectators, who are ſo very troubleſome to travellers upon the great iſland Nipon, are kept out of the way, and the inhabitants of the houſes, on either ſide of the roads and ſtreets, ſee us go by, either ſitting in the back part of ther houſes, or kneeling in the fore part behind the ſkreens, with great reſpect and in a profound ſilence.

All the Princes and lords of the iſland Kiusju, whoſe dominions we are to paſs through, ſend one of their noblemen to compliment us, as ſoon as we enter upon their territories; but as he is not ſuffered to addreſs us in perſon, he makes his compliment in his maſter's name to the bugjo, or commander in chief of our train, and to the chief interpreter, offering at the ſame time, what horſes and men we want for us and our baggage. He likewiſe orders four footmen to walk by every Dutchman's ſide, and two gentlemen of ſome note at his court, who are clad in black ſilk, with ſtaves in their hands to precede the whole train. After this manner they lead us through their maſter's territories, and when we come to the limits thereof, the Japaneſe companions of our voyage are by them treated with ſacki and ſokana, and ſo they take their leave. For our paſſage over the harbours of Omura and Simabara, the lords of theſe two places lend us their own pleaſure barges, and their own watermen, beſides that they furniſh us with abundance of proviſions, without expecting even ſo much as a ſmall preſent in

return for their civil and courteous behaviour; and yet our thieviſh interpreters never miſs to lay hold of this advantage, putting this article upon our account, as if we had actually been at the expence, and they commonly put the money in their pocket. In our whole journey over Saikokf, from Nagaſaki to Kokura, every body we meet with ſhews us and our train that deference and reſpect, which is due only to the Princes and lords of the country. Private travellers, whether they travel on foot or on horſeback, muſt retire out of the way, and bare-headed humbly bowing wait in the next field, till our whole retinue is gone by. Thoſe who will not pay us this reſpect willingly, and of their own free choice, are compelled to do it by the officers aforeſaid, who precede our train. Peaſants and common foot-travellers, generally ſpeaking, are ſo civil as to retire out of the way into the next field, before they are compelled to it, and there they wait bare-headed and proſtrate almoſt flat to the ground, till we are gone by. I took notice of ſome country people, who do not only retire out of the way, but turn us their back, as not worthy to behold us; which ſame reſpect is paid in Siam to the women of the King's ſeraglio, and indeed almoſt all over the Eaſt Indies to perſons of a ſuperior rank. In Japan it is the greateſt mark of civility a native can poſſibly ſhew us, whether it be out of reſpect for the ſupreme Majeſty of the empire, into whoſe preſence we are going to be admitted, or, as our interpreters would fain perſuade us, out of deference to the bugjo, as repreſenting the authority of the imperial governors of Nagaſaki. Howbeit, thus much is certain, that none, or but few of theſe public marks of honour and reſpect are ſhewn us in our journey over the great iſland Nipon.

Farther, as to what concerns our accommodation on the road, the ſame is for our money as good as we could poſſibly deſire, with regard to the carriage of us and of our baggage, the number of horſes and men provided for the ſame, the inns, lodgings, eating and attendance. But on the other hand, if we conſider the narrow compaſs of liberty allowed us, we have too much reaſon to complain. For we are treated in a manner like priſoners, deprived of all liberty excepting that of looking about the country from our horſes, or out of our cangos, which indeed it is impoſſible for them to deny us. As ſoon as a Dutchman alights from his horſe, (which is taken very ill, unleſs urgent neceſſity obliges him to do it,) he that rides before our train, and the whole train after him, muſt ſtop ſuddenly; and the doſen and two bailys muſt come down from their horſes to take immediate care of him: nay, they watch us to that degree, that they will not leave us alone, not even when Nature obliges us to drop our needs. The bugjo, or commander in chief of our train, ſtudies day and night not only the contents of his inſtructions, but the journals of two or three preceding voyages, that none of his care and application ſhould be wanting, exactly and ſtep by ſtep to follow the actions and behaviour of his predeceſſors. It is looked upon as the moſt convincing proof of his faithfulneſs and good conduct ſtill to exceed them. Nay, ſome of theſe blockheads are ſo capricious, that no accident whatſoever can oblige them to go to any other inns but thoſe we had been at the year before, ſhould we upon this account be forced in the worſt weather, with the greateſt inconveniency, and at the very peril of our lives to travel till late at night.

We go to the ſame inns which the Princes and lords of the country reſort to, in their own journies to the imperial court, that is, to the very beſt of every place. The apartments are at that time hung with the colour and arms of the Dutch Eaſt India Company, and this in order to notify to the neighbourhood by the livery who they be that lodge there, as is cuſtomary in the country. We always go to the ſame inns, with this difference only, that upon our return from Jedo, we lie at the place we dined at in going up; by this means equally to divide the trouble the inn-keepers muſt be at upon our

account, which is much greater at night than at dinner. We always take up our lodging in the back apartment of the houſe, which is by much the pleaſanteſt, becauſe of the view into a curious garden. It is alſo otherwiſe reckoned the chief, by reaſon of its being the remoteſt from the noiſe and tumult of the ſtreet and forepart of the houſe.

The landlord obſerves the ſame cuſtoms upon our arrival. which he doth upon the arrival of the Princes and lords of the empire. He comes out of the town or village into the fields to meet us and our train, being clad in a camiſimo or garment of ceremony, and wearing a ſhort ſcimiter ſtuck in the girdle. In this dreſs he addreſſes every one of us, making his compliments with a low bow, which before the Norimons of the bugjo, and our reſident, is ſo low, that he touches the ground with his hands, and almoſt with his forehead. This done, he haſtens back to his houſe and receives us at the entry of the ſame a ſecond time, in the ſame manner, and with the ſame compliments.

As ſoon as we are come to the inn, our guardians and keepers carry us forthwith acroſs the houſe to our apartments. Nor indeed are we ſo much diſpleaſed at this, ſince the number of ſpectators, and the petulant ſcoffing of the children, but above all the troubles of a fatiguing journey, make us deſirous to take our reſt, the ſooner the better. We are otherwiſe, as it were, confined to our apartment, having no other liberty allowed us, but to walk out into the ſmall, but curious garden, which is behind the houſe. All other avenues, all the doors, windows and holes, which open any proſpect towards the ſtreets or country, are carefully ſhut and nailed up, in order as they would fain perſuade us, to defend us and our goods from thieves, but in fact to watch and guard us as thieves and deſerters. It muſt be owned, however, that this ſuper-abundant care and watchfulneſs is conſiderably leſſened upon our return, when we have found means to inſinuate ourſelves into their favour, and by preſents and otherwiſe to procure their connivance. The bugjo takes poſſeſſion of the beſt apartment after ours, in whatever part of the houſe it be. The ſeveral other rooms, which are next to our own, are taken up by the doſen, interpreters, and other chief officers of our retinue, in order to be always near at hand to watch our conduct, and to take care that none of our landlord's domeſtics, nor any other perſon, preſume to come into our apartment, unleſs it be by their leave, and in their preſence. In their abſence they commit this care to ſome of their own or our ſervants, though all the companions of our voyage in general are ſtrictly charged to have a watchful eye over us. Thoſe who exceed their fellow-ſervants in vigilance and good conduct, are by way of encouragement permitted to make the voyage again the next year: otherwiſe they ſtand excluded for two years.

As ſoon as we have taken poſſeſſion of our apartment, in comes the landlord with ſome of his chief male domeſtics, each with a diſh of tea in his hand, which they pre-preſent to every one of us with a low bow, according to his rank and dignity, and repeating with a ſubmiſs deep fetched voice, the words, ah, ah, ah! They are all clad in their compliment gowns, or garments of ceremony, which they wear only upon great occaſions, and have each a ſhort ſcimeter ſtuck in their girdle, which they never quit, ſo long as the company ſtays in the houſe. This done, the neceſſary apparatus for ſmoking is brought in, conſiſting of a board of wood or braſs, though not always of the ſame ſtructure, upon which are placed a ſmall fire-pan with coals, a pot to ſpit in, a ſmall box filled with tobacco cut ſmall, and ſome long pipes with ſmall braſs heads; as alſo another japanned board or diſh, with ſocano, that, is ſomething to eat, as for inſtance, ſeveral ſorts of fruits, figs, nuts, ſeveral ſorts of cakes, chiefly manſie,

and rice cakes hot, ſeveral ſorts of roots boiled in water, ſweet-meats, and other trumperies of this kind. All theſe ſeveral things are brought in, firſt into the bugjo's room, then into ours. As to other neceſſaries, travellers may have occaſion for, they are generally ſerved by the houſe-maids, if they be natives of Japan. Theſe wenches alſo lay the cloth, and wait at table, taking this opportunity to engage their gueſts to farther favours. But it is quite otherwiſe with us. For the landlords themſelves, and their male domeſtics, after they have preſented us with a diſh of tea, as aboveſaid, are not ſuffered, upon any account whatever, to approach or to enter our apartments, but whatever we want, it is the ſole buſineſs of our own ſervants to provide us with the ſame.

There are no other ſpitting pots brought into the room, but that, which came along with the tobacco. If there be occaſion for more, they make uſe of ſmall pieces of bamboos, a hand broad and high, being ſawed from between the joints, and hollowed. The candles brought in at night, are hollow in the middle; the wick, which is of paper, being wound about a wooden ſtick, before the tallow is laid on. For this reaſon alſo the candleſticks have a punch or bodkin at top, which the candles are fixed upon. They burn very quick, and make a great deal of ſmoke and ſtink, becauſe the oil or tallow is made out of the berries of bay-trees, camphire trees, and ſome others of this kind. It is ſomewhat odd and ridiculous to ſee the whirling motion of the aſcending ſmoke followed by the flame, when the candle is taken off from the punch at the top of the candleſtick. Inſtead of lamps they make uſe of ſmall flat earthen veſſels, filled with train oil made of the fat of whales, or with oil made of cotton ſeed. The match is made of ruſh, and the aboveſaid earthen veſſel ſtands in another filled with water, or in a ſquare lanthorn, that in caſe the oil ſhould by chance take fire, no damage might therefrom come to the houſe. What obliges them to be very careful, is the great havock fires make in this country, where the houſes are all built of wood.

The Japaneſe in their journies ſit down to table thrice a day, beſides what they eat between meals. They begin early in the morning and before break of day, at leaſt before they ſet out, with a good ſubſtantial breakfaſt; then follows the dinner at noon, and the day is concluded with a plentiful ſupper at night. Their table is ſpread, and their victuals dreſſed after the faſhion of the country, which I have deſcribed elſewhere. It being forbid to play at cards, they ſit after meals drinking and ſinging ſome ſongs to make one another merry, or elſe they propoſe ſome riddles round, or play at ſome other game, and he that cannot explain the riddle, or loſes the game, is obliged to drink a glaſs. It is again quite otherwiſe with us in this reſpect, for we ſit at table and eat our victuals very quietly. Our cloth is laid, and the diſhes dreſſed after the European manner, but by Japaneſe cooks. We are preſented beſides by the landlord, each with a Japaneſe diſh. We drink European wines, and the rice-beer of the country hot. All our diverſion is confined in the day time to the ſmall garden, which is behind the houſe, at night to the bagnio, in caſe we pleaſe to make uſe of it. No other pleaſure is allowed us, no manner of converſation with the domeſtics, male or female, excepting what through the connivance of our inſpectors, ſome of us find means to procure at night in private and in their own rooms.

When every thing is ready for us to ſet out again, the landlord is called, and our reſident, in preſence of the two interpreters, pays him the reckoning in gold, laid upon a ſmall board. He draws near in a creeping poſture, kneeling, holding his hands down to the floor, and when he takes the table which the money is laid upon, he bows down his forehead almoſt quite to the ground, in token of ſubmiſſion and gratitude, uttering with a deep voice the word, ah, ah, ah! whereby in this country inferiors

ſhew their deference and reſpect to their ſuperiors. He then prepares to make the ſame compliment to the other Dutchmen, but our interpretors generally excuſe him this trouble, and make him return in the ſame crawling poſture. Every landlord hath two cobangs paid him for dinner, and three for ſupper and lodgings at night. For this money he is to provide victuals enough for our whole train, the horſes, the men that look after them, and the porters only excepted. The ſame ſum is paid to the landlords in the cities, where we ſtay ſome days, as at Ooſaka, Miaco, and Jedo, viz. five cobangs a day, without any further recompence; a ſmall matter indeed, conſidering that we muſt pay double for every thing elſe we want. The reaſon of our being kept ſo cheap as to victuals and lodging is, becauſe this ſum was agreed on with our landlords a long while ago, when our train was not yet ſo bulky as it now is. The landlords upon Saikaido, in our journey from Nagaſaki to Kokura, receive only a ſmall matter by way of reward for the trouble we give them, for our own cooks take care to provide themſelves what is requiſite for our table. It is a cuſtom in this country, which we likewiſe obſerve, that gueſts before they quit the inn, order their ſervants to ſweep the room they lodged in, not to leave any dirt or ungrateful duſt behind them.

From this reaſonable behaviour of the landlords, on our behalf, the reader may judge of the civility of the whole nation in general, always excepting our own officers and ſervants, and the companions of our voyage. I muſt own, that in the viſits we made or received in our journey, we found the ſame to be greater than could be poſſibly expected from the moſt civilized nation. The behaviour of the Japaneſe, from the meaneſt countryman up to the greateſt Prince or Lord, is ſuch, that the whole empire might be called a ſchool of civility and good manners. They have ſo much ſenſe and innate curioſity, that if they were not abſolutely denied a free and open converſation and correſpondence with foreigners, they would receive them with the utmoſt kindneſs and pleaſure. In ſome towns and villages only we took notice, that the young boys, who are childiſh all over the world, would run after us, call us names, and crack ſome malicious jeſts or other, levelled at the Chineſe, whom they take us to be. One of the moſt common, and not much different from a like ſort of a compliment, which is commonly made to Jews in Germany, is, *Tooſin, bay bay*, which in broken Chineſe, ſignifies, Chineſe, have ye nothing to truck?

To give the reader an idea of the expences of our journey to court, I will here ſet down the chief articles expreſſed in round ſums and rixdollars.

	Rixdol.
For victuals and lodging at 50 rixdollars a day, in our journey by land, makes in two months time — — —	3000
For 40 horſes, and ſo many men, to carry our baggage from Oſacca to Jedo, which number is greater in going up to court and leſs upon our return, at 15 thails a horſe, and 6 thails a man, as hath been agreed on of old, (half of which money the interpreters put in their pockets,) amounts to -	3000
A ſum of money divided among our retinue, to bear ſome extraordinary expences of the journey, of which every Dutchman receives 54 thails, and the others more or leſs, according to their office and quality, amounts to about -	1000
For hiring a barge (or if ſhe be ours, for building her) 420 thails, to the ſailors 50 thails: for the cabin-furniture and tackle 90 thails; for maintaining and repairing the ſaid barge 40 thails; amounts in all 600 thails, or -	1000
For victuals, drink, tea, tobacco, and other neceſſary proviſions for our voyage by ſea — — — —	1000

For

	Rixdol
For the uſual preſents in money; as for inſtance, to the bugjo or commander in chief of our train, 300 thails, or 500 rixdollars, and much the ſame to the inn-keepers, their ſons and domeſtics, at Oſacca, Meaco, and Jedo, in all — — — — —	1000
Hire for the Norimon-men, as alſo for the Cangos, we make uſe of inſtead of horſes, in order to be carried over mountains and bad roads, as alſo to viſit certain temples and pleaſure-houſes: for paſſage-money to be ferryed over rivers and harbours: for ſome extraordinary expences and preſents, whether neceſſary, or for our diverſion, may amount in all to —	2000
Preſents to be made to his Imperial Majeſty, of little value indeed for ſo powerful a Monarch, but what, if ſold, would bring in a ſum of at leaſt	2500
Preſents to be made to fourteen of the prime miniſters, and chief officers of the imperial court at Jedo; to the two governors of that city, to the chief judge at Meaco, as alſo to the two governors of that city, and of the city of Oſacca. Theſe preſents conſiſt in ſome foreign commodities, and are but a trifle to every one of them, but brings us to an expence of at leaſt	3000
Preſents to the two governors of Nagaſaki, which they receive before our departure in raw ſilk and ſtuffs, which they ſell again to very good advantage, make to us a ſum of — — — —	2500
Sum total of all the expences of our journey (or about 4000l. ſterling)	20,000

Before I proceed to the journal of our journey to the Imperial Court, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that it is not an indifferent matter to travellers in this country, what day they ſet out on their journey. For they muſt chuſe for their departure a fortunate day, for which purpoſe they make uſe of a particular table, which they ſay hath been obſerved to hold true by a continued experience of many ages, and wherein are ſet down all the unfortunate days of every month, upon which, if travellers were to ſet out on any journey, they would not only expoſe themſelves to ſome inconſiderable misfortune, but likewiſe be liable to loſe all their expences and labour, and to be diſappointed in the chief intent of their journey. However, the moſt ſenſible of the Japaneſe have but little regard for this ſuperſtitious table, which is more credited by the common people, the mountain-prieſts and monks. A copy of this table is printed in all their road and houſe-books, and is as follows.

ATable, ſhewing what days of the month are unfortunate and improper to begin a journey, invented by the wife and experienced aſtrologer Abino Seimei.

Month.	Unfortunate Days.			
1. 7.	3.	11.	19.	27.
2. 8.	2.	10.	18.	26.
3. 9.	1.	9.	17.	25.
4. 10.	4.	12.	20.	28.
5. 11.	5.	13.	21.	29.
6. 12.	6.	14,	22.	30.

To give the more weight and authority to this table, they ſay, that it was invented by the aforeſaid aſtrologer Seimei, a man of great quality and very eminent in his art. He was born a Prince. King Abino Jaſſima, was his father, and a fox his mother. Abino

Abino Jaſſima was married to this fox upon the following occaſion. He once happened with a ſervant of his to be in the temple of Inari, who is the god and protector of the foxes, mean while ſome courtiers were hunting the fox without doors, in order to make uſe of the lungs for the preparation of a certain medicine. It happened upon this that a young fox purſued by the hunters, fled into the temple, which ſtood open, and took ſhelter in the very boſom of Jaſſima. The King unwilling to deliver up the poor creature to the unmerciful hunters, was forced to defend himſelf and his fox, and to repel force, wherein he behaved himſelf with ſo much bravery and ſucceſs, that having defeated the hunters, he could ſet the fox at liberty. The hunters aſhamed, and highly offended at the courageous behaviour of the King, ſeized in the height of their reſentment an opportunity which offered, to kill his royal father. Jaſſima muſtered up all his courage and prudence to revenge his father's death, and with ſo much ſucceſs, that he killed the traitors with his own hands. The fox to return his gratitude to his deliverer, appeared to him after the victory, which he obtained over the murderers of his father, in the ſhape of a lady of incomparable beauty, and ſo fired his breaſt with love, that he took her to his wife. It was by her he had this ſon, who was endowed with divine wiſdom and the precious gift of prognoſticating, and foretelling things to come. Nor did he know, that his wife had been that very fox, whoſe life he ſaved with ſo much courage in the temple of Inari, till ſoon after her tail and other parts beginning to grow, ſhe reſumed by degrees her former ſhape.

This is not one of the leaſt conſiderable of the hiſtories of their gods. And I muſt take this opportunity, once for all, to beg the reader's pardon, if in the account of our journey to court I ſhall trouble him, as occaſion ſhall require, with other ſtories of the ſame kind, there being ſcarce any thing elſe worth obſerving, that relates to the antiquities of this country. Senmei not only calculated the abovementioned table, by the knowledge he acquired of the motions and influence of the ſtars, but as he was at the ſame time a perfect maſter of the Cabaliſtic ſciences, he found out certain words, which he brought together into an uta or verſe, the ſound and pronunciation whereof is believed to have the infallible virtue of keeping off all thoſe misfortunes, which upon the days determined in the ſaid table to be unfortunate, would otherwiſe befal travellers. This was done for the uſe and ſatisfaction of poor ordinary ſervants, who have not leiſure to accommodate themſelves to this table, but muſt go when and wherever they are ſent by their maſters. The verſe itſelf is as follows.

Sada Mejeſi Tabiaatz Fidori Joſi Aſijwa,
Omojitatz Figo Kitz Nito Sen. *

CHAP. XXIV. — *Deſcription of the City of Jedo, or Yedo; its Caſtle and Palace, with an Account of what happened during our ſtay there; our Audience and Departure.*

OF the five great trading towns, which belong to the imperial demeſnes, or crown lands, Jedo is the firſt and chief, the reſidence of the Emperor, the capital, and by much the largeſt city of the empire, by reaſon of the many princes and lords, who with their families and numerous trains ſwell up the imperial court, and the inhabitants of the city, to an incredible number. It is ſeated in the province Muſaſi in 35°, 32° of northern latitude, according to my own obſervations, on a large plain at the end of

* The details of the author's journey along the coaſt, being of little moment, are omitted. It is to be regretted that no traveller has penetrated through the center of this intereſting country.

a gulph,

a gulph, which is plentifully ſtored with fiſh, crabs, and ſhells, and hath Kamakura and the Province Idſu on the right, ſailing down from Jedo, and the two provinces Awa aud Kudſu on the left, but is ſo ſhallow, with a muddy clay at the bottom, that no ſhips of any conſiderable bulk can come up to the city, but muſt be unladen a league or two below it. Towards the ſea the city hath the figure of a half moon, and the Japaneſe will have it to be ſeven miles long, five broad, and twenty in circumference. It is not encloſed with a wall, no more than other towns in Japan, but cut through by many broad ditches and canals, with high ramparts raiſed on both ſides, at the top whereof are planted rows of trees, but this hath been done, not ſo much for the defence of the city, as to prevent the fires, which happen here too frequently, from making too great a havock. I took notice, however, that towards the caſtle, theſe ramparts are ſhut up by ſtrong gates, probably becauſe they ſerve there for defence too. A large river ariſing weſtwards of the city runs through it, and loſes itſelf in the harbour. It ſends off a conſiderable arm, which encompaſſes the caſtle, and thence falls down into the ſaid harbour in five different ſtreams, every one of which hath its particular name, and a ſtately bridge laid over it. The chief and moſt famous of theſe bridges, by reaſon of its bigneſs and ſtatelineſs, is called Nipombas, or the bridge of Japan, of which in the preceding chapter. Another is called Jedo Baſchi, that is, the bridge of Jedo. This city is extreme populous, and the number of natives, foreigners and eccleſiaſtics, almoſt incredible, and indeed it cannot be otherwiſe, conſidering the multitude of officers of all ranks, poſts, and quality, who compoſe the imperial court, but more particularly the families of all the princes of the empire, which ſtay all the year round, with numerous retinues ſuitable to their quality, whilſt the princes themſelves are allowed but ſix months abſence from court, during which they take care of the government of the hereditary dominions, and then return to Jedo.

Jedo is not built with that regularity which is obſervable in moſt other cities in Japan, (particularly Miaco,) and this becauſe it ſwelled by degrees to its preſent bulk. However, in ſome parts of the town the ſtreets run regularly enough, cutting each other at right angles. This regularity is entirely owing to accidents of fire, whereby ſome hundred houſes being laid in aſhes at once, as indeed it very frequently happens, the new ſtreets may be laid out, upon what plan the builders pleaſe. Many of theſe places, which have been thus deſtroyed by fire, lie ſtill waſte, the houſes being not built here with that diſpatch as they are at Moſcow, where they ſell them ready made, ſo that there needs nothing but to remove and ſet them up where they are wanted, without lime, clay, or nails, any time after the fire. The houſes in Jedo are ſmall and low, as indeed they are in all other parts of the empire, built of firwood, with thin clayed walls, adorned within, and divided into rooms by paper ſcreens, and lattice windows. The floors are covered with fine mats, the roofs with ſhavings of woods. In ſhort, the whole machine is a compoſition of ſo much combuſtible matter, that we need not wonder at the great havock fires make in this country. Almoſt every houſe hath a place under the roof or upon it, where they conſtantly keep a tub full of water, with a couple of mops which may be eaſily come at, even without the houſe, by the help of ladders. By this precaution, indeed, they often quench a fire in particular houſes, but it is far from being ſufficient to ſtop the fury of a raging flame, which hath got ground already, and laid ſeveral houſes in aſhes, ag inſt which they know no better remedy at preſent but to pull down ſome of the neighbouring houſes, which have not yet been reached, for which purpoſe whole companies of firemen patrol about the ſtreets day and night. The city is well ſtocked with monks, temples, monaſteries, and other religious buildings, which are ſeated in the beſt and pleaſanteſt places, as they are alſo in Europe, and

and I believe, all other countries. The dwelling houſes of private monks are no ways different from thoſe of the laity, excepting only that they are ſeated in ſome eminent conſpicuous place, with ſome ſteps leading up to them, and a ſmall temple, or chapel hard by, or if there be none, at leaſt a hall or large room, adorned with ſome few altars, on which ſtand ſeveral of their idols. There are, beſides, many ſtately temples built to Amida, Siaka, Quanwon, and ſeveral other of their gods, of all ſects and religions eſtabliſhed in Japan: but as they do not differ much neither in form nor ſtructure from other temples erected to the ſame gods at Miaco, which we ſhall have an opportunity to view and deſcribe more particularly upon our return to that city, I forbear at preſent ſwelling this chapter with an account thereof.

There are many ſtately palaces in this city, as may be eaſily conjectured by its being the reſidence of a powerful emperor, and the abode of all the noble and princely families of this mighty empire. They are ſeparate and diſtinguiſhed from other houſes by large court-yards and ſtately gates; fine varniſhed ſtair-caſes, of a few ſteps, lead up to the door of the houſe, which is divided into ſeveral magnificent apartments, all of a floor, they being not above one ſtory, nor adorned with towers, as the caſtles and palaces are, where the Princes and lords of the empire reſide in their hereditary dominions. The city of Jedo is a nurſery of artiſts, handicraftſmen, merchants and tradeſmen, and yet every thing is ſold dearer than any where elſe in the empire, by reaſon of the great concourſe of people, and the number of idle monks and courtiers, as alſo the difficult importing of proviſions and other commodities. The political government of this city is much the ſame as at Nagaſaki and Oſacca, whereto I refer the reader as to a more ample deſcription. Two governors have the command of the town by turns, each for the ſpace of one year. The chief ſubaltern officers are the burgher-maſters, as the Dutch call them, or mayors, who have the command of particular quarters, and the Ottonas, who have the inſpection and ſubordinate command of ſingle ſtreets.

The caſtle and reſidence of the Emperor is ſeated about the middle of the city. It is of an irregular figure, inclining to the round, and hath five Japaneſe miles in circumference. It conſiſts of two encloſures, or fore-caſtles, as one may call them, the innermoſt and third caſtle, which is properly the reſidence of the Emperor, two other ſtrong well fortified, but ſmaller caſtles at the ſides, and ſome large gardens behind the imperial palace. I call all theſe ſeveral diviſions caſtles, becauſe they are ſeparately and every one by itſelf, encloſed with walls and ditches. The firſt and outermoſt caſtle takes in a large ſpot of ground, which encompaſſes the ſecond, and half the imperial reſidence, and is encloſed itſelf with walls and ditches, and ſtrong well guarded gates. It hath ſo many ſtreets, ditches and canals, that I could not eaſily get a plan of it: nor could I gather any thing to my ſatisfaction out of the plans of the Japaneſe themſelves, which however, ſuch as they are, I do here preſent to the reader, together with the plan of the city of Jedo itſelf. In this outermoſt caſtle reſide the Princes of the empire, with their families, living in commodious and ſtately palaces, built in ſtreets, with ſpacious courts ſhut up by ſtrong heavy gates. The ſecond caſtle takes in a much ſmaller ſpot of ground; it fronts the third, and reſidence of the Emperor, and is incloſed by the firſt, but ſeparate from both by walls, ditches, draw-bridges, and ſtrong gates: the guard of this ſecond caſtle is much more numerous than that of the firſt. In it are the ſtately palaces of ſome of the moſt powerful Princes of the empire, the counſellors of ſtate, the prime miniſters, chief officers of the crown, and ſuch other perſons, who muſt give a more immediate attendance upon the Emperor's perſon. The caſtle itſelf, where the Emperor reſides,

is ſeated ſomewhat higher than the others, on the top of a hill, which hath been purpoſely flatted for the imperial palace to be built upon it. It is encloſed with a thick ſtrong wall of free ſtone, with baſtions ſtanding out much after the manner of the European fortifications. A rampart of earth is raiſed againſt the inſide of this wall, and at the top of it ſtand, for ornament and defence, ſeveral long buildings and ſquare guardhouſes built in form of towers ſeveral ſtories high. Particularly the ſtructures on that ſide, where the imperial reſidence is, are of an uncommon ſtrength, all of free ſtone of an extraordinary ſize, which are barely laid upon each other, without being faſtened, either with mortar or braces of iron, which was done, they ſay, that in caſe of earthquakes, which frequently happen in this country, the ſtones yielding to the ſhock, the wall itſelf ſhould receive no damage. Within the palace a ſquare white tower riſes aloft above all other buildings. It is many ſtories high, adorned with roofs, and other curious ornaments, which makes the whole caſtle look at a diſtance magnificent beyond expreſſion, amazing the beholders, as do alſo the many other beautiful bended roofs, with gilt dragons at the top and corners, which cover the reſt of the buildings within the caſtle. The ſecond caſtle is very ſmall, and more like a citadel without any outward ornament at all. It hath but one door, and there is but one paſſage to it, out of the Emperor's own reſidence, over a high long bridge. The third caſtle lies on the ſide of this ſecond, and is much of the ſame ſtructure. Both are encloſed with ſtrong high walls, which for a ſtill better defence are encompaſſed with broad deep ditches, filled by the great river. In theſe two caſtles are bred up the Imperial Princes and Princeſſes, if there be any. Behind the Imperial reſidence there is ſtill a riſing ground, beautified according to the country faſhion, with curious and magnificent gardens and orchards, which are terminated by a pleaſant wood at the top of a hill, planted with two particular differing and curious kinds of plane-trees, whoſe ſtarry leaves variegated with green, yellow and red, are very pleaſing to the eye. It is remarkable, what they affirm of theſe trees, that one kind is in full beauty in the ſpring, the other towards the autumn. The palace itſelf hath but one ſtory, which however is of a fine height. It takes in a large ſpot of ground, and hath ſeveral long galleries and ſpacious rooms, which upon putting on or removing of ſkreens, may be enlarged or brought into a narrower compaſs as occaſion requires, and are contrived ſo, as to receive at all times a convenient and ſufficient light. The chief apartments have each its particular name. Such are for inſtance, the waiting room, where all perſons, that are to be admitted to an audience, either of the Emperor or of his prime miniſters of ſtate, wait, till they are introduced; the council chamber, where the miniſters of ſtate and privy counſellors meet upon buſineſs, the hall of thouſand mats, where the Emperor receives the homage and uſual preſents of the Princes of the empire, and ambaſſadors of foreign powers; ſeveral halls of audience; the apartments for the Emperor's houſhold, and others. The ſtructure of all theſe ſeveral apartments is exquiſitely fine, according to the architecture of the country. The ceilings, beams, and pillars are of cedar, or camphire, or Jeſeriwood, the grain whereof naturally runs into flowers and other curious figures, and is therefore in ſome apartments covered only with a thin tranſparent layer of varniſh, in others japaned, or curiouſly carved with birds and branched work neatly gilt. The floor is covered with the fineſt white mats, bordered with gold fringes or bands; and this is all the furniture to be ſeen in the palaces of the Emperor and Princes of the empire. I was told that there is a particular private apartment under ground, which inſtead of the ceiling hath a large reſervoir of water, and that the Emperor repairs thither, when it lightens, becauſe they believe that the force of lightning

lightning is broke in the water. But this I deliver only upon hearſay. There are alſo two ſtrong rooms wherein are kept the imperial treaſures, and theſe are ſecured from fire and thieves by ſtrong iron doors, and roofs of copper. In this caſtle reſided the ſucceſſors of the Emperor Jejas, the firſt of this family who governed the empire of Japan in the following order. 1. Jejas, after his death called Gongin. 2. Teitokwin his ſon. 3. Daijojin, a ſon of Teitokwin. 4. Genjojin, a ſon of Daijojin, and 5. Tſinajos, the now reigning monarch, Genjojin's brother's ſon. Thus much of the caſtle and reſidence of the ſecular Emperor of Japan. I proceed now to reſume the thread of my journal.

As ſoon as we came to our inn, we ſent our ſecond interpreter, the firſt and chief not being able to go out by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, to notify our arrival to the imperial commiſſioners appointed for inſpecting and regulating foreign affairs, and to that of the governors of Nagaſaki, who was then at Jedo, being Genſeimon, who for his great care in regulating the affairs of foreign trade, in the year 1685, to the advantage of his country, and the entire ſatisfaction of the Emperor, was by him honoured with the title and character of Sino Cami. He forthwith gave orders to our bugjo to keep us cloſe to our apartments, and to ſuffer nobody to come up to us, beſides our own ſervants, which orders they never fail ſtrictly to comply with, though otherwiſe one ſhould have thought our apartments ſufficiently remote from the ſtreet, being the upper ſtory of a back houſe, to which there was no entry, but through a narrow paſſage, which could be locked up, if needful. For a farther ſecurity there were two doors, one at the upper, and another at the lower end of the ſtair-caſe, and the rooms were ſhut up on three ſides. My room had one ſingle narrow window, through which I could, with much ado, obſerve the meridian height of the ſun. We were told, that four days before our arrival, forty ſtreets and upwards of 4000 houſes had been burnt down. This very evening a fire broke out about two leagues from our inn to the eaſt, but was ſoon extinguiſhed, having laid only a few houſes in aſhes.

On the 14th of March, the imperial commiſſioners, and Sino Cami, ſent to congratulate us upon our happy arrival, and to acquaint us in the mean time, that they had notified the ſame to the counſellors of ſtate. The ſame day we opened, in the preſence of our bugjo, and another officer ſent by Sino Cami, the preſents which were to be made to the Emperor and the great men at court, and beſpoke the neceſſary boxes for calamback and camphire of Borneo.

On the 15th of March, two taylors came to cut the European ſtuffs for the Emperor, as uſual. The ſame day we beſpoke bottles and other veſſels for the tent and Spaniſh wines, and wooden tables to lay the preſents upon. Our bugjo went to pay a viſit to Sino Cami, by whom he was ſtrictly forbid not to give any body leave to ſee us, before we had been admitted to an audience of the Emperor, unleſs he received expreſs orders from him, Sino Cami, for ſo doing. This evening another fire broke out about two leagues from our inn, but did no great damage.

On the 17th of March, we were acquainted by our bugjo with news from Nagaſaki, importing, that within a fortnight after our departure from thence twenty Chineſe Yonks were got ſafe into that harbour. He deſired us at the ſame time not to throw any papers, with European characters upon them, out of our windows amongſt the duſt. This morning we again perceived fire not far from us.

On the 18th of March, we were buſy about drawing the tent and Spaniſh wines into long bottles and flaſks, and putting the calamback and camphire into boxes, and regulating all things as they were to be preſented to the Emperor at the next audience. This evening a violent fire broke out near a mile and a half from our inn weſtwards,

and a northerly wind blowing pretty ſtrong at the ſame time, it burnt with ſuch violence, that it laid twenty five ſtreets, though they were very broad there, and about 600 houſes in aſhes, within four hours time, before it could be put out. It was ſaid to have been laid in by incendiaries, two of which were ſeized.

On the 20th of March, we were told that Matzandairo Inaba Cami, who was to go to Miaco in quality of chief juſtice of that place, ſet out from Jedo accordingly on his way thither, attended by another lord, who was to preſent him to the people, and at the ſame time to bring preſents from the Emperor to the Dairi. Sino Cami ſent this day one of his officers to acquaint us, that he hoped we ſhould have our audience from the Emperor on the 28th of this month, and withal to command us to preſerve our health, and to keep every thing in readineſs towards that time.

On the 21ſt of March, our chief interpreter went to pay a viſit to the imperial commiſſioners, and to deſire leave to be carried to court on the day of our audience in a cangos, which was granted to him, after he had firſt made affidavit upon oath, ſigned with his blood, that by reaſon of his ſickneſs he was not able to go otherwiſe. Goto Tſioſimon, burgher-maſter of Nagaſaki, ſet out to day for that place, having had his audience of the counſellors of ſtate on the 15th of the ſecond Japaneſe month, and his audience of leave on the 21ſt.

On the 23d of March, we ſent by our ſecond interpreter Trojemon, a preſent of a bottle of Arqua vitæ to the young lord of Firando, who was then at Jedo, as a ſmall token of our grateful remembrance of the kind protection his father had given us, when we had our factory upon the iſland Firando. This day, about an hour before noon, the weather being calm, there was felt of a ſudden a violent earthquake, which ſhook our houſe with great noiſe. It laſted ſo long, that one could have told fifty. This ſudden accident convinced me of the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of that law, whereby it is forbid throughout the empire to build high houſes, and that it is no leſs requiſite to build them as they do in this country, all of ſlight ſtuff and wood, and to lay a ſtrong heavy beam under the roof, by its weight and preſſure upon the walls of the houſe, to keep them together in caſe of ſuch a ſhock.

On the 24th of March, being Saturday, the weather was very cold, with ſnow and rain, though it had been exceſſive hot juſt the night before. This day Makino Bingo, counſellor of ſtate and the Emperor's chief favourite, ſent a compliment to our director, and deſired ſome Dutch cheeſe; we preſented him with a whole cheeſe of Eidam, and half a ſaffron cheeſe taken from our own proviſion.

On the 25th of March, we were buſy with putting the preſents, which were to be made to His Imperial Majeſty, and to ſome of the great men at court, in proper order, in hopes that we ſhould be admitted to an audience on the 28th of this month, being a holiday: we alſo ſent to deſire Sino Cami and the imperial commiſſioners to uſe their good endeavours to forward the ſame. The miniſters of ſtate, and other great men at court, ſome of whom we were only to viſit, and to make preſents to others, were the five chief imperial counſellors of ſtate, called Goradzi, or the five elderly men, which were, 1. Makino Bingono Cami. 2. Okubo Canga No Cami. 3. Abi Bungono Cami. 4. Toda Jamajiro Cami. 5. Tſutſia Sagami Cami: four imperial under or deputy counſellors of ſtate, called Waka Goridzi, who were, 1. Akimotto Tadſijma Cami. 2. Katta Saddono Cami. 3. Naito Tambano Cami. And 4. Inagi Sawa Dewano Cami. The Dſisja, as they are called, that is, lords of the temple, being three; 1. Toda No Tono Cami. 2. Fondakino Cami. And, 3. Ongaſawara Saddono Cami. Matzaro Ikno Cami, lord of Firando, of the family of Fiſen. The imperial commiſſioners, as we commonly call them, who are, as

it were, the Emperor's attorney-generals for the city of Jedo, Todo Ijono Cami, and Obutto Sabboro Saijemon Sama: the two governors of Jedo, Fodfo Awana Cami and Nofij Ifmono Cami: laft of all that of the governors of Nagafaki, who is at Jedo, being then Kawagatz Genfaimon, or according to his new title, Kawagatz Tfino Cami, the two others, Jama Okkafiubioje and Mijaki Tono Mo, being upon their government.

On the 26th of March, Tfino Cami fent to acquaint us, that our audience was deferred a day longer, to wit, to the 29th of March, becaufe of the death of Makino Bingo his brother, which would not permit that favourite of the Emperor, and firft counfellor of ftate, to appear in public before that day.

On the 27th of March, after dinner, Firanno Sofats, one of the Emperor's phyficians, an elderly fat man, came to pay me a vifit, and to afk my advice about the cure of fome diftempers.

On the 28th of March, the two imperial commiffioners and Sino Cami, fent their fecretaries to acquaint us, that we fhould have our audience from the Emperor the next morning, that therefore we fhould repair to court betimes, and ftay there in the great imperial guard-room, till we could be introduced.

The 29th of March, being the laft of the fecond Japanefe month, is one of the ufual court days, on which the Emperor gives audience. And yet we could have hardly flattered ourfelves of fo quick a difpatch, had not Makino Bingo purpofely appointed it for the day of our audience, in order to get rid of us, becaufe on the fifth of the enfuing third Japanefe month, he was to have the honour to treat the Emperor at dinner, a favour which requires a good deal of time and vaft preparations. This Bengo, or Bingo, was formerly tutor to the now reigning Monarch, before he came to the crown, but is now his chief favourite, and the only perfon whom he abfolutely confides in. At our audience, it is he that hath the honour to receive the Emperor's words and commands from his own mouth, and to addrefs the fame to us. He is near feventy years of age, a tall but lean man, with a long face, a manly and German-like countenance, flow in his actions, otherwife very civil in his whole behaviour. He hath the character of a juft and prudent man, no ways given to ambition, nor inclined to revenge, nor bent upon heaping up immoderate riches, in fhort, of being altogether worthy of the great confidence and truft the Emperor puts in him. About three years ago, he had the honour to treat the Emperor at dinner, and was then by him prefented with a fcimeter, eſteemed worth 15,000 thails, which the Emperor took from his own fide, with 3000 cobangs in gold, 300 fhuits of filver, feveral damafk and fine Chinefe filk ftuffs, and an addition of 300,000 bags of rice to his yearly revenues, which were then already of 400,000, fo that now he hath in all 700,000. It is reckoned an ineftimable honour to treat the Emperor, but fuch a one, as may undo and ruin the perfon upon whom this particular favour is beftowed, becaufe, whatever is fcarce and uncommon, muft be provided, and every thing payed at an exceffive rate. As an inftance of this, it will fuffice to mention what Bengo did a few days ago. There being then a ball at court, he fent a Soccano, as the Japanefe call it, (being a fmall treat of a few things laid on a wooden machine, made in form of a table, which the Japanefe fend to each other in token of friendfhip) to the Emperor, confifting of two Tah, or Steenbraffems, as we call them, which he bought for 150 cobangs, and a couple of fhell-fifh, which coft him 90 cobangs. A cobang is worth about five ducats, fo that the whole treat amounted to 5200 ducats, or of about 2400l. fterling. Thefe two forts of fifh are the fcarceft and deareft in Japan, particularly the Steenbraffems, which, when in feafon, are never fold under two cobangs a piece, but in winter-time, and for great feafts, any price is given for them.

In

In this cafe it is not only very profitable to the fifhmonger, but the buyer eſteems it a peculiar happineſs to have met with a ſcarce and dear diſh for ſuch a gueſt, as he hath an uncommon value for. But there is ſomething peculiar and ſuperſtitious hid in the very name of this fiſh, it being the laſt ſyllable of the word Meditah, which the Japaneſe make uſe of when they wiſh one another joy.

On the 29th of March therefore, being Thurſday, and the day appointed for our audience, the preſents deſigned for His Imperial Majeſty were ſent to court, attended by the deputies of Sino Cami, and of the commiſſioners for inſpecting foreign affairs, to be there laid in due order on wooden tables, in the hall of hundred mats, as they call it, where the Emperor was to view them. We followed ſoon after with a very inconſiderable equipage, clad in black ſilk cloaks, as garments of ceremony according to the faſhion of Europe. We were attended by three ſtewards of the governors of Nagaſaki, our doſen or deputy bugjo, two town-meſſengers of Nagaſaki, and an interpreter's ſon, all walking on foot. We three Dutchmen and our ſecond interpreter rode on horſeback, behind each other. Our horſes were led by grooms, who took them by the bridle, one groom for each horſe, walking at his right ſide, on which ſide alſo it is the faſhion of this country to mount and to alight. Formerly we uſed to have two grooms to each horſe, but of late this cuſtom was left off, as putting us only to an unneceſſary expence. Our reſident or captain, as the Japaneſe call him, came after us, carried in a norimon, and was followed by our old chief interpreter, carried in a cangos. The proceſſion was cloſed by the reſt of our ſervants and retinue, walking on foot at proper diſtances, ſo far as they were permitted to follow us. In this order we moved on towards the caſtle, and after about half an hour's riding, we came to the firſt encloſure, which we found well fortified with walls and ramparts. This we entered over a large bridge, with balliſters adorned at the upper end with braſs balls, laid over a broad river which ſeemed to run northwards about the caſtle, and on which we then ſaw great numbers of boats and veſſels. The entry is through two ſtrong gates, with a ſmall guard between them. As ſoon as we paſſed through the ſecond gate, we came to a large place where we found another and more numerous guard to our right, which however ſeemed to be intended more for ſtate than defence. The guard-room was hung about with cloth; pikes were planted in the ground near the entry, and within it was curiouſly adorned with gilt arms, lackered guns pikes, ſhields, bows, arrows, and quivers. The ſoldiers ſat down on the ground croſs-legged, in good order, clad in black ſilk, each with two ſcimiters ſtuck in their girdle. Having paſſed acroſs this firſt encloſure, riding between the houſes and palaces of the princes and lords of the empire, built within its compaſs, we came to the ſecond, which we found fortified much after the ſame manner with the firſt. The bridge only and gates, and inner guard and palaces were much more ſtately and magnificent. We left our norimon and cangos here, as alſo our horſes and ſervants, and were conducted acroſs this ſecond encloſure to the Fonmatz, or imperial reſidence, which we entered over a long ſtone bridge, and having paſſed through a double baſtion and as many ſtrong gates, and thence about twenty paces further, through an irregular ſtreet, built as the ſituation of the ground would allow it, with walls of an uncommon height on both ſides, we came to the fiakninban, that is guard of hundred men, or the great guard of the caſtle, which was on our left, at the upper end of the above-ſaid ſtreet, hard by the laſt door leading to the Emperor's palace. We were commanded to wait in this guard-room till we could be introduced to an audience, which we were told ſhould be done as ſoon as the great council of ſtate was met in the palace. We were civilly received by the two captains of the guard, who treated us with tea and tobacco. Soon after Sino Cami and

the two commiſſioners came to compliment us, along with ſome gentlemen of the Emperor's court who were ſtrangers to us. Having waited about an hour, during which time moſt of the imperial counſellors of ſtate, old and young, went into the palace, ſome walking on foot, others being carried in norimons; we were conducted through two ſtately gates over a large ſquare place to the palace, to which there is an aſcent of a few ſteps leading from the ſecond gate. The place between the ſecond gate and the front of the palace is but a few paces broad, and was then exceſſively crowded with throngs of courtiers and troops of guards. From thence we were conducted up two other ſtaircaſes to the palace itſelf, and firſt into a ſpacious room, next to the entry on the right, being the place where all perſons that are to be admitted to an audience, either of the Emperor himſelf or of the counſellors of ſtate, wait till they are called in. It is a large and lofty room, but when all the ſcreens are put on, pretty dark, receiving but a ſparing light from the upper windows of an adjoining room, wherein is kept ſome furniture for the imperial apartments. It is otherwiſe richly furniſhed, according to the country faſhion, and its gilt poſts, walls, and ſkreens, are very pleaſing to behold. Having waited here upwards of an hour, and the Emperor having in the meanwhile ſeated himſelf in the hall of audience, Sino Cami and the two commiſſioners came in and conducted our reſident into the Emperor's preſence, leaving us behind. As ſoon as he came thither they cried out aloud 'Hollanda Captain', which was the ſignal for him to draw near and make his obeiſances. Accordingly he crawled on his hands and knees to a place ſhewed him, between the preſents ranged in due order on one ſide, and the place where the Emperor ſat on the other, and then kneeling he bowed his forehead quite down to the ground, and ſo crawled backwards like a crab, without uttering one ſingle word. So mean and ſhort a thing is the audience we have of this mighty Monarch. Nor are there any more ceremonies obſerved in the audience he gives even to the greateſt and moſt powerful princes of the empire. For having been called into the hall, their names are cried out aloud, then they move on their hands and feet humbly and ſilently towards the Emperor's ſeat, and having ſhewed their ſubmiſſion by bowing their forehead down to the ground, they creep back again in the ſame ſubmiſſive poſture.

The hall of audience, otherwiſe the hall of hundred mats, is not in the leaſt like that which hath been deſcribed and figured by Montanus, in his memorable embaſſies of the Dutch to the Emperors of Japan. The elevated throne, the ſteps leading up to it, the carpets pending from it, the ſtately columns ſupporting the building which contains the throne, the columns between which the Princes of the empire are ſaid to proſtrate themſelves before the Emperor, and the like, have all no manner of foundation but in that author's fancy. Every thing indeed is curious and rich, but not otherwiſe than my draught repreſents it. For in our ſecond voyage to court, the audience being over, the governor of Nagaſaki was pleaſed to ſhew us the hall, which gave me an opportunity of taking a draught of it, which in the end was no very difficult matter, conſidering that it required nothing but to tell over the number of mats, poſts, ſkreens, and windows. The floor is covered with a hundred mats, all of the ſame ſize. Hence it is called ſen ſio ſiki, that is, the hall of a hundred mats. It opens on one ſide towards a ſmall court which lets in the light; on the oppoſite ſide it joins to two other apartments, which are on this occaſion laid open towards the ſame court, one of which is conſiderably larger than the other, and ſerves for the counſellors of ſtate when they give audience by themſelves. The other is narrower, deeper, and one ſtep higher than the hall itſelf. In this the Emperor ſits when he gives audience, croſs-legged, raiſed only on a few carpets. Nor is it an eaſy matter to ſee him, the light reaching not

quite ſo far as the place where he ſits, beſides that the audience is too ſhort, and the perſon admitted to it in ſo humble and ſubmiſſive a poſture, that he cannot well have an opportunity to hold up his head, and to view him. This audience is otherwiſe very awful and majeſtic, by reaſon chiefly of the ſilent preſence of all the counſellors of ſtate, as alſo of many Princes and lords of the empire, the gentlemen of His Majeſty's bed-chamber, and other chief officers of his court, who line the hall of audience and all its avenues, ſitting in good order, and clad in their garments of ceremony.

Formerly all we had to do at the Emperor's court was completed by the captain's paying him the uſual homage, after the manner above related. A few days after ſome laws concerning our trade and behaviour were read to him, which, in the name of the Dutch, he promiſed to keep, and ſo was diſpatched back to Nagaſaki. But for about theſe twenty years laſt paſt, he and the reſt of the Dutchmen that came up with the embaſſy to Jedo, were conducted deeper into the palace to give the Empreſs and the ladies of her court, and the Princeſſes of the blood, the diverſion of ſeeing us. In this ſecond audience the Emperor and the ladies invited to it, attend behind ſkreens and lattices, but the counſellors of ſtate, and other officers of the court, ſit in the open rooms in their uſual and elegant order. As ſoon as the captain had paid his homage, the Emperor retired into his apartment, and not long after we three Dutchmen were likewiſe called up, and conducted, together with the captain, through ſeveral apartments into a gallery curiouſly carved and gilt, where we waited about a quarter of an hour, and were then, through ſeveral other walks and galleries, carried further into a large room, where they deſired us to ſit down, and where ſeveral courtiers ſhaved, being the Emperor's phyſicians, the officers of his kitchen, and ſome of the clergy, came to aſk after our names, age, and the like; but gilt ſkreens were quickly drawn before us, to deliver us from their throng and troubleſome importunity. We ſtaid here about half an hour; meanwhile the court met in the imperial apartments, where we were to have our ſecond audience, and whither we were conducted through ſeveral dark galleries. Along all theſe ſeveral galleries there was one continued row of lifeguard-men, and nearer to the imperial apartments followed in the ſame row ſome great officers of the crown, who lined the front of the hall of audience, clad in their garments of ceremony, bowing their heads and ſitting on their heels. The hall of audience was juſt as I repreſented it. It conſiſted of ſeveral rooms, looking towards a middle place, ſome of which were laid open towards the ſame, others covered by ſkreens and lattices. Some were of fifteen mats, others of eighteen, and they were a mat higher or lower, according to the quality of the perſons ſeated in the ſame. The middle place had no mats at all, they having been taken away, and was conſequently the loweſt, on which floor, covered with neat varniſhed boards, we were commanded to ſit down. The Emperor and his Imperial Conſort ſat behind the lattices on our right. As I was dancing at the Emperor's command, I had an opportunity twice of ſeeing the Empreſs through the ſlits of the lattices, and took notice that ſhe was of a brown and beautiful complexion, with black European eyes, full of fire, and from the proportion of her head, which was pretty large, I judged her to be a tall woman, and about 36 years of age. By lattices I mean hangings made of reed, ſplit exceeding thin and fine, and covered on the back with a fine tranſparent ſilk, with openings about a ſpan broad for the perſons behind to look through. For ornament's ſake, and the bet-bet to hide the perſons ſtanding behind, they are painted with divers figures, though otherwiſe it would be impoſſible to ſee them at a diſtance, chiefly when the light is taken off behind. The Emperor himſelf was in ſuch an obſcure place, that we ſhould ſcarce have known him to be preſent had not his voice diſcovered him, which yet was ſo low

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as if he purpoſely intended to be there incognito. Juſt before us, behind other lattices, were the Princes of the blood, and the ladies of the Empreſs's court. I took notice that pieces of paper were put between the reeds in ſome parts of the lattices, to make the openings wide, in order to a better and eaſier ſight. I counted about thirty ſuch papers, which made me conclude that there was about that number of perſons ſitting behind. Bengo ſat on a raiſed mat in an open room by himſelf juſt before us, towards our right on that ſide, on which I took notice above, that the Emperor ſat behind the lattices. On our left in another room, were the counſellors of ſtate of the firſt and ſecond rank, ſitting in a double row in good and becoming order. The gallery behind us was filled with the chief officers of the Emperor's court, and the gentlemen of his bed-chamber. The gallery which led into the room where the Emperor was, was filled with the ſons of ſome Princes of the empire then at court, the Emperor's pages and ſome prieſts lurking. After this manner it was, that they ordered the ſtage on which we were now to act. The commiſſioners for foreign affairs having conducted us into the gallery before the hall of audience, one of the counſellors of ſtate of the ſecond rank came to receive us there, and to conduct us to the above deſcribed middle place, on which we were commanded to ſit down, having firſt made our obeiſances after the Japaneſe manner, creeping and bowing our heads to the ground, towards that part of the lattices behind which the Emperor was. The chief interpreter ſat himſelf a little forward, to hear more diſtinctly, and we took our places on his left hand all in a row. After the uſual obeiſances made, Bengo bid us welcome in the Emperor's name. The chief interpreter received the compliment from Bengo's mouth and repeated it to us. Upon this the ambaſſador made his compliment in the name of his maſters, withal returning their moſt humble thanks to the Emperor, for having graciouſly granted the Dutch liberty of commerce. This the chief interpreter repeated in Japaneſe, having proſtrated himſelf quite to the ground, and ſpeaking loud enough to be heard by the Emperor. The Emperor's anſwer was again received by Bengo, who delivered it to the chief interpreter, and he to us. He might have indeed received them himſelf from the Emperor's own mouth, and ſaved Bengo this unneceſſary trouble; but I fancy that the words, as they flow out of the Emperor's mouth, are eſteemed too precious and ſacred for an immediate tranſit into the mouth of perſons of a low rank. The mutual compliments being over, the ſucceeding part of this ſolemnity turned to a perfect farce. We were aſked a thouſand ridiculous and impertinent queſtions. Thus for inſtance, they deſired to know, in the firſt place, how old each of us was, and what was his name, which we were commanded to write upon a bit of paper, having for theſe purpoſes took an European inkhorn along with us. This paper, together with the inkhorn itſelf, we were commanded to give to Bengo, who delivered them both into the Emperor's hands, reaching them over below the lattice. The captain, or ambaſſador, was aſked concerning the diſtance of Holland from Batavia, and of Batavia from Nagaſaki? Which of the two was the moſt powerful, the Director-general of the Dutch Eaſt India company at Batavia, or the Prince of Holland? As for my own particular, the following queſtions were put to me: What external and internal diſtempers I thought the moſt dangerous, and moſt difficult to cure? How I proceeded in the cure of cancrous humours and impoſthumations of the inner parts? Whether our European phyſicians did not ſearch after ſome medicine to render people immortal, as the Chineſe phyſicians had done for many hundred years? Whether we had made any conſiderable progreſs in this ſearch, and which was the laſt remedy conducive to long life, that had been found out in Europe? To which I returned in anſwer, that very many European phyſicians had long laboured to find out ſome medicine, which ſhould have the virtue of prolonging

human-life; and preſerving people in health to a great age; and having thereupon been aſked, which I thought the beſt? I anſwered, that I always took that to be the beſt which was found out laſt, till experience taught us a better: and being further aſked, which was the laſt? I anſwered, a certain ſpirituous liquor, which could keep the humours of our body fluid, and comfort the ſpirits. This general anſwer proved not altogether ſatisfactory, but I was quickly deſired to let them know the name of this excellent medicine, upon which, knowing that whatever was eſteemed by the Japaneſe, had long and high-ſounded names, I returned in anſwer, it was the Sal volatile Oleoſum Sylvij. This name was minuted down behind the lattices, for which purpoſe I was commanded to repeat it ſeveral times. The next queſtion was, who it was that found it out, and where it was found out? I anſwered, Profeſſor Sylvius in Holland. Then they aſked, whether I could make it up? upon this our reſident whiſpered me to ſay, No; but I anſwered, Yes, I could make it up, but not here. Then it was aſked, whether it could be had at Batavia? and having returned in anſwer, that it was to be had there, the Emperor deſired that it ſhould be ſent over by the next ſhips. The Emperor, who hitherto ſat among the ladies, almoſt oppoſite to us, at a conſiderable diſtance, did now draw nearer, and ſate himſelf down on our right behind the lattices, as near us as poſſibly he could. Then he ordered us to take off our cappa, or cloak, being our garment of ceremony, then to ſtand upright, that he might have a full view of us; again to walk, to ſtand ſtill, to compliment each other, to dance, to jump, to play the drunkard, to ſpeak broken Japaneſe, to read Dutch, to paint, to ſing, to put our cloaks on and off. Meanwhile we obeyed the Emperor's commands in the beſt manner we could; I joined to my dance a love-ſong in High German. In this manner, and with innumerable ſuch other apiſh tricks, we muſt ſuffer ourſelves to contribute to the Emperor's and the court's diverſion. The ambaſſador, however, is free from theſe and the like commands, for as he repreſents the authority of his maſters, ſome care is taken that nothing ſhould be done to injure or prejudice the ſame. Beſides that he ſhewed ſo much gravity in his countenance and whole behaviour, as was ſufficient to convince the Japaneſe that he was not at all a fit perſon to have ſuch ridiculous and comical commands laid upon him. Having been thus exerciſed for a matter of two hours, though with great apparent civility, ſome ſervants ſhaved came in, and put before each of us a ſmall table with Japaneſe victuals, and a couple of ivory ſticks, inſtead of knives and forks. We took and eat ſome little things, and our old chief interpreter, though ſcarce able to walk, was commanded to carry away the remainder for himſelf. We were then ordered to put on our cloaks again and to take our leave, which we gladly, and without delay, complied with, putting thereby an end to this ſecond audience. We were then conducted back by the two commiſſioners to the waiting room, where we took our leave of them alſo.

It was now already three of the clock in the afternoon, and we had ſtill ſeveral viſits to make to the counſellors of ſtate, of the firſt and ſecond rank, as I have ſet them down above under the 25th of March. Accordingly we left the Fonmar forthwith, ſaluted as we went by the officers of the great imperial guard, and made our round a-foot. The preſents had been carried before-hand to every one's houſe by our clerks, and becauſe we did not ſee them in our audiences, I conjectured that they had been actually preſented to the perſons to whom they belonged. They conſiſted in ſome Chineſe, Bengaleſe, and other ſilk ſtuffs, ſome linen, black ſerge, ſome yards of black cloth, gingangs, pelangs, and a flaſk of tent wine. We were every where received by the ſtewards and ſecretaries with extraordinary civility, and treated with tea, tobacco and ſweetmeats, as handſomely as the little time we had to ſpare would allow.

allow. The rooms, where we were admitted to audience, were filled behind the ſkreens and lattices with crowds of ſpectators, who would fain have obliged us to ſhew them ſome of our European cuſtoms and ceremonies, but could obtain nothing excepting only a ſhort dance at Bengo's houſe (who came home himſelf a back way), and a ſong from each of us, at the youngeſt counſellor's of ſtate, who lived in the northern part of the caſtle. We then returned again to our cangos and horſes, and having got out of the caſtle, through the northern gate, we went back to our inn another way, on the left of which we took notice that there were ſtrong walls and ditches in ſeveral places. It was juſt ſix in the evening when we got home, heartily tired.

On Friday the 30th of March, we rode out again betimes in the morning, to make ſome of our remaining viſits. The preſents, ſuch as above deſcribed, were ſent before us by our Japaneſe clerks, who took care to lay them on boards, and to range them in good order, according to the country faſhion. We were received, at the entry of the houſe, by one or two of the principal domeſtics, and conducted to the apartment where we were to have our audience. The rooms round the hall of audience were every where crowded with ſpectators. As ſoon as we had ſeated ourſelves, we were treated with tea and tobacco. Then the ſteward of the houſhold came in, or elſe the ſecretary, either alone or with another gentleman, to compliment us, and to receive our compliments in his maſter's name. The rooms were every where ſo diſpoſed, as to make us turn our faces towards the ladies, by whom we were very generouſly and civilly treated with cakes and ſeveral ſorts of ſweetmeats. We viſited and made our preſents, this day, to the two governors of Jedo, to the three eccleſiaſtical judges, and to the two commiſſioners for foreign affairs, who lived near a mile from each other, one in the S. W. the other in the N. E. part of the caſtle. They both profeſs themſelves to be particular patrons of the Dutch, and received us accordingly with great pomp and magnificence. The ſtreet was lined with twenty men armed, who with their long ſtaffs, which they held on one ſide, made a very good figure, beſides that they helped to keep off the throng of the people from being too troubleſome. We were received upon our entering the houſe, and introduced to audience much after the ſame manner as we had been in other places, only we were carried deeper into their palaces, and into the innermoſt apartment, on purpoſe that we ſhould not be troubled with numbers of foreign ſpectators, and be at more liberty, ourſelves as well as the ladies, who were invited to the ceremony. Oppoſite to us in the hall of audience, there were grated lattices, inſtead of ſkreens, for the length of two mats and upwards, behind which ſat ſuch numbers of women of the commiſſioner's own family, and their relations and friends, that there was no room left. We had ſcarce ſeated ourſelves, when ſeven ſervants well clad came in all in a row, and brought us pipes and tobacco, with the uſual apparatus for ſmoking. Soon after they brought in ſomething baked, laid on japanned boards, then ſome fiſh fried, all after the ſame manner, by the ſame number of ſervants, and always but one piece in a ſmall diſh, then a couple of eggs, one baked, the other boiled and ſhelled, and a glaſs of old ſtrong ſacki ſtanding between them. After this manner we were entertained for about an hour and a half, when they deſired us to ſing a ſong, and to dance; the firſt we refuſed to comply with, but ſatisfied them as to the laſt. In the houſe of the firſt commiſſioner, a ſoup made of ſweet plums was offered us inſtead of brandy. In the ſecond commiſſioner's houſe we were preſented firſt of all with Mange bread, in a brown liquor, cold, with ſome muſtard ſeed and radiſhes laid about the diſh, and at laſt with ſome orange peels with ſugar, which is a diſh given only upon extraordinary occaſions, in token of fortune and good will. We then drank ſome tea, and having taken our leave, went back to our inn, where we arrived at five in the evening.

On the 31ſt of March, we rode out again at ten in the morning, and went to the houſes of the three governors of Nagaſaki, two of whom were then abſent and upon their government. We preſented them on this occaſion only with a flaſk of tent each, they having already received their other preſents at Nagaſaki. We were met by Sino Cami juſt by the door of his houſe. He was attended with a numerous retinue, and having called both our interpreters to him, he commanded them to tell us, that his deſire was, that we ſhould make ourſelves merry in his houſe: accordingly we were received extraordinary well, and deſired to walk about, and to divert ourſelves in his garden, as being now in the houſe of a friend at Jedo and not in the palace of our governor and magiſtrate at Nagaſaki. We were treated with warm victuals, and tea, much after the ſame manner as we had been by the commiſſioners, and all the while civilly entertained by his own brother and ſeveral perſons of quality of his friends and relations. Having ſtaid about two hours, we went to Tonoſama's houſe, where we were conducted into the innermoſt and chief apartment, and deſired twice to come nearer the lattices on both ſides of the room. There were more ladies behind the ſkreens here, than I think we had as yet met with in any other place. They deſired us very civilly to ſhew them our clothes, the captain's arms, rings, tobacco-pipes, and the like, ſome of which were reached them between or under the lattices. The perſon that treated us in the abſent governor's name, and the other gentlemen who were then preſent in the room, entertained us likewiſe very civilly, and we could not but take notice, that every thing was ſo cordial, that we made no manner of ſcruple of making ourſelves merry, and diverting the company each with a ſong. The magnificence of this family appeared fully by the richneſs and exquiſiteneſs of this entertainment, which was equal to that of the firſt commiſſioner's, but far beyond it in courteous civility, and a free open carriage. After an hour and a half we took our leave. Tonoſama's houſe is the furthermoſt to the N. or N. W. we were to go to, a mile and a half from our inn, but ſeated by much in the pleaſanteſt part of the town, where there is an agreeable variety of hills and buſhes. Zuboſama's family lives in a ſmall ſorry houſe near the ditch, which encompaſſes the caſtle. We met here but a few women behind a ſkreen, who took up with peeping at us through a few holes, which they made as they ſat down. The ſtrong liquors, which we had been this day obliged to drink in larger quantities than uſual, being by this time got pretty much into our heads, we made haſte to return home, and took our leave as ſoon as we had been treated after the uſual manner with tea and tobacco. We were the more impatient to be gone, becauſe we were apprehenſive, leſt our interpreters, who had been pretty much exerciſed all day, ſhould grow too weary, and unwilling hereafter to attend us ſo long on the like occaſions. The gentleman alſo, who was to entertain us in the governor's name, although he affected a great civility, had ſomewhat ſo froward and diſagreeable in his countenance, as forwarded very much our departure: for we looked upon ourſelves on this occaſion, not as merchants ſent there to trade, but as ambaſſadors to a potent monarch, who ought to be treated with ſome regard and honour.

On the firſt of April, in the afternoon, we were promiſed by Joſamma, that the next day we ſhould have our audience of leave.

On the 2d of April, in the morning, we went to court on horſeback in the ſame order, and the ſame way as on the day of our audience. We ſtaid about an hour and a half in the guard room before the caſtle, where we received a viſit from the two commiſſioners and Sino Cami. We ſtaid much about the ſame time in the great waiting room of the caſtle, which is taken in with gilt ſkreens, and the floor covered with ſix and thirty mats. We were again ſaluted here by the two commiſſioners and Sino Cami, who called our old chief interpreter out, in order to ſhew him the room, where the

ambaſſador ſhould be admitted to audience, as alſo to acquaint him what ceremonies ſhould be obſerved on that occaſion. Soon after the ambaſſador was called out himſelf, and was conducted from the waiting room to a great hall to the left, where with the uſual obeiſances he took his audience of leave, and had the commands of the Emperor read to him, conſiſting in five articles, relating among other things chiefly to the Portugueſe trade. This being over, he was by Sino Cami conducted back to the waiting-room, where we ſtaid for him, and where this govenor took his leave of him with great apparent civility, withal telling him, he hoped he ſhould ſee him at Nagaſaki. And ſo we went away from court, without paying our reſpects to the two commiſſioners, and came home about one of the clock in the afternoon. Meanwhile we ſtaid in the waiting-room; ſeveral officers at court and the ſons of ſome Princes of the empire came to ſee us. Among the reſt was the Prince of Facatta's grandſon, who, although he was blind of one eye, had nevertheleſs orders from the Emperor to ſtay at court, among other young gentlemen of his quality, for no other reaſon but to ſerve as a hoſtage of his grand-father's fidelity. Some of theſe people aſked after the captain's name, and there was one among the reſt, who had already taken it down in writing, but this was ſo quickly betrayed, that minute orders were ſent by Sino Cami, that our names ſhould be told to nobody. Our departure from court was preceded by thirty gowns laid on three tables, as a preſent from the Emperor. In the afternoon ſome of the gentlemen, whom we had viſited, and made preſents to, ſent us alſo their gowns, to wit: 1. Noji Jſemono, governor of Jedo, two black gowns. 2. Todotamaſijro, one of the counſellors of ſtate, ten gowns. 3. Tſutſia Sagamiſama, likewiſe ten. 4. Fodioawanaſama, the other governor of Jedo, two. 5. Kaganni K. S. and 6. Bongoſama, each ten.

On the 3d of April, we were preſented with ſome more gowns, to wit, with three by each of the two commiſſioners, and with ſix by each of the extraordinary counſellors of ſtate. All our buſineſs at Jedo was compleated this day by one of the clock.

On the 4th of April, the Emperor dined at Bengos, for which reaſon the gates of the caſtle were ſhut, which is a cuſtom the now reigning monarch obſerves upon theſe occaſions, many people wondering why.*

CHAP. XXV. — *The Audience at Court, on the Second Journey* †.

ON the 20th of April, though it continued to rain pretty hard, as it had done for two days before, yet we were obliged at eight o'clock that morning to repair to the caſtle, which we did on horſeback, attended by the bugjos of the three governors of Nagaſaki. Paſſing through the ſecond caſtle we came to the third, and found Siuboſama waiting for us in the great guard room. We ſtaid there ourſelves till half an hour after ten; mean while the members of the council of ſtate met in the caſtle, and we changed our wet ſtockings and ſhoes for clean ones. From thence we were conducted into the palace, where we ſtaid till noon. Our captain, as they call him, went firſt alone to make his ſubmiſſion to the Emperor, according to the faſhion of the country, and in the company's name to offer the preſents. He returned ſoon after to us in the waiting room, and that moment we were by Siuboſama conducted to audience and firſt going round the hall, where the Emperor had given orders to our ambaſſador, and received the preſents, which ſtill ſtood there; thence paſſing through ſeveral long galleries, all gilt and curiouſly adorned, we came into a long room, where they deſired us to ſtay

*The Journal of the return to Nagaſaki is omitted. † The Journal is again ommitted.

till

till we could be admitted into the Emperor's preſence, which they ſaid ſhould be done immediately. We found the Imperial commiſſioners and other great men walking there, and ten or twelve young noblemen of great quality, ſitting. But leſt the ſitting down ſo long and ſo often ſhould tire us at laſt, we were conducted back into an adjoining gallery, where we could have the liberty to walk about, for which purpoſe alſo the ſhutters of ſome windows were laid open for us, to have a view into the garden. Meanwhile we ſtaid in this gallery, ſeveral young gentlemen of great quality came to ſee and ſalute us, and the commiſſioners ſhewed us a gold ring, wherein was ſet a loadſtone, with the names of the Jetta, or twelve celeſtial ſigns engraved round it. They ſhewed us likewiſe an European coat of arms, and ſome other things. But juſt as we were examining them, and now a going to explain them according to their deſire, the Emperor ſent for us in. So we were conducted through a gallery to our left, where we found eighteen gentlemen of the Emperor's bedchamber ſitting, clad in their garments of ceremony, under which they wore their ordinary gowns, then paſſing by twenty other gentlemen, ſitting in one continued row, we entered the hall of audience, where we found the ſix counſellors of ſtate ſitting on our left as we came in, and on our right ſome more gentlemen of the Emperor's bedchamber of a higher rank, ſitting in a gallery. The Emperor and two ladies ſat behind the grated ſkreens on our right, and Bingoſama, preſident of the council of ſtate, oppoſite to us, in a room by himſelf. Soon after we came in, and had after the uſual obeiſances ſeated ourſelves on the place aſſigned us, Bingoſama welcomed us in the Emperor's name, and then deſired us to ſit upright, to take off our cloaks, to tell him our names and age, to ſtand up, to walk, to turn about, to dance, to ſing ſongs, to compliment one another, to be angry, to invite one another to dinner, to converſe one with another, to diſcourſe in a familiar way like father and ſon, to ſhew how two friends, or man and wife, compliment or take leave of one another, to play with children, to carry them about upon our arms, and to do many more things of the like nature. Moreover, we were aſked many more queſtions, ſerious and comical; as for inſtance, what profeſſion I was of, whether I ever cured any conſiderable diſtempers? to which I anſwered, Yes, I had, but not at Nagaſaki, where we were kept no better than priſoners. What houſes we had; whether our cuſtoms were different from theirs; how we buried our people, and when? to which was anſwered that we buried our dead in the day time. How our Prince did; what ſort of a man he was; whether the governor-general at Batavia was ſuperior to him, or whether he was under his command; whether we had prayers and images like the Portugueſe? which was anſwered in the negative. Whether Holland, and other countries abroad, were ſubject to earthquakes and ſtorms of thunder and lightning as well as Japan? Whether there be houſes ſet on fire, and people killed by lightning in European countries? Then again we were commanded to read, and to dance ſeparately and jointly, and I to tell them the names of ſome European plaiſters, upon which I mentioned ſome of the hardeſt I could remember. The ambaſſador was aſked concerning his children, how many he had, what their names were, as alſo how far diſtant Holland was from Nagaſaki? In the mean while ſome ſhutters were opened on the left hand, by order of the Emperor, probably to cool the room. We were then further commanded to put on our hats, to walk about the room diſcourſing with one another, to take off our perukes. I had ſeveral opportunities of ſeeing the Empreſs, and heard the Emperor ſay in Japaneſe, how ſharp we looked at the room where he was, and that ſure we could not but know, or at leaſt ſuſpect him to be there, upon which he removed and went to the ladies which ſat juſt before us. Then I was deſired once more to come nearer the ſkreen, and to take off my peruke. Then they made us jump, dance, play gambols,

gambols, and walk together, and upon that they aſked the ambaſſador and me how old we gueſſed Bingo to be, he anſwered 50, and 145, which made them laugh. Then they made us kiſs one another, like man and wife, which the ladies particularly ſhewed by their laughter to be well pleaſed with. They deſired us further to ſhew them what ſorts of compliments it was cuſtomary in Europe to make to inferiors, to ladies, to ſuperiors, to princes, to kings. After this they begged another ſong of me, and were ſatisfied with two, which the company ſeemed to like very well. After this farce was over, we were ordered to take off our cloaks, to come near the ſkreen one by one, and to take our leave in the very ſame manner we would take it of a Prince, or King in Europe, which being done ſeemingly to their ſatisfaction, we went away. It was already four in the afternoon, when we left the hall of audience, after having been exerciſed after this manner for two hours and a half. We had been introduced, and were conducted back by the two imperial commiſſioners and Siube, and immediately repaired to Bingo's houſe, who received us with uncommon civility. At laſt in the evening we got home.

On the 22d of April, we went to make a viſit to the new lord of the temple, as they call him, who was a ſon of the Prince of Firando. His houſe was full of ſpectators. But his ſteward who received us, was one of the greateſt coxcombs we had as yet met with in the country, a man entirely unacquainted with compliments, and an utter ſtranger even to common civility. His ill manners and unpoliteneſs were made good in ſome meaſure by the complaiſant carriage of the ladies, who treated us with ſweetmeats. He examined with ſome attention our hats and ſwords, and then ſaid, let them ſing once, which he did to pleaſe his maſter. However, we did not all think fit to comply with commands made with ſuch an ill grace. From thence we repaired to the caſtle to ſalute the two governors. Upon the great place before the caſtle, we took notice that there was a ſecretary's office, wherein beſides the ſeveral boxes and cabinets filled with papers, were hung up all ſorts of arms. At the firſt governor's we were only preſented with tea, nor were there any ladies preſent at the audience we had of him. We then made two more viſits, and laſt of all we went to the two imperial commiſſioners, who received us both with great civility, and treated us very ſplendidly, ſo that we did not at all ſcruple at their deſire to entertain the company with a ſong. At the firſt commiſſioner's the treat conſiſted of the following things: — 1. Tea. 2. Tobacco, with the whole ſet of inſtruments for ſmoaking. 3. Philoſophical, or white ſyrup. 4. A piece of Steenbraſſen, a very ſcarce fiſh, boiled in a brown ſauce. 5. Another diſh of fiſh, dreſſed with bean-flower and ſpices. 6. Cakes of eggs rolled together. 7. Fried fiſh, which were preſented us on green ſkewers of bamboos. 8. Lemon peels with ſugar. After every one of theſe diſhes, they made us drink a diſh of Sacki, as good as ever I taſted. We were likewiſe preſented twice, in dram cups, with wine made of plums, a very pleaſant and agreeable liquor. In ſhort, the whole treat was equally various and good. Only we had nothing made of rice. Laſt of all we were preſented with a diſh of tea, and ſo we took our leave, having ſtaid an hour and a half.

At the ſecond commiſſioner's we were treated, after tea and tobacco, with the following things: — 1. Two long ſlices of mange, dipt into a brown ſup or ſauce, with ſome ginger. 2. Hard eggs. 3. Four common fiſh, fried and brought on ſkewers of bamboos. 4. The ſtomachs of carps ſalt, in a brown ſauce. 5. Two ſmall ſlices of a gooſe roaſted, and warm, preſented in unglazed earthen diſhes. Good liquor was drank about plentifully all the while, and the commiſſioner's ſurgeon, who was to treat us, did not miſs to take his full doſe. Juſt before us behind a ſkreen, at about two mats diſtance and a half, ſat a gentleman unknown to us, ſometimes alſo ladies appeared on that ſide. But the greateſt throng of women was on the left, in a gallery. The

audience being over, we went ſtraight home about an hour and a half before it was dark.

On the 23d of April, we received the compliments of thanks from the gentlemen we had been to viſit the day before, and in the afternoon we had orders given us to prepare ourſelves for audience of leave againſt the next day. We did not go this day to ſalute the governors according to cuſtom, by reaſon of its being one of the mourning days for the death of Jejas, the now reigning Emperor's father, on which days it would be thought a want of reſpect for the Emperor to treat any body. He lies buried in Goſio, a temple behind Atago, about two miles from our inn. The burial place of the Emperors, his predeceſſors, is at Nikko, three days journey from Jedo. My ſervant, a very intelligent young man in the affairs of his country, told me, that the temple where Jejas is buried, is covered with golden obanis inſtead of tiles, and that his tomb is encloſed with black poſts. He was to ſee me this day, becauſe he was ſent to us by a man of quality, our ſervants being forbid to ſee us all the while we ſtay at Jedo.

On the 24th of April, we went to court on horſe-back, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, attended as before by three Jorikis of the governors of Nagaſaki.

We ſtaid in the Fiakninban, or guard of hundred men, till we were conducted into the palace upon orders given by the governors and commiſſioners. Having ſtaid about half an hour in the waiting-room, the captain was called in before the counſellors of ſtate, who ordered one of the commiſſioners to read the uſual orders to him, which they do by turns; the orders were among the reſt, and chiefly to the following effect, that we ſhould not moleſt any ſhips, or boats of the Chineſe or Liqueans, nor bring any Portugueſe or prieſts into the country on board our ſhips, and that upon theſe conditions we ſhould be allowed a free commerce. The orders being read, the ambaſſador was preſented with thirty gowns laid on three preſent boards, each of which was ſomewhat longer than two mats, and a letter of fortune, as they call it, as a mark of the Emperor's favour, upon which he crept on all-four to receive the ſame, and in token of reſpect, held a piece of the gowns over his head, and ſo returned to us; but the gowns along with the boards were carried out of the caſtle to the Fiakninban, where they were packed up in bundles. After the captain came back, we were deſired by the governor to ſtay at dinner, which ſhould be provided for us by order from the Emperor. Having therefore waited about half an hour, we were conducted into another room, where two fellows with their heads ſhaved cloſe, and clad in the garments of ceremony received us. We gueſſed them to be ſome of the chief officers of the Emperor's kitchen.

He that hath the direction of the kitchen is called Oſobaboos; he ſits next to the Emperor when he dines, and taſtes all the diſhes that come upon the table. The interpreters, and Japaneſe that attend us, were carried into another room to dine by themſelves. We had ſcarce ſeated ourſelves when ſeveral young noblemen came into the room to ſee us, and to diſcourſe with us. A ſmall table made of ſhavings of matzwood, put together with wooden nails, was ſet before each of us, on which lay five freſh hot white cakes called amakas, as tough as glue, and two hollow breads of two ſpans in circumference, made of flower and ſugar, with the ſeeds of the ſeſamum album ſpread about them. A ſmall porcelain cup ſtood by the bread, with ſome ſmall bits of pickled ſalmon in a brown ſauce, which was not quite ſo ſtrong, but ſomewhat ſweeter than what they call ſoje. By the cup were laid two wooden chopſticks, according to the faſhion of the Chineſe and Japaneſe. We taſted a little of theſe diſhes only for civility's ſake, for we had taken care to provide ourſelves with a good ſubſtantial breakfaſt before we went out in the morning, and beſides had been treated in the guard-

guard-room with freſh manges, and ſweet brown cakes of ſugar and bean-flour. They deſired us very civilly to eat more, and aſked us whether we would drink any tea, and being told that we would, the above-mentioned kitchen officer ſent for it up. But upon trial we found it to be little better than mere warm water, beſides that, the brown varniſhed diſhes, wherein it was preſented to us, and which they call miſeraaties, looked very poor and ſorry. Meanwhile we were eating our dinner the ſpectators buſied themſelves, viewing and examining our hats, ſwords, dreſs, and what we had about us. After dinner, which was ſo far from anſwering the majeſty and magnificence of ſo powerful a Monarch as the Emperor of Japan is, that we could not have had a worſe at any private man's houſe, we were conducted back to the waiting-room, and having waited there for about an hour, or upwards, we were by the Governor conducted through ſeveral paſſages and galleries, which we could not remember to have ſeen before, towards the hall of audience, and deſired to ſit down in the ſame room where we had been before our laſt audience, or to walk about in the gallery next to it. Some ſhutters being now opened, which had been ſhut in our laſt audience, and ſome other apartments being laid open, the diſpoſition of the court and hall of audience was thereby ſo altered, that it looked quite different to what it was before. We took notice, that there was ſcarce a room without ſome gentlemen or other ſitting in it. In a large room, and two galleries leading to it, were hung up ſeveral Imperial orders, on large boards, conſiſting each of five rows of characters, only with ſeven characters in each row. Theſe we had not ſeen in our firſt audience, perhaps becauſe they were not yet hung up, or becauſe they had now carried us another way. Meanwhile we were waiting in this room till we ſhould be called in, which might be about half an hour, a prieſt of about thirty years of age, clad in white and blue ſilk, with a bag of the ſame colour, came into the room, and with great affectation of ſhame and modeſty enquired after our names and age, which had been done before by moſt of the ſpectators then preſent. We ſaw likewiſe another prieſt clad in orange-coloured ſilk, but he ſtaid in the gallery and did not come into the room. As we were waiting, three waſhing baſons in appearance of ſilver were carried into the inner Imperial apartments. Soon after the ſame baſons, and a black japanned covered table, on which ſtood ſeveral diſhes and plates, were brought out again, whence we concluded, that they had been at dinner there. Upon this we were forthwith conducted into a ſide gallery next to the Imperial apartments, and having ſtaid there but a little while, one of the extraordinary counſellors of ſtate, and the two commiſſioners, came to introduce us, and made us ſit down near the grated ſkreen, on the very ſame place we had been at in our former audiences. The two commiſſioners did not enter the hall of audience. The Emperor ſat behind the middle ſkreen on a place, which was ſomewhat raiſed above the level of the room. Bingo ſat in the middle againſt a paper ſkreen, and the three ordinary and four extraordinary counſellors of ſtate took their uſual places. Behind the grated ſkreen, on our right, we could diſcern only a prieſt lurking. The place where in our firſt audience the gobobaſi ſat, was now left empty, but there were ſome few in the gallery. Five and twenty ſat behind us in one row, and eighteen more in the ſame row, who were out of ſight of the Emperor, though waiting for his commands. The other ſide of the hall was lined with the ſame number of people, and in the ſame order. After the audience begun, more came in, ſo that all the avenues were pretty much crowded. We made our obeiſance firſt, according to the faſhion of the Japaneſe, but were ſoon commanded to come nearer the ſkreens, and to do it after the European manner. The obeiſances made, I was ordered to ſing a

ſong; I choſe one, which I had formerly compoſed for a lady, for whom I had a peculiar eſteem, and as at the latter end I extolled her beauty and other excellent qualities, in a poetical ſtile, above the value of hundred thouſands and millions of pieces of money, I was aſked, by order of the Emperor, what the meaning of it was: upon which I returned in anſwer, it was nothing but a ſincere wiſh of mine, that heaven might beſtow millions of portions of health, fortune and proſperity upon the Emperor, his family and court. We were then commanded, as we had been in former audiences, to take off our cloaks, to walk about the room, which the ambaſſador likewiſe did, then to ſhew how upon occaſion we complimented, or took leave of our friends, parents, or a miſtreſs; how we ſcolded at one another, how we made up our differences and got friends again. Upon this a prieſt was commanded to come in, who had a freſh ulcer upon one of his ſhins of no conſequence, only with a little trifling inflammation about it; he had laid on a plaiſter ſpread thick upon European cloth. I was ordered to feel his pulſe, and to give my opinion about his caſe, both which I did accordingly, and judged him to be a healthy ſtrong fellow, and his caſe ſuch as was not like to have any dangerous conſequences, and would eaſily heal by keeping only the plaiſter on. I adviſed him, however, not to be too familiar with ſacki beer, pretending to gueſs by his wound, what I did upon much better ground by his red face and noſe, that he was pretty much given to drinking, which made the Emperor and whole court laugh. Then two of the Emperor's ſurgeons were ſent for in, whom Bingo called himſelf, they being in one of the inner Imperial apartments. They appeared forthwith coming round the ſkreen, they were both ſhaved, and clad like prieſts, one of them was quite blind on one eye, the other looked but little better; otherwiſe they ſeemed to be in pretty good health. Hearing that they were the Emperor's ſurgeons, I gave them the precedency, and let them feel my pulſe firſt, then I felt theirs, and judged them both to be in good health, the firſt rather of a cold conſtitution and wanting ſometimes a dram of brandy to raiſe his ſpirits and to quicken the motion of his blood; the ſecond of a hotter temper, and much troubled with headach, which I could very eaſily perceive by his countenance. Upon this they entered into a diſcourſe with me upon phyſical matters, and the firſt aſked me, whether or no impoſthumes were dangerous, at what time and in what diſtempers we ordered people to be let blood. He alſo affected to have ſome knowledge of our European plaiſters, and mentioning the names of ſome, which however he could not well pronounce, I ſet him to right in broken Japaneſe. This our jargon being half Latin and half Japaneſe, ſounded ſo oddly, that the Emperor aſked what language it was the Dutchman ſpoke in, upon which he was anſwered, it was a broken Japaneſe. This farce being alſo over, a table was brought in with chop ſticks of wood for each of us, and placed juſt before the third mat. On each table were brought in the following victuals, dreſſed after the Japaneſe manner.

1. Two ſmall hollow loaves with ſeſamus ſeed thrown upon them.

2. A piece of white refined ſugar, as it were ſtriped.

3. Five candied kainokis, or kernels of the kai-tree, which are not unlike our almonds.

4. A ſquare flat ſlice of a cake.

5. Two cakes made of flour and honey, ſhaped like a tunnel, brown and thick, but ſomewhat tough. They have on one ſide the impreſſion of a ſun, or roſe, and on the other that of the Dairi Tſiap, that is, the Dairi's coat of arms, being the leaf and flower of a large tree called kiri. The leaf is not unlike that of the

bardana, and the flower comes neareſt to that of the digitalis, ſeveral being ſet to a ſtalk.

6. Two ſquare ſlices of a cake made of bean-flour and ſugar. They were of a dark reddiſh colour and brittle.

7. Two other ſlices of a rice-flour cake, yellow and tough.

8. Two ſlices of another cake, which was quite of another ſubſtance within, than the cruſt ſeemed to be.

9. A large mange, boiled and filled with brown bean-ſugar, like treacle.

10. Two ſmall manges of the common bigneſs, dreſſed after the ſame manner.

We taſted a little of theſe things, and the chief interpreter was commanded to take up the reſt, for which purpoſe boards and white paper were brought in. The interpreter having taken up his load, we were ordered to put on our cloaks again, to come nearer the ſcreen, and to take our leave one after another. This being done, two gentlemen, one of whom was the youngeſt extraordinary counſellor of ſtate, conducted us out of the hall of audience, to the end of the gallery, where the gentlemen of the fourth and fifth rank ſat, eighteen of each claſs. They left us here with the two commiſſioners and the governor, who went with us as far as the waiting-room, where we took our leave of them, amidſt the compliments and loud acclamations of the courtiers, for ſo favourable a reception as we had met with from His Imperial Majeſty, being much beyond whatever they remembered any body could boaſt of. Our interpreter was ſo loaded with the quantity of victuals, that he was ſcarce able to follow us. We made no further ſtay in the waiting-room, but went away immediately, ſaluting the Imperial guard as we went by, and being come into the third caſtle, we there mounted our horſes again. The Governor Siube, or as he is now called, Tſuſimano Cami, happened juſt then to be carried by in his norimon, which he opened to ſpeak a few words with the joriki. His retinue conſiſted of eight footmen, walking before his norimon, four pages walking by the norimon's ſide, a pike-bearer, a white led horſe, and three porters carrying bundles on their backs. We repaired inſtantly to his houſe, where he cauſed the ſhutters of his room to be laid open, and ſat himſelf down before us, with a young gentleman, and the ſecretary of the younger commiſſioner. He received us himſelf, complimented us on the good reception we had met with from the Emperor, and deſired us to be merry at dinner, which was brought in after a diſh of tea, and conſiſted of the following diſhes: boiled fiſh in a very good ſauce, oyſters boiled and brought in the ſhells, with vinegar, which it was intimated, that he had ordered on purpoſe to be provided for us, knowing it was a favourite diſh with the Dutch; ſeveral ſmall ſlices of a roaſted gooſe; fried fiſh, and boiled eggs. The liquor drank between the diſhes was alſo extraordinary good. After dinner they deſired to ſee our hats, ſwords, tobacco-pipes and watches, which were carried out of the room, for there were no ladies preſent at this audience, and conſequently no uta, or dance. Then two maps were brought in, one of which was without the names of the countries and places, otherwiſe well enough made, and in all likelihood copied after an European map. The other was a map of the whole world, of their own making, in an oval form, and marked with the Japaneſe Kattakanna characters. I took this opportunity to obſerve, after what manner they had repreſented the countries to the north of Japan, which I found to be as follows: beyond Japan, oppoſite to the two great northern promontories of the province Osju, was the iſland Jeſogaſima, and beyond that iſland a country twice as big in proportion as China, divided into ſeveral provinces, reaching about one third of its bigneſs beyond the arctic circle towards the pole, and running a good deal farther eaſt than the eaſtern coaſts of Japan: it had a large gulf on the eaſtern ſhore oppoſite to America, and was very near

of a ſquare figure. There was but one paſſage between this country and the continent of America, in which lay a ſmall iſland, and beyond that, further north, another long iſland, nearly reaching with its two extremities the two continents; to wit, that of Jeſo to the weſt, and that of America to the eaſt, and after this manner, ſhutting as it were the paſſage to the north. Much after the ſame manner all the unknown countries about the antarctic pole were repreſented as iſlands. From Tſuſimano Cami's we went to Genſejmon Sino Cami, where we were likewiſe civilly treated in preſence of ſeveral ſtrangers who, though unknown to us, yet affected a great familiarity. Among the reſt were Siube's and Genſejmon's brothers, one of whom had a ſon with ſore legs, and the other a brother with pimples in his face, for both which diſtempers they aſked my advice. The ladies were crowded up behind ſkreens in a light room, for whoſe diverſion we ſung and danced. At Tonnemon's, whom we viſited laſt, every thing was done as the preceding year, with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence; ſo that we did not in the leaſt ſcruple, in return for ſo much civility, to entertain the company with ſinging and dancing to the beſt of our abilities. Thus at laſt we got home a little after ſun-ſet, as glad of having got over that day's work, as we were pleaſed with the favourable reception we had met with every where.

This afternoon, before we got home, ſeveral of the ordinary counſellors of ſtate, and one of the governors ſent their gowns, ſome of which were left with our joriki, but others would ſtay till our return, to deliver them to our ambaſſador in perſon. Several alſo brought a preſent for our chief interpreter and the landlord's ſon, by whom they were introduced to us. The reception of theſe gowns, when made by our ambaſſador in perſon, is done with the following ceremonies. Some kulis march before, carrying the gowns in boxes, one carries the board or table on which the gowns are to be laid, with a letter of fortune, as they call it, being ſome flat ſtrings twiſted together at one end, and wound up in a paper, which is tied about with an unequal number of pairs of ſilk or paper ſtrings, as for inſtance three, five, ſeven, eleven, &c. of different colours, ſometimes gilt or ſilver coloured. Then the perſon who is to preſent the gowns, being commonly the gentleman's ſteward that ſends them, is by our joriki introduced into the ambaſſador's apartment, in preſence of his own retinue, our landlords and interpreters, and ſeating himſelf over againſt the ambaſſador, at a proper diſtance, makes the following compliment: "N. N. my maſter ſends me to congratulate you on your having had your audience, and your audience of leave, and good weather, which is *medithe* (good luck): your preſents were very acceptable to him, and he deſires you would accept in return of theſe few gowns." At the ſame time he delivers to the interpreter, who gives it to the ambaſſador, a large ſheet of paper, on which is writ, in large characters, the number of gowns ſent, and ſometimes alſo what colours they are of. The captain, in token of reſpect, holds the ſheet of paper over his head, the perſons then preſent in the room all in a profound ſilence, ſome ſitting, ſome kneeling, and ſo returns him with a bow the following compliment: "I give N. N. your maſter, my moſt humble thanks for his aſſiſtance in procuring us a quick and favourable audience, and intreat him farther to continue his favours to the Dutch: I thank him alſo for his valuable preſent, and will not fail to acquaint my maſters of Batavia therewith." The mutual compliments being over, tobacco, and the whole ſet of inſtruments for ſmoking, and a diſh of tea, is brought in; after that diſtilled liquors, with a table, on which are laid five ſilver plates, with ſweet-meats. This table is placed before the perſon that brought the preſent, and he is civilly deſired to taſte of the Dutch liquors diſtilled at Batavia, and to regard not the meanneſs of the things offered him, but the ſincerity and good will with which they were offered. Then a ſmall dram-glaſs is filled

with tent wine, which the Japaneſe call ſinti, which, according to the faſhion of the Japaneſe, he takes with both hands, holds it up to his mouth, and, with ſeeming eagerneſs, drinks it out to the laſt drop at two or three gulps, then holding the glaſs over the tobacco, or the empty ſpace between the mats, to let it drop out clean, and wiping the bottom on the outſide with his thumb or a bit of paper, he returns it to the ambaſſador, who pledges him in the ſame liquor, and after the ſame manner. He pledges the ambaſſador again, and with the ſame ceremonies returns it to the joriki, who drinks to another, and ſo it goes round. After this manner ſeveral ſorts of liquors are drank about, till every one hath taſted of them, and commended them as miſeraaties. Laſt of all the glaſs is returned again to the ambaſſador, who drinks only a little, and then orders the liquors to be carried away. The landlord in the meantime puts up the ſweat-meats in paper, ties it about with ſilk ſtrings, and gives it to one of his ſervants. Then the gentleman takes his leave, thanking for the civility ſhewed him, and particularly for the excellent miſeraatie liquors. The ambaſſador once more deſires him to aſſure his maſter of his ſincere reſpects, and unfeigned thanks for his favour and aſſiſtance. The joriki alſo makes a compliment for himſelf much to the ſame effect. Then the gentleman is conducted out of the room, where, with mutual compliments and bowing, he takes his leave a ſecond time.

On the 25th of April, we had ten fine gowns ſent us by Bingo, five as good as any wove with flowers, by the young Prince of Firando, who was lately made one of the lords of the Temple, in the room of him who is now lord chief juſtice of Miaco and a couple of ſorry ones by the ſecond governor of Jedo, who hath the inſpection of all criminal affairs and executions in this capital. The other governor had ſent us the ſame number, and full as bad the day before. The number of gowns we received was thirty from the Emperor, ten from Bingo, and ſo many from each of the four ordinary counſellors of ſtate, ſix from each of the four extraordinary counſellors of ſtate, five from each of the three lords of the temples, two from each of the two governors of Jedo,—in all 123; thirty of which being thoſe given by the Emperor, belong to the Company, and all the reſt to the ambaſſador. All this buſineſs was over by two in the afternoon.

On the 26th of April, we were buſy with packing up our baggage, hiring a ſufficient number of kulis or porters, and fifteen horſes for our journey. This morning we felt an earthquake; the ſhocks were violent but ſlow, that one might tell forty between each; after midnight it returned with more violence*.

* The return and the Appendix are omitted as little intereſting to the general reader.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

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